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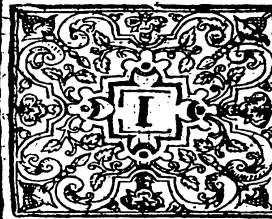
TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE, SIR

WILLIAM CAVENDYSSE, Knight

of the BATH, Baron of HARDVICK, and

Earle of DEVONSHIRE.

Right Honourable,



Take confidence from your Lordships goodnesse, in the very entrance of this Epistle, to professe, with Simplicitie, and according to the faith I owe my Master now in Heauen, That it is not vnto your selfe, but to your Lordships Father, that I Dedicate this my Labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account, to him, by whose Indulgence, I had both the time, and Ammunition to performe it: Nor if such Obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many yeeres I had the honour to serue him, I know this, There was not any, who more really, and lesse for Glories sake, fauoured those that studied the *Liberall Arts* liberally, then My Lord,

A

your

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

your Father did: nor in whole house a man should
 be need the Vniuersity, then in his. For his own
 studie, it was bestowed, for the most part, in that
 kind of Learning, which best deserueth the paines
 and houres of Great Persons, *History*, and *Ciuill*
Knowledge, and directed not to the Ostentation of
 his reading, but to the Government of his Life, and
 the Publike good. For he so read, that the Lear-
 ning he tooke in by study, by iudgement he dig-
 ested, and conuerted into *Wisdom*, and ability to
 benefit his Countrey; to which also hee applyed
 himselfe with Zeale, but such as tooke no fire, either
 from *Faction* or *Ambition*. And as he was a most
 able man, for soundnesse of aduice, and cleere ex-
 pression of himselfe, in matters of difficulty and
 consequence, both in publike and private, so also
 was he one whom no man was able either to draw,
 or rattle out of the straight path of Iustice: Of
 which vertue I know not whether hee deserued
 more, by his seuerity, in imposing it (as he did, to
 his last breath) on himselfe, or by his Magnani-
 mity in not exacting it to himselfe from others.
 No man better discerned of *Men*; and therefore
 was he constant in his Friendships, because he re-
 garded not the *Fortune*, nor *Adherence*, but the
Men; with whom also he conuersed with an open-
 nesse of heart, that had no other guard then his
 owne Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*. To his
Equalles hee carried himselfe equally; and to
 his inferiours familiarly; but maintaining his
 Respect fully, and onely, with the native splen-
 dour of his worth. In summe, hee was one in
 whom might plainely bee perceiued, that *Ho-*
nour and *Honesty* are but the same thing, in
 the

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

the different degrees of persons. To *him* therefore,
 and to the memory of *his* worth, be consecrated
 this, though vnworthy Offering.

And now, imitating in this *Ciuill Worship*, the
Religious worship of the Gentiles, who when they
 Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and
 presented the same to their Images; I bring & pre-
 sent this Gift of mine, *the History of THUCYDIDES*
 translated into English, with much more diligence
 then elegance, to your Lordship, who are the I-
 mage of your Father, (for neuer was a man more
 exactly coppied out, then he in you,) and who haue
 in you the seeds of his vertues already springing
 vp. Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteeme
 it amongst the Goods that descend vpon you, and
 in your due time to read it. I could recommend
 the Author vnto you, not impertinently, for that
 he had in his veynes the blood of Kings; but I
 chuse rather to recommend him for his writings, as
 hauing in them profitable instruction for Noble-
 men, and such as may come to haue the mannaging
 of great and waighty actions. For I may confi-
 dently say, that notwithstanding the excellent both
 Examples and Precepts of Heroique Vertue you
 haue at home, this Booke will conferre not a little
 to your institution; especially, when you come to
 the yeeres, to frame your life by your owne Obser-
 uation. For in *History*, actions of *honour* and *dis-*
honour doe appeare plainely and distinctly, which
 are which; but in the present Age they are so dis-
 guised, that few there bee, and those very care-
 full, that bee not grossely mistaken in them.
 But this, I doubt not, is superfluously spoken by
 mee to your Lordship: Therefore I end with

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

this prayer, That it will please God to giue you Vertues futable to the faire dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happinesse that such Vertues leade vnto, both in, and after this world.

Your Lordships most
humble Seruant,

THO. HOBBS.



TO THE READERS.

THough this Translation haue already past the Censure of some, whose Iudgements I very much esteeme; yet, because there is something, I know not what, in the censure of a Multitude, more terrible then any single Iudgement, how seuerer or exact soeuer, I haue thought it discretion in all men, that haue to doe with so many, and to me, in my want of perfection, necessary, to bespeake your Candor. Which that I may vpon the better reason hope for, I am willing to acquaint you briefly, vpon what grounds I vndertooke this Worke at first; and haue since, by publishing it, put my selfe vpon the hazard of your censure, with so small hope of glory, as from a thing of this nature can be expected. For I know, that meere Translations, haue in them this property, that they may much disgrace, if not well done; but if well, not much commend the doer.

It hath bene noted by diuers, that Homer in Poesie, Aristotle in Philosophy, Demosthenes in Eloquence, and others of the Ancients, in other knowledge, doe still maintaine their Primacy; none of them exceeded, some not approached, by any, in these later Ages. And in the number of these, is iustly ranked also our Thucydides; a Workeman no lesse perfect in his worke, then any of the former; and in whom (I beleeue with many others) the Faculty of writing History is at the highest. For the principall and proper worke of History, being to instruct, and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions past, to beare themselves prudently in the present, and providently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meere humane) that doth more fully and naturally performe it, then this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent and profitable Histories written since; and in some of them, there be inserted very wise discourses, both of Manners and Policie. But being discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History it selfe; the nature whereof, is meere narrative. In others, there bee suetile coniectures, at the secret aymes, and inward cogitations of such as fall vnder their Penne; which is also none of the least vertues in a History, where

To the Readers.

where the coniecture is thoroughly grounded, not forced to serue the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in coniecturing. But these coniectures cannot often be certaine, vnlesse withall so euident, that the narration it selfe may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he neuer digresse to reade a Lecture, Morall or Politicall, vpon his owne Text; nor enter into mens hearts further then the actions themselves evidently guide him. & yet accounted the most Politique Historiographer that euer writ. The reason whereof I take to bee this: He fillet his Narrations with that choite of matter, and ordereth them with that Iudgement, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himselfe, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field, at their Battels. So that looke how much a man of understanding might haue added to his experience, if he had then liued, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and businesse of the time; so much almost may he profit now, by attentine reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe, and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their feate.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further; which was the first occasion that moued mee to translate him. For it is an error we easily fall into, to beleue, that whatsoeuer pleaseth vs, will be, in like manner and degree, acceptable to all; and to esteeme of one anothers Iudgement, as we agree in the liking, or dislike of the same things. And in this error peraduenture was I, when I thought, that as many of the more iudicious, as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my selfe did. I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde) I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errors, and he a Greeke Copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of error, hee became at length traduced,

To the Readers.

traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolved to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of Amulius Porta; nor refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by. Knowing that when with Diligence and Labour I should haue done it, though some error might remaine, yet they would be errors but of one descent; of which neuerthelesse I can discouer none, and hope they bee not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by mee; and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw, that, for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People, in Rome, who came to the spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their blood; then their Skill in Fencing. For they be farre more in number, that loue to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slaine at once, then that minde the Art, by which, the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends. I obserued likewise, that there were not many, whose eares were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this History; without the knowledge whereof, it can neither patiently be read ouer, perfectly understood, nor easily remembered; Especially being many, as heere it falleth out; because in that Age, almost euery City, both in Greece and Sicily, the two maine scenes of this Warre, was a distinct Common-wealth by it selfe, and a party in the Quarrell.

Neuerthelesse I haue thought since, that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all, to him that can content himselfe with the Few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onely iudge, so is their approbation onely considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with conuenient pictures of the Countries it might be remoed. To which purpose, I saw there would be necessary, especially two; a General Mappe of Greece, and a General Mappe of Sicily. The latter of these, I found already extant, exactly done, by Philip Cluuerius; which I haue caused to be cut, and you haue it at the beginning of the Sixth Booke. But for Mappes of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For neither are the Tables of Prolomie, and descriptions of those that follow him, accommodated to the time of Thucydides; and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned therein described: nor are those that bee, agreeing alwayes with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my selfe. Which to doe, I was to rely, for the maine Figure of the Countrey, on the moderne description now in reputation; and in that to set downe those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occur in the reading.

reading of this Author, and to assigne them that situation, which, by
travell in Strabo, Pausanias, Herodotus, and some other good Au-
thors, I saw belonged unto them. And to shew you that I have not played
the Mountebanke in it, putting downe exactly some few of the Principalls,
and the rest at adventure, without care, and without reason, I have re-
newed with the Mappe an Index, that pointeth to the Authors which will
iustifie me, where I differ from others. With these Mappes, and these
few briefe notes in the Margins, upon such passages, as I thought most
required them, I supposed the History might be read with very much be-
nefit by all men of good Iudgement and Education, (for whom also it was
intended from the beginning by Thucydides) and have therefore at
length made my Labour publike, not without hope to have it accepted.
Which if I obtaine, though no otherwise then by vertue of the Authors
excellent matter, it is sufficient.

T. H.

These errors of the Presse, I desire the Reader
to correct with his Penne, thus.

Error.		Correct.	
Pag. 32. l. 5. <i>Mydonia</i> ,		<i>Mydonia</i> ,	
39. l. 5. their,		other. in	
74. l. 33. 34. <i>Cyru</i> ,		<i>Cyru</i> ,	
71. l. 28. from,		to.	
85. l. 41. affected,		affected.	
129. l. 36. of <i>Cyllene</i> ,		to <i>Cyllene</i> .	
131. l. 19. ad,		art.	
133. l. 9. amazed.		amused.	
142. l. 21. <i>Ornia</i> ,		<i>Ornia</i> ,	
151. l. 36. likewise,		sicknesse.	
205. l. 31. encounter,		encounter them.	
245. l. 13. necessities,		necessaries.	
250. l. 25. gift		forth.	
254. l. 24. <i>Phenacia</i> ,		<i>Phenacia</i> ,	
256. l. 1. <i>Thefaliamen</i> ,		<i>Thefaliamen</i> ,	
268. l. 40. this,		his.	
278. l. 12. <i>Gereftion</i> ,		the month <i>Gereftion</i> ,	
282. l. 2. <i>Arribaeus</i> ,		<i>Arribaeus</i> ,	
126. this for power.		this power.	
127. and as these.		and as for these.	

Error.		Correct.	
P. 314. l. 4 which,		with.	
324. l. 5. but,		yet.	
416. l. 14. in,		into.	
457. l. 4. whole,		the whole.	
488. l. 40. <i>Tissaphernes</i> ,		<i>Themamenes</i> .	

In the Margins.

P. 14. Now the Gulfe of <i>Peris</i> , called so from <i>Idra</i> an <i>Ilyria</i> .	So called from <i>Idra</i> an <i>Ilyria</i> .
117. went.	sent.
364. desire,	deterre.

In the List of the Author.

5134. affection,	affection.
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reading of this Author, and to assigne them that

OF THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.



Be read of diuers men that beare the name of *Thucydides*. There is *Thucydides* a *Pharſalian*, mentioned in the eighth Booke of this History; who was publike Hoſte of the *Athenians*, in *Pharſalus*, and chancing to be at *Athens*, at the time that the government of the 400 began to goe downe, by his interpoſition, and perſwaſion, kept aſunder the *Fellies* then arming themſelues, that they fought not in the City to the ruine of the Common-wealth. There is *Thucydides* the ſon of *Mileſias*, an *Athenian*, of the towne of *Alapes*, of whom *Plutarch* ſpeaketh in the Life of *Pericles*; and the ſame in all probability, that in the firſt Booke of this History, is ſaid to haue had the charge of 40 Gallies, ſent againſt *Samos*, about 24 yeeres before the beginning of this Warre. Another *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Ariſton*, an *Athenian* alſo, of the Towne of *Acherdus*; was a Poet, though of his verſes there be nothing extant. But *Thucydides* the writer of this History, an *Athenian*, of the Towne of *Halimus*, was the ſonne of *Olorus*, (of *Olorus*) and *Hegesippus*. His Fathers name is commonly written *Olorus*, though in the Inſcription on his Tombe, it was *Orolus*. Howſoeuer it be written, it is the ſame that was borne by diuers of the Kings of *Thrace*, and impoſed on him, with reſpect vnto his deſcent from them. So that though our Author (as *Cicero* ſaith of him *Lib. 2. De Oratore*) had neuer written an History, yet had not his name nor birth in regard of his Honour and Nobility. And not onely *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cimon*, but alſo almoſt all others that haue touched this point, affirme directly that he was deſcended from the *Thracian* Kings. Adducing this for prooſe, that he was of the houſe of *Miltiades*, that famous Generall of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Persians* at *Marathon*; which they alſo proue by this, that his Tombe was a long time extant amongſt the Monuments of that Family. For neere vnto the Gates of *Athens*, called *Metirides*, there was a place named *Coela*, and in it the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which, none but ſuch as were of that Family, might be buried. And amongſt theſe was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this Inſcription, *Thucydides Orolus Halimius*. Now *Miltiades* is confeſſed by all, to haue deſcended from *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*, whoſe daughter another *Miltiades*, Grandfather to this, married; and had children by. And *Miltiades*, that wonne the memorable victory at *Marathon*, was heire to goodly poſſeſſions, and Cities in the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, ouer which alſo hee reigned. In *Thrace* lay alſo the poſſeſſions of *Thucydides* and his wealthy Mines of Gold, as he himſelfe profeſſeth in his fourth Booke. And although thoſe riches might come to him by a Wife (as is alſo by ſome affirmed) which he married in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, yet euen by that marriage, it appeareth, that his affaires had a relation to that Countrey, and that his Nobility was not there knowne. But in what degree of kindred *Miltiades*, and he, approached each other, is not any where made manifeſt. Some alſo haue conſidered that hee was of the houſe of the *Piſſistratides*, the ground of whoſe conſecture hath bene onely this, that he maketh honourable mention of the government of *Piſſistratus*, and the ſonnes, and extenuate the glory of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*; prouing that the ſecing of the State, of *Athens* from the tyranny of the *Piſſistratides*; was ſilly aſcribed to their fact (which proceeded from priuate reuenge, in a quarrel of Loue) by which the tyranny ceaſed not, but grew heavier to the State, till it was at laſt put downe.

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

downe by the Lacedemonians. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well received as the former.

Agreeable to his Nobility, was his institution in the study of Eloquence, and Philosophy. For in Philosophy he was the Scholler (as also was Pericles and Socrates) of Anaxagoras, whose opinions, being of a straine about the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an Atheist, which name they bestowed vpon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And Socrates after him for the like causes, vnder-went the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other disciple of his, were by some reputed an Atheist to. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of naturall reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathen, to make him thinke it vaine, and superstitious; which was enough to make him an Atheist, in the opinion of the People. In some places of his History, hee noteth the equiuocation of the Oracles; and yet hee confirmeth an assertion of his owne, touching the time this Warre lasted, by the Oracles prediction. He taxeth Nicia for being to punishment in the obseruation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he ouerthrew himselfe and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion, and liberty of his Countrey by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the Gods, and faith in that respect, hee least of all men deserued to come to so great a degree of Calamity as he did. So that in his writings our Authour appeareth to be, on the one side not superstitious, on the other side, not an Atheist.

In Rhetorique, he was the Disciple of Antiphon, one (by his description in the eighth Booke of this History) for power of speech almost a miracle, and feared by the People, for his eloquence. In so much as in his latter dayes he liued rettyred, but so, as he gaue counsell to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted vnto him, to that purpose. It was he that contriued the deposing of the People, and the setting vp of the government of the 400. For which also he was put to death, when the People againe recovered their authority; notwithstanding that he pleaded his owne cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, Thucydides was sufficiently qualified, to haue become a great Demagogue, and of great authority with the People. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the government, because in those times it was impossible for any man to giue good and profitable counsell for the Common-wealth, and not incur the displeasure of the People. For their opinion was such of their owne power, and of the facility of archieuing whatsoever action they vnderooke, that such men onely swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Common-wealths men, as did put them vpon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gaue them temperate, and discreet aduice, was thought a Coward, or not to vnderstand, or else to maligne their power. And no maruell; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many yeeres been accustomed) maketh men in loue with themselves; and it is hard for any man to loue that counsell which maketh him loue himselfe the lesse. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, then in one Man; For a man that reasoneth with himselfe, will not be ashamed to admit of timorous suggestions in his business, that he may the stronger provide; but in publique deliberations before a Multitude, Feare, (which for the most part aduiseeth well, though it execute not so) seldome or neuer sheweth it selfe, or is admitted. By this meanes it came to passe amongst the Athenians, who thought they were able to doe any thing, that wicked men and flatterers draue them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, vndid themselves. Thucydides therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered euill, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himselfe, a private life as farre as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had vnderaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the government of the State, it is manifest that he least of all liked the Democracy. And vpon diners occasions, hee noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their crossing of each others counsels to the damage of the Publique; the inconsistency

of

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

of Resolutions, caused by the diuersity of ends, and power of Rhetorique in the Orators; and the desperate actions vnderaken vpon the flattering aduice of such as desired to attaine, or to hold what they had attained of authority, and sway amongst the common people. Nor doth it appeare, that he magnified any where the authority of the Few amongst whom he saith euery one desired, to be chiefe; and they that are vnderualued, beare it with lesse patience then in a Democracy; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the government. Hee prayseth the government of Athens, when it was mixt of the Few and the Many; but more he commendeth it, both when Pisistratus reigned (sauiug that it was an vsurped power) and when in the beginning of this Warre, it was Democraticall in name, but in effect Monarchicall vnder Pericles. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regall descent, so he best approued of the Regall Government. It is therefore no maruell, if he meddled as little as he could in the business of the Common-wealth, but gaue himselfe rather to the obseruation and recording of what was done by those that had the managing thereof. Which also he was no lesse prompt diligent and faithfull by the disposition of his mind, then by his fortune, dignity, and wisdom, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a worke of this nature, may be vnderstood by this, that when being a young man he heard Herodotus the Historiographer reciting his History in Publique, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) he felt so great a sting of emulation, that it drew teares from him, in so much as Herodotus himselfe tooke notice how violently his mind was set on letters, and told his Father Olorus. When the Peloponnesian Warre began to breake out, he coniectured truly, that it would prooue an Argument worthy his labour; and no sooner it began, then he began his History; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we see it now, but by way of Commentary, or plaine Register of the Actions and passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserue to be preferred before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the eighth Booke is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with Orations, nor so well Cemented at the Transitions, as the former seuen Bookes are. And though he began to write as soone as euer the Warre was on foot, yet began he not to perfect and polish his History, till after he was banished.

For notwithstanding his rettyred life vpon the Coast of Thrace, where his owne possessions lay, he could not auoyd a seruice of the State, which proued to him afterwards very vnfortunate. For whilst he resided in the Ile Thasus, it fell out that Brasidas the Lacedemonian, besieged Amphipolis, a Citie belonging to the Athenians, on the Confinnes of Thrace, and Atacedony; distant from Thasus, about halfe a dayes sayle. To relieue which, the Captaine thereof for the Athenians, sent to Thucydides, to leuy a power and make haste vnto him. (For Thucydides was one of the Strateges, that is, had authority to raise forces in those parts, for the seruice of the Common-wealth.) And he did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yielded vp. And for this he was afterwards banished, as if he had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, vpon feare of the Enemy. Neuertheless he put himselfe into the Citie of Eion, and preferred it to the Athenians, with the repulse of Brasidas, which came downe from Amphipolis, the next morning, and assaulted it. The author of his banishment is supposed to haue been Cleon, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affaires succeed amide, though there want neither prouidence, nor courage in the Conduccion, yet with those that iudge onely vpon euents, the way to calumny is alwayes open, and Envy, in the likeness of Zeale to the Publique good, easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment, he liued in Scapte-Hyle, a Citie of Thrace, before mentioned, as Plutarch writeth; but yet so, as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the Warre as appeareth by his owne words in his last Booke. Where he saith, that he was present at the Actions of both parts, and no lesse at those of the Peloponnesians, by reason of his exile, then those of the Athenians. During this time also, he perfected his History, so far as is now to be seene; nor darst

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

it appears that after his exile, he ever again enjoyed his Country. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Most agree that he dyed in Banishment; yet there be that haue written, that after the defeat in Sicily, the Athenians decreed a generall reuocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of Pisistratus; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at Athens. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnlesse by after the defeat in Sicily, he meant so long after, that it was also after the end of the Peloponnesian Warre, because Thucydides himselfe maketh no mention of such returne, though he out-liued the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the fifth Booke. For he saith he liued in banishment twenty yeeres after his charge at Amphipolis; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, lasted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the Long-walles betwene Peiræus, and the Citie; which was the last stroke of this Warre. They that say he dyed at Athens, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument; for he might bee buried there secretly, (as some haue written he was) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by Pausanias, where he describeth the Monuments of the Athenian Citie, and saith thus. The worthy Act of Oenobius, in the behalfe of Thucydides, is not without honour (meaning that he had a Statue.) For Oenobius obtained to haue a Decree passed for his returne; who returning was slaine by treachery, and his Sepulchre is neere the Gates called Melirides. He dyed, as saith Marcellinus, after the seven and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by A. Gellius, of the Ages of Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, then died he not before the sixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to see it ended, he might be more when he dyed, but not lesse then sixty eight yeeres of Age. What children he left, is not manifest. Plato in *Menon*, maketh mention of Miletus and Stephanus, sonnes of a Thucydides, of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of Thucydides, the Riuall of Pericles; both by the name Miletus, and because this Thucydides also, was of the Family of Miletus, as Plutarch testifieth in the Life of Simon. That he had a sonne, is affirmed by Marcellinus, out of the authority of Polemon, but of his name there is no mention, save that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *Θεοφράστου* (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Τιμωχέου*. Thus much of the person of Thucydides.

Now for his writings, two things are to bee considered in them, Truth, and Eloquution. For in Truth consisteth the Soule, and in Eloquution the Body of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History; and the former without the latter, vnapt to instruct. But let vs see how our Author hath acquitted himselfe in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall haue the lesse to say, in respect that no man hath euer yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man iustly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could haue caused him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himselfe by vnder-taking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himselfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vsed as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting euery thing whilest it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to vse. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the vse of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come. Which he professeth himselfe, and Entitleth his Booke ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΞ ΑΒΙ, A Possession for euerslasting. He was farre from the necessity of seruile Writers, either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue bene malevolent towards his Country, because they deferred to haue him so, yet hath he not written any thing that discouereth any such passion. Nor is there anything written of them that tendereth to their dishonour, as Athenians, but onely as People; and that by the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his, but

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

but their own actions do sometimes reprobate them. In summe, if the truth of a History did euer appeare by the manner of relating, it doth so in this History; So coherent, perspicuous, and perswasive is the whole Narration, and euery part thereof.

In the Eloquution also; Two things are considerable, Disposition or Method, and Style. Of the Disposition here vsed by Thucydides, it will be sufficient in this place, briefly to obserue onely this. That in his first Booke, first he hath by way of Exordium, deriued the State of Greece from the Cradle, to the vigorous stature it then was at, when he began to write; and next, declared the causes, both real and pretended of the Warre hee was to write of. In the rest, in which hee handleth the Warre it selfe, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to passe from yeere to yeere, and subdividing each yeere into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motives of euery action, he setteth down before the action it selfe, either Narratiuely, or else contriueth them into the forme of Deliberatiue Orations, in the persons of such as from time to time bare sway in the Common-wealth. After the actions, when there is iust occasion, he giueth his iudgement of them, shewing by what meanes the successe came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instructions cause, and other such open conueynances of Precepts (which is the Philosophers part) he neuer vseth, as hauing so cleerly set before mens eyes, the wayes and euents, of good and euill counsels, that the Narration it selfe doth secretly instruct the Reader, and more effectually then possibly can be done by Precept.

For his Style, I referre it to the iudgement of diuers ancient and competent Iudges. Plutarch in his Booke, *De gloria Atheniensium*, saith of him thus. Thucydides aymeth alwayes at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same passions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how Demosthenes ranged the Athenians on the rugged shore before Pylus. How Brasidas urged the Steersman to rime his Gally a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gally for descent, how he was hurt, and swooned, and fell downe on the ledges of the Gally; how the Spartans sought after the manner of a Land-fight vpon the Sea, and the Athenians of a Sea-fight vpon Land. Again, in the Sicilian Warre, how a battell was fought by Sea and Land, with equal fortune. These things, I say, are so described, and so evidently set before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no lesse affected therewith, then if hee had bene present in the Actions. There is for his perspicuity. Cicero in his Booke entituled Orator, speaking of the affection of diuers Greeke Rhetoricians, saith thus. And therefore Herodotus and Thucydides are the more admirable. For though they liued in the same Age with those I haue before named, (meaning Thrasymachus, Gorgias, and Theodorus) yet were they farre from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed of folly. For the one without rubbe, gently glideth like a still River, and the other (meaning Thucydides) runnes stranglier, and in matter of Warre, as it were, bloweth a trumpet of Warre. And in these two (as saith Theophrastus) History hath rowled her selfe, and aduentured to speake both more copiously, and with more ornament then in those that were before them. This commendeth the grauity, and the dignity of his language. Again in his second Booke, *De Oratore*, thus. Thucydides in the Art of speaking, hath in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is so full of matter, that the number of his sentences, doth almost reach to the number of his words; and in his words he is so apt, and so close, that it is hard to say, whether his words do more illustrate his sentences, or his sentences his words. There is for the pithinesse and strength of his Style. Lastly, for the purity, and propriety, I cite, *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, whose testimony is the stronger in this point, because he was a Greeke Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection, one that would no farther commend him, then of necessity he must. His words are these. There is one vertue in Eloquence, the chiefe of all the rest, and without which there is no other goodnesse in speech. What is that? That the language be pure, and retain the propriety of the Greeke tongue. This they both obserue diligently. For Herodotus is the best rule of the Ionique, and Thucydides of the Attique Dialect. These testimonies are not needfull to him that hath read the History it selfe, nor at all, but that this same *Dionysius* hath taken so much paines, and applied so much of his faculty in Rhetorique to the extenuating of the worth thereof; Moreover, I haue thought it necessary to take out the principall objections he maketh against him, and without many words of mine owne, to leaue them to the consideration

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

deration of the Reader. And first Dionysius saith thus. The principall, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and gratefull to such as shall reade it. And this Herodotus, in my opinion, hath done better then Thucydides. For Herodotus hath written the ioynt History, both of the Greekes and Barbarians, to save from oblivion, &c. But Thucydides writeth but only Warre, and that neither honourable, nor fortunate; which principally were to be wished neuer to have bene; and next, neuer to have been remembered, nor knowne to posterity. And that he took an euill Argument in hand, he maketh manifest in his proeme, saying, That many Cities were in that Warre made desolate, and utterly destroyed, partly by Barbarians, partly by the Greekes themselves; so many banishments, and so much slaughter of men, as neuer was the like before, &c. So that the hearers will abhorre it, at the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderfull acts both of the Barbarians, and Grecians, then of the pittifull and horrible calamities of the Grecians, so much wiser is Herodotus in the choyce of his Argument, then Thucydides.

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say: That the principall, & most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall reade it. Which Thucydides, in the opinion of all men, hath done better then Herodotus. For Herodotus undertooke to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the eare with fabulous Narrations, then satisfy the mind with truth. But Thucydides writeth one Warre, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainly to informe himselfe. And by propounding in his Proeme, the miseries that happened in the same, he sheweth that it was a great Warre, and worthy to be knowne, and not to be concealed from posterity, for the calamities that then fell upon the Grecians; but the rather to be truly delivered unto them, for that men profit more by looking on aduerser euent, then on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries doe better instruct, then their good success, by so much was Thucydides more happy in taking his Argument, then Herodotus was wise in chusing his.

Dionysius againe, saith thus. The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point Herodotus seemeth to be farre more discret then Thucydides. For in the first place he layeth downe the cause, for which the Barbarians began to iniure the Grecians; and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the reuenge taken on the Barbarians. But Thucydides begins at the good estate of the Grecians, which being a Grecian, and an Athenian, he ought not to haue done; nor ought he being of that dignity amongst the Athenians, so evidently to haue laid the fault of the Warre upon his owne City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might haue imputed it. Nor ought he to haue begun with the businesse of the Corcyraens, but at the more Noble Acts of his Country, which they did immediately after the Persian Warre, (which afterward in convenient place he mentioneth, but it is but cursorily, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a louer of his Country, then he should haue brought it, how that the Lacedaemonians, through enuy and feare, but pretending other causes, began the Warre, and so haue descended to the Corcyraean businesse, and the Decree against the Megareans, or whatsoeuer else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errors committed. For though he professe he was present in the whole warre, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Nauall battell at Cynossema, which was fought in the 21 yeere of the warre; whereas it had bene better to haue gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and gratefull returne of the banished Athenians from Phile, at which time the City recovered her liberty.

To this I say. That it was the duty of him that had undertaken to write the History of the Peloponnesian Warre, to begin his Narration no further off, then at the causes of the same, whether the Grecians were then in good, or in euill estate. And if the iniury, upon which the Warre arose, proceeded from the Athenians, then the writer, though an Athenian, and honoured in his Country, ought to declare the same, and not to keepe, nor take, though at hand, any other occasion to transferre the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the Warre he writ, ought to haue been touched but cursorily, and no more then may serue for the enlightning of the History to follow, how soeuer

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

sooner those Acts haue bene. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either side, and not as a louer of his Country, but of truth, then to haue proceeded to the rest, with the like indifferency. And to haue made an end of writing, where the Warre ended, which he undertooke to write; not producing his History beyond that period, though that which followed were neuer so admirable and acceptable. All this Thucydides hath obserued.

These two criminations, I haue therefore set downe at large, translated almost verbatim, that the iudgement of Dionysius Halicarnassius, may the better appeare, concerning the mayne and principall vertues of a History. I thinke there was neuer written so much absurdity in so few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that euer spake of this subiect besides himselfe, and to common sense. For he makes the scope of History not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of History, he would not by any meanes haue to containe the calamities and misery of his Country, (these he would haue buried in silence) but only their glorious and splendid actions. Amongst the vertues of an Historiographer, he reckons affection to his Country; study to please the hearer; to write of more then his Argument leads him to; and to conceal all actions that were not to the honour of his Country. Most manifest vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it seemeth he would haue nothing written, but that which was most capable of Rhetoricall ornament. Yet Lucian, a Rhetorician also, in a Treatise, entituled, How a History ought to be written, saith thus. That a writer of History, ought in his writings, to be a forraigner, without Country, living under his owne Law onely, subiect to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or dislike, but laying out the matter as it is.

The third fault he finds, is this. That the method of his History is gouerned by the time, rather then the periods of seuerall actions. For he declares in order what came to passe each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced sometimes, to leane the Narration of a siege, or sedition, or a Warre, or other action, in the middle, and enter into a Relation of somewhat else, done at the same time, in another place, and to come to the former againe when the time requires it. This, saith hee, causeth confusion in the mind of his hearer, so that he cannot comprehend distinctly the seuerall parts of the History.

Dionysius saymeth still at the delight of the present hearer; though Thucydides himselfe professe that his scope is not that, but to leaue his worke for a perpetuall possession to posterity. And then haue men leasure enough to comprehend him thoroughly. But indeed, who soeuer shall reade him once attentively, shall more distinctly conceiue of euery action this way, then the other; and the method is more naturall, for as much as his purpose being to write of one Peloponnesian Warre, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is vniuity in the whole, and the seuerall Narrations are conceiued onely as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the Peloponnesian Warre (which he tooke for his subiect) in a manner vnwritten, for neither any part, nor the whole, could iustly haue carryed such a Title.

Fourthly, he accuseth him for the method of his first Booke, in that he deriueth Greece, from the infancy thereof to his owne time; and in that he setteth downe the Narration of the quarrels about Corcyra, and Peridea, before he entreateth of the true cause of the Warre, which was the greatnesse of the Athenian dominion, feared and enuyed by the Lacedaemonians.

For answer to this, I say thus. For the mentioning of the antient State of Greece, he doth it briefly, insinuating no longer vpon it then is necessary for the well vnderstanding of the following History. For without some general notions of these first times, many places of the History are the lesse easie to be vnderstood, as depending vpon the knowledge of the originall of seuerall Cities and Customes, which could not be at all inferred into the History it selfe, but must be either supposed to be foreknowne by the reader, or else be delivered to him in the beginning, as a necessary Preface. And for his putting first the Narration of the Publique, and auowed cause of this Warre, and after that, the true and inward motion of the same, the reprehension is absurd. For it is plaine that a cause of Warre, diuulged and auowed, how slight soeuer it be, comes within the taske of the Historiographer, no lesse then

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Of the Life and History of Thucydides

the Warre, if selfe, for without a pretext, no Warre followes. This pretext is alwayes an injury, received, or pretended to be received. Whereas the inward motive to hostility, is but common, and not of that evidence, that a Historiographer should be alwayes bound to take notice of; as easy to the greatnesse of another State, or ease of an injury to come. Now let any man judge, whether a good writer of History, ought to handle, as the principall cause of Warre, proclaimed injury, or concealed enuy. In a word, the Image of the Method used by Thucydides in this point, is this. The Quarrell about Corcyra, passed in this manner; and the Quarrell about Potidaea, on this manner; (relating both at large) and in both, the Athenians were accused to have done the injury. And querthelss the Lacedaemonians had not upon this injury entered into Warre against them; but that they envied the greatnesse of their power, and feared the consequence of their ambition. I thinke a more cleare, and natural order cannot possibly be devised.

Again, he sayes, that he maketh a Funerall Oration (which was solemnly done on all occasions through the Warre) for x. Horsemen onely, that were slaine at the Brookes called Rhyes; and that for this reason onely, that he might make it in the person of Pericles, who was then living, but before another like occasion happened, was dead.

The manner of the Athenians was, that they that were slaine the first, in any Warre, should have a solemn Funerall, in the suburbs of the Cities. During this Warre, they had many occasions to put this custome in practice. Seeing therefore it was fit to have that custome, & the forme of it knowne, and that once for all, the manner being ever the same, it was fittest to relate it on the first occasion; what number fouer they were that were then buried; which neuertheless is not likely to have been so few as Dionysius saith: For the Funerall was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slaine. so that many more were slaine before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that Pericles performed the office of making the Funerall Oration, there is no reason alleged by him, why it should be doubted.

Another fault hee finds, is this; That he introduceth the Athenian Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Ile of Melos, pretending openly, for the cause of their invasion of that Ile, the power and will of the State of Athens, and reaching utterly, to enter into any disputation with them, concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not unlike to divers other Actions, that the people of Athens openlyooke vpon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoever, if the Athenian People gave in charge to these their Captaines, to take in the Island, by all means whatsoever, without power to report backe vnto them first; the equity of the Islanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should performe their charge, or not, but onely whether they should doe it by faire, or foule meanes; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Causes he hath touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needfull to be answered.

Then for his phrase, he carpeeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places, he reprehendeth, let him read Dionysius himselfe, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentive, and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault hee findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the profoundnesse of the Sentences, containing contemplations of these humane passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, doe yet carry the greatest sway with men, in their publique conversation. If then one cannot penetrate vnto them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should vnderstand them at the first speaking. Marcellinus saith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common People might not vnderstand him. And notwithstanding for a wise man should write (though in words vnderstood by all men) whatwise men only should be able to comprehend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done; nor in the descriptions of places, or of battels, small wars. Thucydides is most perspicuous

Of the Life and History of Thucydides.

as Plutarch in the words before cited, hath testified of him. But in the Characters of mens humours and manners, and applying them to affaires of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words foucer a man deliuer his mind; If therefore Thucydides in his Orations, or in the Description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not easily vnderstood, it is of those onely that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expression. Dionysius further findeth fault with his vsing to set word against word, which the Rhetoricians call *Antithera*. Which, as it is in some kind of speech, a very great vice, so is it not vnproper in Characters; and of comparatiue discourses, it is almost the onely stile.

And whereas he further taxeth him for licentiousnesse in turning Nownes into Verbes, and Verbes into Nownes, and altering of Genders, Cases, and Numbers, as hee doth sometimes for the more efficacy of his stile, & without Solacisime, I leaue him to the answer of Marcellinus; who sayes, That Dionysius findeth fault with this, as being ignorant (yet he was a professed Rhetorician) that this was the most excellent, and perfect kind of speaking.

Some man may peradventure desire to know, what motive Dionysius might haue, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himselfe acknowledged to haue beneesteemed by all men, for the best by farre of all Historians that euer writ, and to haue been taken by all the Antient Orators, and Philosophers, for the measure and rule of writing History. What motive he had to it, I know not; but what glory he might expect by it, is easily knowne. For having first preferred Herodotus, his Countreyman, a Halicarnassian, before Thucydides, who was accounted the best, and then conceiuing that his owne History might perhaps be thought not inferior to that of Herodotus, by this computation he saw the honour of the best Historiographer falling on himselfe; Wherein (in the opinion of all men) he hath misreckoned. And thus much for the objections of Demis of Halicarnassus.

It is written of Demosthenes, the famous Orator, that he wrote ouer the History of Thucydides with his owne hand, eight times. So much was this Worke esteemed, euen for the eloquence. But yet was this his eloquence not at all fit for the barre, but proper for History, and rather to be read, then heard. For words that passe away (as in publike Orations they must) without pause, ought to be vnderstood with ease, and are lost else, though words that remaine in writing, for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy and full. Cicero therefore doth iustly set him a part, from the ranke of Pleaders, but withall, he continually giueth him his due for History. Lib. 2. De Oratore. What great Rhetorician euer borrowed any thing of Thucydides? yet all men praise him, I confesse it, as a wise, seuer, graue Relator of things done. Nor for a Pleader of Causes at the Barre, but a Reporter of Warre in History. So that he was neuer reckoned an Orator, nor if he had neuer written a History, had his name therefore not been extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet none of them imitate the granity of his Words and Sentences; but when they haue uttered a kinde of lame and disloynted stuffe, they presently thinke themselves brothers of Thucydides. Again, in his Booke, De optimis Oratore, he saith thus. But here will stand up Thucydides; For his eloquence is by some admired; and iustly. But this is nothing to the Orator wee seeke; for it is one thing to vnfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuse a man, or cleere him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to stay the hearer; another to stirre him. Lucian, in his Booke entituled, How a History ought to be written, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Historiographer, by Thucydides. And if a man consider well that whole Discourse of his, he shall plainly perceiue, that the Image of this present History, pre-conceiued in Lucians minde, suggested vnto him all the Precepts he there deliuereth. Lastly, heare the most true and proper commendation of him, from Iustus Lipsius, in his Notes to his Booke, De Doctrina Civilis, in these words. Thucydides, who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that haue written of matters, both many and great. Euery where for Eloquution graue; short and thicke with sense; found in his iudgements; euery where secretly instructing, and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excursions, almost Divine. Whom the faster you read, the more you shall carry away, yet neuer be dismissed without appetite. Next to him is Polybius, &c. And thus much concerning the Life and History of Thucydides.

The names of the places of Greece occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the *Mappe of Greece*, briefly noted out of diuers Authors, for the better manifesting of their Situation, and enlightning of the History.



A *Acropolis*, a City of the Locrians of *Opius*, confining on *Thessalia*, which is a City of *Phocis*. *Pausanias* in *Phocis*.

Abdera, a City situate next beyond the *Riuer Nestus*, towards the East. *Strabo*. *Epitome* lib. 7. *Nessus* a *Riuer* of the territory of *Abdera*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

Abdus, a City on the entrance of *Helle* point, between *Lampacus* and *Ilium*, equally distant from both. In sight of *Ilium*, and is distant from the mouth of the *Riuer Aescopus* by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

Acanthus, a City neere to the *Isthmus* of *Mount Athos*, and (as in the *Epitome* of *Strabo* seventh Booke) in the Bay of *Sigae*. But it appeareth by *Herodotus* in his seventh Booke, that it lyeth on the other side, in the Bay of *Strymon*, where he saith, that the *Isthmus* of *Mount Athos* is of twelue furlongs length, and reacheth from *Acanthus* to the Sea that lyeth before *Torone*. And in another place of the same Booke he saith, that the Fleet of *Xerxes* layed through the Ditch (which *Xerxes* had caused to be made through the said *Isthmus*) from *Acanthus*, into the Bay, in which are these Cities, *Sigae*, &c.

Acerania, a region in Greece, diuided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol.* lib. 4. it reacheth from *Ambracia* to the *Riuer Achelous*; and is diuided from the *Acrotus* by *Achelous*. *Strabo*, lib. 10.

Acheus, a City of *Troas*, opposite to the Ile *Tenedos*. *Strabo*, lib. 11.

Achaia, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*, bounded on one side with *Elis*, at the Promontory of *Araxus*, and on the other side with the Territory of *Sicyon*. *Strabo*, lib. 8. It hath in it 12 Cities in this order, beginning at that part which confineth on *Sicyonia*. *Pellene*, *Argae*, *Ege*, *Bura*, *Helice*, *Argium*, *Rhyopes*, *Patrae*, *Phare*, *Olenus*, *Dyme*, *Tritea*. *Herodotus* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. It is also a part of *Thessaly*, in which are the *Phthiote*. *Herod.* lib. 7. *Strabo*, lib. 9.

Acharnae, a Towne of *Attica*, distant from *Athens* about 60. furlongs. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. and lyeth toward the North east, as may be collected out of the narration of the journey of *Archidamus* with his Armie, in the same Booke.

Achelous, a *riuer* that riseth in the *Mountain Pindus*, and running through the Territories of *Agre*, and *Ambilochia*, and by the City of *Stratus*, deuideth the maritime parts of *Acarnania* from *Etolia*. *Strabo* lib. 10. *Achelous* riseth in *Pindus*, and runneth through *Dolopia*, *Agre*, *Amphilochia*, by the City of *Stratus*, and by the City *Oenias* into the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. in the later end.

Acheron, — *Acherusia* is a Lake which issueth into the Sea, neere vnto *Cheimerium*, a Promontory of *Thessalia*, and into this Lake falleth the *Riuer Acheron*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1. *Acheron* cometh out of the Lake *Acherusia*, into the *Hauen Elycy*. *Strabo*, lib. 7. *Acheron* cometh out of *Thessalia*, and falleth into the Lake *Acherusia*, which *Livy* calleth the Bay of *Thesprotia*. *Livy*, lib. 8.

Actia, a Citie of *Laconia*; betweene it and *Gythium* the *riuer Eurotas* goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo* lib. 8. From *Helos*, which is at the mouth of *Eurotas*, it is 30 furlongs distant, and from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 230 furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Laconia*.

Actium, a Promontory toyning to the Territory of *Methone*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Messenia*. *Strabo*, lib. 8.

Acrotus, — *Acrotus* are the People *Acrotus* prom. } of a City in the Territory of *Attica*, in which *Attica* is the *Mountain Athos*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. *Acrotus* is a Promontory of *Mount Athos*, towards the Bay of *Strymon*. And *Acrotus* is a City in the same. *Herodotus* lib. 7. In stead of this *Acrotus* and *Acrotus*, *Ptolemy* hath *Albaga*, a Citie and Promontory. *Acrotus*, a Towne on the top of *Mount Athos*. *Pliny*, lib. 4.

Adia is that Territory wherein standeth the *Mountain Athos*, disioyned from the Continent by a Ditch made by the King of *Persia*, and hath in it these Cities, *Same*, *Dien*, *Thysus*, *Clome*, *Acrotus*, *Olephus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Adium, a Temple of *Apollo*, vpon the shore. It is situate where the Bay of *Ambracia* is narrowest. *Polibius*, lib. 4. In the mouth of the Bay of *Ambracia*; not farre from *Anaktorium*. *Strabo*, lib. 10.

Adramyttium } The Bay of *Adramyttium* } (taken in the greatest extent) beginneth at the

Promontory of *Leilus*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Canis*, which is opposite to *Males* of *Leucon*. And the Bay of *Adramyttium* (properly so called) beginneth at the Promontory of *Gargara*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. And the Citie of *Adramyttium* is within the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

Adysa, a City of *Euboea*, ouer against *Opius*, a City of the *Locrians*. *Strabo*, lib. 9. *Adysa* a City of *Macedonia*, in the way called by *Strabo*, *Ignetia*, from *Apollonia* and *Dyrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) to *Thessalonica* (or *Therma*), and lyeth betweene *Thessalonica* and the *Emilian*. *Strabo*, lib. 7.

Aege, a City of *Euboea*, opposite to the mouth of the *Riuer Cephissus*. *Strabo*, lib. 9. It is also the name of a Citie of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, betweene *Helice* and *Bura*. *Herodotus*, lib. 1. *Pausan.* in *Attica*. It is the name also of another City in *Attica*, lying vp from the Sea behind the Territory of *Cyme*. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

Aegina, an Island ouer against *Epidauros*, in the *Saronian* Bay. *Strabo*, lib. 8. *Pausan.* in *Cor.*

Aegira, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Pellene* and *Ege*. *Herod.* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. Opposite to *Parnassus*. *Polib.* lib. 4. Also a Citie of *Leibos*, where the Island is narrowest betweene the Bay of *Pyrrha*, and the other Sea. *Strabo*, lib. 13.

Aegium, a Towne in *Etolia*, amongst the Ile, 80 furlongs distant from the Sea. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Aegium, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Rhyper*. *Herodot.* lib. 1. *Strabo*, lib. 9. distant from *Patrae* 160 furlongs. *Pausan.* in *Achaia*.

Egeopotamos, a *riuer* in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, distant from *Sesles* 15 furlongs. *Xenophon*. *Græcorum*.

Emathia, a Region of *Macedonia*, placed by *Ptolemy* betweene *Thessaly* and the *Riuer Axios*.

Emus, a *Mountain* of *Thrace*, which deuideth it almost in the middle, and reacheth from the *Pannonian* Mountains, to *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strabo*, lib. 7.

Eretria, a City in the Bay of *Therma*, last in order from *Pollida* towards *Therma*. *Herodotus* lib. 7. It is distant from *Thessalonica*, (which is the same with *Therma*) 120 furlongs, and opposite to *Thyria*. *Livy*, lib. 44. in the beginning.

Abura, a City between the River *Hebrus* and the Bay of *Meles* (i. e. the *Black Bay*). *Herod. lib. 7. Appian. lib. 4. C. 10.*

Aburians, a Greek Nation, inhabiting in Mount *Oeta*, part of them about the *Attolians*, (that is, so as the *Attolians* are between them and the Sea) They border on the *Laevi Epimenides*, in such manner, as the *Attolians* doe on the *Laevi Oxye*. *Strabo. lib. 9. 10.*

Abolis, a Greek Nation inhabiting by the Sea side in *Asia* from the Promontory of *Leleus* to the River *Hermus*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

Abopus, a River in *Thrace*, rising out of Mount *Ida*, falling into *Propontis*, in that part which is nearest to *Zelia*, about seven hundred furlongs from *Abydus* by Sea. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

Abrea, a City of *Laconia*, not farre from *Thaurium*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. *lib. 1.*

Abrota, a Region divided from the *Acarnanians*, on the parts toward the Sea, by the River *Achelous*; confining on the East, with the *Locrians* called *Oxye*. On the North it hath the *Albanians*, and part of the *Attolians*. *Strabo. lib. 10. Ptolemy. lib. 2. C. 10.*

Abrota, a City near to the *Thracian Chersonesus*. They that goe to it from *Sellus*, leave *Cardia* on the left hand. *Herod. lib. 7.* where he describeth the way of the *Perſian Army*.

Abrota, a Region North of *Acarnania*. The River *Achelous* rising out of the Mountain *Pindus*, passeth first through *Dolia*, then through *Agria*, and lastly, through *Acarnania*, by the City of *Stratus*, and the City of *Oentia*, into the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 10. Thucydides. lib. 3.* in the later end.

Abrota, a Nation dwelling at the head of the River *Strymon*, in the Mountain *Rhodope*. *Strabo. in the Epitome of the end of his Tenth Book.* *Thucydides* in his second Book, seemeth to place them also thereabouts.

Abrota, a City of *Macedonia* by the River *Eger*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Also a City of *Babia*, neere the Lake *Copais*.

Abrota, a River of *Macedonia*. It riseth out of the Mountains called *Cambury*, according to *Ptolemy*: *Lib. 5. C. 10.* It is a City by the River *Abrota*, neere the Mountains which hee calleth *Cambury*, which are likely to be the same. *Lib. 12. C. 10.* It is a City by the River *Lydia*, the confluent of which two Rivers divide *Babia* from *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Abrota, a Region of *Macedonia*, of whose situation I finde nothing, but in *Ptolemy's* Tables, who putteth it betweene 40 and 47 Degrees of longitude, and betweene 41 and 42 of latitude. *Ptolemy* in his tenth Table of Europe.

Abrota, a little Island lying before *Magna Graecia*. *Thucydides. lib. 9.* Also a City in the *Chelamensis* of *Erythraea*, betweene *Cassius* and the Promontory *Argemum*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

Alope, a City of the *Laevi Epimenides*, distant from *Elaea* of *Phocia* 120 furlongs, from *Cyma* the Haven of the *Opuntians*, 20 furlongs. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

Alpheus, a River of *Peloponnesus*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, neere unto the Springs of *Enona*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* It divideth *Laconia* from *Megalopolis*, and from *Tegea*. *Pausanias* in *Arcadia*. It runnes by *Heraea*. *Idem. lib. 10.* and *Polybius. lib. 4.* It goeth out into the Sea neere *Olympia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* *Pausanias* saith it goeth out about *Cyllene*, the Haven of the *Eleos*; but it is contrary to all other, both ancient and moderne Geographers.

Alpheus, a City on the Sea-coast of *Acarnania*, betweene the City *Palys*, and the Promontory *Critobola*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

Ambracia, a City in the bottom of the *Ambracian Bay*, vpon the River *Araxus*, a little remote from the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 7.* The *Ambracian Bay* divideth *Epirus* from *Acarnania*. *Polybius. lib. 4.*

Ambracia, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

Ambracia, a Promontory of *Torone*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Amphibolia, a Region lying North of *Acarnania*, South of *Delopia*, through it runneth the River *Achelous*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

Amphipolis, Called formerly the *Nine-waters*, a City situate on the River *Strymon*, the River running on both sides it: 25 furlongs from *Eian*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Amphissa, a City of the *Locrians* called *Oxye*, confining on the Territory of *Crisia*. *Herodotus. lib. 8. Strabo. lib. 9.* Distant from *Delphi* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Pausanias. lib. 10.*

Amphissa, a City of *Laconia*, twenty furlongs from *Sparta* towards the Sea. *Ptolemy. lib. 4.*

Anastorium, a City of *Acarnania*, within the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, forty furlongs from *Albania*. *Strabo. lib. 10.* in the mouth of the *Ambracian Bay*. *Thucydides. lib. 1.*

Anaea, a City in *Asia*, by the Sea-side over against the *Ile Samos*. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Anaps a River of *Acarnania*, mentioned by *Thucydides. lib. 2.* it should seeme by the History (that it runneth betweene *Stratus* and *Oentia*). *Lib. 10.* mentioneth a River there about also called *Peletarus*. *lib. 43.* it may bee it is the same.

Anaphe, an Island not farre from *Tbera*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

Andania, a City of *Messinia*, on the confines of *Arcadia*. *Pausanias. lib. 10.*

Andros, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Strabo. lib. 10. vide Cyclades.*

Antandrus, a City of *Troas*. *Herod. lib. 5.* in the Bay of *Adramyttium*, (properly so called.) *Strabo. lib. 13.* under Mount *Ida*. *Thucydides. lib. 3.*

Anteboda, a City of *Babia*, on the shore opposite to *Euboda*, the utmost on that shore towards *Locris*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

Antibacrus, a territory in *Macedonia*, not farre from *Grestonia*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides. lib. 2.*

Antiboda, a City of the Territory of *Cy-*

Antiboda, a City of *Phocia* vpon the Sea-side, neere alic *Ciffis* towards *Babia*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* Also a City of the *Meles*, vpon the River *Strymon*. *Idem.*

Antirrhium, Which is called also *Rhium* *Molybrius*, is that Promontory which with the opposite Promontory of *Achaia*, called *Rhium*, comprehendeth the freight of the *Cyffian* (or *Corinthian*) Bay, of 5 furlongs breadth. *Strabo. lib. 8.* It is neere to the City *Molyeria*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* and to the East of it. *Idem. lib. 10.*

Amiffa, a City of *Lesbos*, betweene the Promontory of *Sigium*, and the City *Methymna*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

Antitane, a Nation whom *Strabo* calleth *Antitane*, and placeth in the Mountains of *Epirus*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* *Appianus* hath also *Antitane*; and *Lib. 45.* maketh them as an addition to the fourth part of *Macedonia*, in the division of that Kingdom.

by *Paulus Aemilius*. So that it may be gathered that the *Antitane*, whom *Thucydides* calleth *Antitane*, and numbred amongst *Epilobal* Nations, are situate on the confines of *Epirus* and *Macedonia*.

Antis, a River of *Syria*. After *Epidamnus* (saith *Strabo*, describing the Sea-coast towards *Epirus*) are the Rivers *Antis*, and *Aous*. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Neere to it standeth *Apollonia*. *Idem.* *Plutarchus* hath *Antis* instead of it, in the life of *Cesar*. In this River it was that hee tooke Boat to force the *Ionian Sea* unknowne, and was forced backe by *Tempest*.

Antidolia, a Towne of *Laconia*, neere the Sea side. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Antipolis, a City in *Thrace*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.* *Thucydides. lib. 1.* betweene *Polydes* and *Menda*. *Strabo. in the Epitome of the end of his Tenth Book.*

Apidanus, a River of *Achaia* in *Thessalia*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.* It falleth into *Peneus*. *Idem.* It runneth by *Phasalus*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Apodoti, a Nation, part of the *Attolians*, neere to the Sea. *Thucydides. lib. 3.*

Apollonia, a City of *Illyria*, in the *Ionian Gulfe*. *Herodotus. lib. 9.* vpon the River *Aous*, three score furlongs from the Sea. *Strabo. lib. 7.* Also a City betweene *Therme* and *Amphipolis*. *Itinerar. Festinger. Itiner. Antonini.* A Chalcidique City *lib. 8.*

Apfus, a River of *Illyria*, betweene *Epidamnus* and *Apollonia*. *Strabo. lib. 7.*

Aracthus, a River of *Epirus*, rising out of the *Hill Sympus*, in the Territory of the *Parorai*, (peraduenture the same with *Paravos*) and running by the City of *Ambracia* into the *Ambracian Bay*. *Strabo. lib. 7.*

Araxus, a Promontory in the confines of *Elis* and *Arcadia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Aradia, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, in the middle of it; bounded with *Elis*, *Achaia*, *Argolica*, *Laconia* and *Messinia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Argemum, a Promontory of *Erythraea* in *Asia*, lying out betweene *Alomessus* and the *Ayri Erythraea*, opposite to, and distant 60 furlongs from *Pelidum* a Promontory of *Cyprus*. *Strabo. lib. 14.*

Argemum, are three Islands lying neere to the Promontory of *Argemum*, opposite to *Malaca* a Promontory of *Lebas*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

Argos, a City by the Sea-side, West of the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* not farre from *Amphipolis*. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Argos, 2 Argos is a City of *Argia*, much *Argolica*, 3 celebrated in History; it standeth from the Sea forty furlongs. *Thucydides. lib. 10.* In all Mappes that I have yett seen, it is placed vntreasonably farre from the Sea; but it appears by the beginning of the first Booke of *Herodotus*, where hee speaketh of the women of *Argos*, that came downe to the Sea-side, to the Ships of the *Phoenicians*; and by *Thucydides. lib. 4.* where hee relateth, that the *Argives* were building Walles to reach vnto the Sea from their City, that it cannot be farther from it then is by *Pausanias* set downe. *Argolica* confineth on *Laconia*, *Arcadia*, *Attica*, *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Argos Amphibolium, a City of *Amphibolia*, vpon the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Thucydides. lib. 2.* 22 miles from *Ambracia*. *Lib. 48.*

Arne, a City of the *Chalcidians* neere *Anticulus*, as it seemeth by *Thucydides. lib. 2.*

Arne, a City of *Thessaly*, *Thucydides. lib. 1.* in that part of *Thessaly* which is called *Epistolia*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

Arthania, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus*. *Thucydides. lib. 8.*

Arthania, a City of *Macedonia*, on the confines of *Lyncus*. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Artemisium, a Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-side, in *Euboda*, at the streights of it, not farre from *Thermopis*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.* Famous for a Battell by Sea, fought there betweene the *Grecian* and *Perſian Fleet*.

Arta, a maritime City in *Argolica*, (or *Argia*) the first in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a maritime City of *Messinia*, and the first in the Bay of *Messinia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* betweene the Promontory *Arctia*, and the City *Colonia*, forty furlongs from each. *Pausanias* in *Messinia*, also a City of *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, betweene *Tenarus* the Promontory, and *Gylbius*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a City of *Laconia*, neere *Cardamyle*. *Herod. lib. 8.*

Asopus, a River running betweene *Plataea* and *Thebes*. *Thucydides. lib. 2.* It divideth the Territory of the *Platanians* from that of the *Thebans*, and runneth within tenne furlongs of *Thebes*. *Pausanias* in *Baotica*. According to *Strabo*, it runneth into the Sea by *Tanagra*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* But according to *Ptolemy*, *Cephissus*, and *Asopus*, *Asopus* meete all in *Babia*, and *Asopus* passing through *Attica*, entrench into the Sea by the Promontory *Cynusura*. *Ptolemy. lib. 10.* It is also the name of a River rising about *Phlius* in *Peloponnesus*, and entering into the Sea neere *Carthage*. *Pausanias* in *Corinthiaca*. It is also the name of a City in *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, distant from the Promontory *Ougunthos* two hundred furlongs, and from the City *Aria*, three score furlongs. *Pausanias* in *Laconica*.

Asiacus, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene the Promontory *Critobola*, and mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

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Arthania, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus*. *Thucydides. lib. 8.*

Arthania, a City of *Macedonia*, on the confines of *Lyncus*. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Artemisium, a Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-side, in *Euboda*, at the streights of it, not farre from *Thermopis*. *Herodotus. lib. 7.* Famous for a Battell by Sea, fought there betweene the *Grecian* and *Perſian Fleet*.

Arta, a maritime City in *Argolica*, (or *Argia*) the first in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a maritime City of *Messinia*, and the first in the Bay of *Messinia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* betweene the Promontory *Arctia*, and the City *Colonia*, forty furlongs from each. *Pausanias* in *Messinia*, also a City of *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, betweene *Tenarus* the Promontory, and *Gylbius*. *Strabo. lib. 8.* Also a City of *Laconia*, neere *Cardamyle*. *Herod. lib. 8.*

Asopus, a River running betweene *Plataea* and *Thebes*. *Thucydides. lib. 2.* It divideth the Territory of the *Platanians* from that of the *Thebans*, and runneth within tenne furlongs of *Thebes*. *Pausanias* in *Baotica*. According to *Strabo*, it runneth into the Sea by *Tanagra*. *Strabo. lib. 9.* But according to *Ptolemy*, *Cephissus*, and *Asopus*, *Asopus* meete all in *Babia*, and *Asopus* passing through *Attica*, entrench into the Sea by the Promontory *Cynusura*. *Ptolemy. lib. 10.* It is also the name of a River rising about *Phlius* in *Peloponnesus*, and entering into the Sea neere *Carthage*. *Pausanias* in *Corinthiaca*. It is also the name of a City in *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, distant from the Promontory *Ougunthos* two hundred furlongs, and from the City *Aria*, three score furlongs. *Pausanias* in *Laconica*.

Asiacus, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene the Promontory *Critobola*, and mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strabo. lib. 10.*

Asiacus, are three Islands lying neere to the Promontory of *Argemum*, opposite to *Malaca* a Promontory of *Lebas*. *Strabo. lib. 13.*

Asiacus, a City by the Sea-side, West of the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* not farre from *Amphipolis*. *Thucydides. lib. 4.*

Asiacus, 2 Argos is a City of *Argia*, much *Argolica*, 3 celebrated in History; it standeth from the Sea forty furlongs. *Thucydides. lib. 10.* In all Mappes that I have yett seen, it is placed vntreasonably farre from the Sea; but it appears by the beginning of the first Booke of *Herodotus*, where hee speaketh of the women of *Argos*, that came downe to the Sea-side, to the Ships of the *Phoenicians*; and by *Thucydides. lib. 4.* where hee relateth, that the *Argives* were building Walles to reach vnto the Sea from their City, that it cannot be farther from it then is by *Pausanias* set downe. *Argolica* confineth on *Laconia*, *Arcadia*, *Attica*, *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Asiacus Amphibolium, a City of *Amphibolia*, vpon the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Thucydides. lib. 2.* 22 miles from *Ambracia*. *Lib. 48.*

Arne, a City of the *Chalcidians* neere *Anticulus*, as it seemeth by *Thucydides. lib. 2.*

Arne, a City of *Thessaly*, *Thucydides. lib. 1.* in that part of *Thessaly* which is called *Epistolia*. *Strabo. lib. 9.*

Arthania, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus*. *Thucydides. lib. 8.*

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longs, and as much from *Mela*, a Promontory of *Epilobus*, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Carpessus, a Promontory of *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. Epit. lib. 7. Livy, lib. 44.* Capereus, a Haven of *Euboea*, on the out side, not farre from *Gerebus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Capria, a City of *Arcadia*, not farre from *Orchomeneus*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* The River *Ladon* runneth betwene it and *Pisphus*. *Pauf. in Arcadiis.*

Cardamyle, a City of *Laonia*, betwene *Phare* and *Leudra*, by the Sea side, in the *Messenian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 400. Furlongs. *Pauf. in Laconia.* It is also a City in the Island *Cypris*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Cardus, a City in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, vpon the Sea side in the black Bay [or Bay of *Mela*]. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Carpathus, an Island in that Sea, which called from it *Mare Carpathium* hath to the North the Sea called *leantum* to the South, the *Ægean* Sea, to the West, the *Crete* and *African* Seas. *Strab. in the end of the tenth Booke.*

Carye, a Towne in *Arcadia*, betwene *Orchomeneus* and *Pheneum*, in the confines of both, distant from *Pisphus* three score Furlongs. *Pauf. in Arcadiis.*

Carytus, a City of *Euboea*, at the foot of the Mountain *Oeba*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Maratia* a City of *Attica*, is equally distant from it and *Athens*. *Pauf. in Atticis.*

Casos, an Island in the *Carpathian* Sea, from *Carpathus* 80 furlongs, and from *Samothrace* a Promontory of *Crete*, 250. in quantity 80 furlongs about. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cassius, a Haven in the *Chersonesus of Erythraea*, at the foot of the Mountain *Corymbus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cassius, a maritime City of *Lydia*, situated to the *Rhodian*, by the River *Calus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cassius, a River of *Asia*, falling into the Sea on *Ephefus*, so as the mouth of it is the Haven of the *Ephefusians*. *Strab. lib. 14.* When the *Jon* on made a journey against *Sardes*, they left their Fleet at *Cassius*, and then went up by the River *Cassius*, and then over the Mountain *Tmolus*, and so to *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Cecropia, a Region of *Attica*, betwene the Hills *Parnethus* and *Brilissus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Ceryphales, a place mentioned in the 6th Booke of *Thucydides*, hath the Island *Ceryphus*, opposite to *Epilobus*, and distant from it 6 miles. The *Strabon* and *Steph.* put it in the West parts of *Peloponnesus*.

Ceryne, a Promontory of *Attica*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cnemides* of the *Locrians*, and to *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Ceryne, a Haven of the *Corinthians*, on the side of the Isthmus that lyeth towards *Athens*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Scythia* on one side, and *Lebanus* on the other, containe the Isthmus. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*

Ceryne, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, the nearest to the Island *Helos*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cephallenia, an Island over against *Acarnania*, distant from *Leucadia* tenne furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and hath in it 4 Cities, *Pale*, *Same*, *Promi*, *Crany*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cephissus, a River, which rising about *Litae*, a City of *Phoenicia*, and going by *Elitae*, *Orulita* and *Phoenicia*, Cities of *Phoenicia*, and *Cherones* and *Coronea*, Cities of *Babylonia*, falleth into, at *Coronea*, and filleth the Lake called *Copais*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entred it at *Larymna*, a Towne of *Babylonia*, opposite to *Ege* of *Euboea*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a River of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eleuthis*, and falling into the Sea by *Piræus*. *Pauf. in Atticis.*

Ceramius, Mountains of *Epirus*, on the Sea side, in the entrance of the *Jonian* Gulfe. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ceramus, a Towne betwene *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Ceramius* Bay. *Strab. lib. 11.*

Cerisyllus, a Hill of the *Argilians*, beyond *Strymon*, neere *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cerine, a Mountain betwene *Thracia* and *Maccedonia*, the same divideth the *Pæonians* from the *Sinuus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cerine, a Region of *Epirus*, divided from *Thesprotia* by the River *Thesprotus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* The *Chætanians* and *Thesprotians* have all the Sea coast from the mountains called *Ceramyne* to the *Embracian* Bay, (there called *Ceramyne* from the part of the *Chætanians*) *Strab. lib. 7.* called *Cerine* from *Cerisyllus* the Ioune of *Helorus*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.*

Cheronea, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Placidia*, twenty furlongs distant from *Pæonius* or *Phlœnis*, and situate vpon the River *Cephissus*. *Pauf. in Phœnicis.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

Chalce, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Telos* 80 furlongs, and from *Carpathus* 400 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Chalcedonia, a City of *Bithynia*, over against *Byzantium*. *Strab. lib. 12.* in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*. *Idem. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Chalcis, a City of *Euboea*, at the *Euripus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a City of *Attica*, vpon the River *Euenus*, on the East side of it, *Strab. lib. 10.* beneath *Calidon*. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Chalcidica, a Region ioyning to *Thrace*, containing most of the Townes vpon or neere the Sea, from the mouth of the River *Strymon*, to *Pelideia* in *Pallene*. This may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was so named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcis* in *Euboea*, either immediate or deriued.

Chalchis, the people of a City of the *Acro Oegale*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Chæmonia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountains called *Geramyne*, and together with *Thesprotia* reaching as farre as the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 7.* It is diuided from *Thesprotia* by the River *Thesprotus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Chelidonia, a small River of *Maccedonia*, which rising in *Grestonia*, runneth into the River *Axius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Chelimerium, a Promontory of *Epirus*, betwene the Islands called *Sybotia*, and the mouth of the River *Acheron*. *Strab. lib. 7.* vide *Acheron*.

Chelonata, a Promontory of *Elia*, betwene the Promontories of *Araxus* and *Iellus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Chelonius, significth any portion of Land that is almost enuironed with the Sea; but for the most part, when there is no word added to determine the signification, it is here that Territory of *Thrace*, which is included with these three Seas, *Propontis*, *Hellepontus*, and the *Blacke* Bay. *Idem. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* In the Isthmus of this *Chelonius* standeth the City *Cardus*, at the side toward the *Blacke* Bay, and *Pallia* on the part toward *Propontis*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Chius, now called *Sicor*, an Island and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. lib. 1.* distant from *Lesbos* about 400. furlongs, and 900. furlongs in circuit. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Chiusis, a part of *Mygdonia* so called. *Steph.*

Chiospolis, a Village of the *Chalcædonians*, in the mouth of *Pontus*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Cicada, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, vide *Cyclades*. It lyeth West of *Sicurus*, *Pholagadon*, and *Lagusa*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cicada, a City of *Phœcia*, in the *Corinthian* Bay, over against *Sicyon*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Delphi* three score furlongs, from *Delphi* to *Cicada* runs the River *Pylæus*. It is the Haven or Towne of shipping for *Delphi*. It confineth vpon *Locri*. *Pauf. in Phœnicis.* He maketh it the same with *Cicada*, vide *Cicada*.

Cicada, a Mountain of *Maccedonia*, ioyning to *Olympus*, out of which filleth the River *Eurotas*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Cicéron, a Mountain of *Attica*. When the *Persian* Campe vnder *Mardonius* lay about *Asopis* in the Territory of *Pateia*, the Army of the *Grecians* that were encamped at the foot of *Cicéron*, were opposite to them. *Herod. lib. 9.* *Patia* is betwene *Cicéron* and the City of *Thesbi*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Citium, a City of *Cyprus*.

Clarus, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Ex Ortyi* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* Also a City belonging to the *Colophonians*, *Pauf. in Achæis*, betwene the mouth of the River *Cassius* and the City of *Colophon*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Clazomenæ, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* Situate in the *Chersonesus of Erythraea*, confining on the *Erythraean* Sea, the being within the *Clazomenians* without the *Chersonesus*. Betwene *Clazomena* and *Teos*, across the Isthmus it is but fifty furlongs, but round about by Sea, a thousand furlongs. Presently without the Isthmus, where it is narrowest, stands *Clazomena*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Before it lyeth 8 little Islands. *Idem. lib. 14.*

Cleitor, a City of *Arcadia*, betwene *Pisphus* and *Caprye*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* It confineth on the Territory of *Pheneum*, towards the East. *Pauf. in Arcadiis.*

Cleitor, a City of *Argos*, betwene *Argos* and *Coronea*, confining on the *Philiatani*. *Pauf. in Corinthiacis.* Also a City in the territory where Mount *Atlas* standeth. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cnemides, a Promontory of *Attica*, opposite to the Promontory of *Ceryne* of the *Locrians*, and to *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cnidus, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Trigæus*. *Herod. lib. 1.* On the North hath the *Ceramius* Bay to the South, the *Rhodian* Sea. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cnossus, an Island City of *Crete*, in the Territory of *Lampachus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a maritime City of *Troas*, 140. furlongs from *Thrace*, betwene *Hamathia* and *Lauisus*. *Id. lib. 13.*

Colindæ, a maritime City of *Messenia*, betwene *Asine* and the mouth of the River *Pamilius*, distant from *Asine* 40 furlongs. *Pauf. in Messeniis.*

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Colobonius, a Haven not farre from *Tenarus*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

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Copistis, Two little Islands on the West of the Island *Patinus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Coryra, now called *Cassus*, an Island over against *Ephebus*, whose East parts are opposite to the Islands called *Sybotia*, and West parts, to the Haven called *Onchimus*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Coryssa, a Towne of the Territory of *Ephebus*, by the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the River *Cassius*. *Herodotus, lib. 5.*

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Coronea, a City of *Bœotia*, vpon the River *Cephissus*, where it entred into the Lake *Copais*, and not far from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cornelia, a City of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corymbus, a Towne neere the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corymbus, a Mountain in the *Chersonesus of Erythraea*, betwene *Ten* and *Erythraea*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Corymbus, a Promontory of *Messenia*, distant from *Methene* 100 furlongs: in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylos*. *Pauf. in Messeniis.*

Cos, an Island with a City in it of the same name. It belonged to the *Dorians* of *Asia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* called *Cos* *Metopides*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* Because inhabited of old by the *Metopians*, it lyeth in the *Carpathian* Sea. *Strab. lib. 10.* Opposite to *Tenarus*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Id. lib. 14.*

Cranium, a City in the *Champaigne* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib. 9.* The same may be gathered out of *Livy*, lib. 42.

Crany, a people of *Cephallenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* About the straight of that Island. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Craneis, a Haven neere the City of *Ephebus* in *Asia*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Crene, id est, the Wells, a place in *Acarnania*, not farre from *Argos*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Crenia, a Sea Towne of *Bœotia*, vpon the Bay of *Crissa*, belonging to the City *Thes*

Cnemides, a Promontory of *Attica*, distant from *Cynus*, the Haven of the *Opuntians*, towards *Thermopylae*, 70 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

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Coryssa, a Towne of the Territory of *Ephebus*, by the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the River *Cassius*. *Herodotus, lib. 5.*

Cornithus, a famous City, neere the Isthmus of *Peloponnesus*.

Coronea, a City of *Bœotia*, vpon the River *Cephissus*, where it entred into the Lake *Copais*, and not far from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cornelia, a City of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corymbus, a Towne neere the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corymbus, a Mountain in the *Chersonesus of Erythraea*, betwene *Ten* and *Erythraea*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Corymbus, a Promontory of *Messenia*, distant from *Methene* 100 furlongs: in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylos*. *Pauf. in Messeniis.*

Cos, an Island with a City in it of the same name. It belonged to the *Dorians* of *Asia*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* called *Cos* *Metopides*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* Because inhabited of old by the *Metopians*, it lyeth in the *Carpathian* Sea. *Strab. lib. 10.* Opposite to *Tenarus*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Id. lib. 14.*

Cranium, a City in the *Champaigne* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib. 9.* The same may be gathered out of *Livy*, lib. 42.

Crany, a people of *Cephallenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* About the straight of that Island. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Craneis, a Haven neere the City of *Ephebus* in *Asia*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

which were numbered, the inhabitants of the Islands Rhodus and Cos, and the Cities *Cadmus* and *Stachonius*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Chalcidic Camps, a large Champaigne, by the Gulf of Thermae in Thracia, where the River passing on towards Greece, mustered the mighty Armies. *Herodot. lib. 7.*

Chalcidic, a City of *Edonia*, beyond the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Drepanon a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, distant from the City *Cos*, 200 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Dionysia, an Island lying before *Circene*. *Thucyd. lib. 8. Lysy, lib. 38. vide Circene.*

Drepan, a people of Thracia.

Dyne, a City of *Adonia*, the nearest to the confines of *Elia*. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Adonia.*

E

Echinades, Islands lying in and out before the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 3. Strab. lib. 10.*

Edonia, a Region of Thracia, lying to the River *Strymon*, and the Sea. It had in it *Amphipolis*, *Drabescus*, and other Cities. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* by which the situation thereof may be sufficiently understood.

Eidamnia, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Dobruis*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Plin. lib. 4.*

Eius, a City of Thrace, on the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 7.* In the mouth of *Strymon*, 25 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Elas, a Sea-town in *Asia*, belonging to the City of *Pergamus*, distant from the mouth of the River *Cayus* towards *Asia*, 12 furlongs; and from *Cana* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Elatae, a City of *Phocis*, by the River *Cephissus*, confining on the Locrians. *Strab. lib. 9. Pausanias in Phocis.* It standeth in the Straights of the *Plocean* Mountains. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Eleuthera, a Towne of *Attica*, between *Eleusis* and *Plataea*, on the border of *Attica*. *Pausan. in Attica. Id. in Boeotia.*

Elus, a City of *Cyrenensis* to the North of *Lemnos*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Elus, a Sea-town of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 8. on the confines of *Megara*. Pausanias in Attica.*

Elia, *Elis* and *Messenia* are two Regions, that take up the West part of *Peloponnesus*. *Elis* is bounded on the North by the Promontory *Araxus*, and divided from *Messenia* in the parts towards the Sea, by the River *Neda*. *Strab. lib. 8. Elis* the principal City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from *Olympus* almost three hundred. *Pausan. in fine secundi Eliaeorum.*

Ellenensis, a Towne in *Messenia* of the Territory of *Laudia*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Elymus, a Nation of *Macedonia*, which *Elimeas*, a Pityan place on the Sea-side upon the Ionian Gulf. *Lysy* hath the City *Elimeas* at the foot of the Mountains *Cambury*, and by the River *Alacmon*. *Lysy. lib. 42.*

Emathia, a Towne of *Erythraea*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* on the part toward *Lebos*, as may be probably conjectured by the History.

Enipeus, a River of Thessaly, which falleth into the River *Peneus*. *Herodot. lib. 7.* But first it receiveth into itselfe the waer of *Apidanus*, that passeth by *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It falleth in the Mountaines *Othrys*. *Id. lib. 10.*

Eorda, a Region of *Macedonia*, between the *Lyncistum* and *Thessalonica* (or *Therma*) in the way called *Ignavia*, that leadeth from *Epidauros* to *Thessalonica*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Epipolis, an Ionique City. *In Lydia. Herod. lib. 1.* at the mouth of the River *Caistrum*, on the side towards *Mycale*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Ephyra, a City of *Thessalia*, upon the River *Thymus*. *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* Also a City of *Argis*. *Strab. lib. 9. Id. lib. 10.*

Epidauros, a City afterwards called *Dyracchum*, now *Dura*, situate on the Ionian Gulf, amongst the *Tantrastis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* near without the Bay called *Riviricus*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Epidauros, a City of *Argis* by the Sea-side, in the innest part of the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Epidauros Limera, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argis*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Malis*. *Pausan. in Laconia.*

Ere, a City in *Erythraea*, between *Ten* and *Cephissus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Erythraea, a City in the Ile *Leibos*, between *Pyria* and the Promontory *Sigillum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Estris, a City of *Euboea*, between *Chalcis* and *Cephissus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* opposite to *Oropus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Estron, a River of *Macedonia*, arising in *Thyria*, and falling into the River *Axius*. *Lysy. lib. 39. Strab. lib. 7.*

Etruria, a City of *Deis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* Also a Haven in the Territory of *Mytilis* in *Achaia*. *Thucyd. lib. 7. Pausan. in Achaia.*

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Estia, a Region of Thessaly, confining on the Mountaines *Olympus* and *Ossa*. *Herodot. lib. 1.* It is the West part of Thessaly, and lyeth between Mount *Pindus* and the vpper *Macedonia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Euboea, an Island lying opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, and *Boeotia*, and *Lacedaemonia*, extending from *Sunium*, as far as *Thesphaly*. The length of it is reckoned from the Promontory *Ceramus*, to the Promontory *Geraeus*. *Concava Euboea* is all that shore that is from the *Euxinus* to *Geraeus*. *Strab. lib. 10. Herodotus* maketh it to be on the other side of the Island. *Herod. lib. 7.* It seemes therefore that *Concava Euboea* is not the proper name of a place, but an appellation signifying any hollow bending of the shore.

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Euxinus Limera, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argis*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Malis*. *Pausan. in Laconia.*

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Euboea, an Island lying opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, and *Boeotia*, and *Lacedaemonia*, extending from *Sunium*, as

and Athens, *Paus.* in Attica. The Athenians had Silver Mines in this Mountain. *Thuc.* Herod.

Lari, a Nation dwelling on the River *Strymon*, and the border between *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Lebadea, an Ionian City in *Euboea*. *Herod.* lib. 1. Scituate on the Sea-side, between *Colophon* and *Tenis*, distant from each 120 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Lechaem, a Haven of the *Corinthians* in the *Crissean* or *Corinthian* Bay. Between *Lechaem* and *Lechaem* is contained the *Corinthian* *Isthmus*. *Paus.* in *Corinthiacis*.

Letium, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Lemnos, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, on the East of the Mountain *Athos*, so as the shadow of the Mountain fallth sometimes upon it. *Plin.* lib. 4. *Strab.* *Epirom.* lib. 7.

Lipneum, a City of *Elis*, forty furlongs from the Sea. *Paus.* *Flacorum* secundo. On the confines of *Arcadia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 5.

Litus, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, neere to *Tenaris*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Leber, an Island over against *Molus* in *Asia*, distant from *Lemnos*, *Tenedos*, and *Chios* almost equally; less than five hundred furlongs from the farthest of them. It reacheth in length between *Letium* and *Cana* 560 furlongs, and is in compass 1100 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Leucas, a *Peninsula*, distant from *Athium* 240 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 10. now an Island, and called *Santa Maria*.

Leontia, a Towne in *Baotia*, between *Platæa* and *Thebes*. *Strab.* lib. 9. Also a Towne of *Lacedæmon* in the *Messenian* Bay, between *Therapides* and *Cardamyle*, distant from *Cardamyle* 60 furlongs, and from *Tenaris* three hundred and forty. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Paus.* in *Lacedæmonia*.

Leucima, the most Easterne Promontory of the Ile *Cercyra*, opposite to the Islands called *Sybia*. *Strab.* lib. 7.

Lilæa, a City of *Phocia*, distant from *Pelopi* by *Thermopyla* 180 furlongs. *Paus.* in *Phocia*.

Limnaea, a City on the confines of *Argolis*, on the West to the River *Archeolus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Lindus, a City of the Island *Rhodus*, situate on the right hand to them that saile from the City of *Rhodes* Southward. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Lissia, a small River of *Thrace*, between *Mesembria* and *Stryma*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Lori, a Nation of *Greece*, whereof one part, called *Locri Ozole*, inhabit on the West of *Permessus*, and confine on *Ætolia*. *Strab.* lib. 9. And the other part, called *Locri Opuntii*, are divided from the Ozole by the Mountains *Permessus* and the Region of *Doris*. *Idem.* lib. 9. Part of the Opuntians are called *Epheneuades*, for that they dwell across the Promontory called *Cnemidea*.

Lorum, a City in the opposite Continent to *Rhodes*, between *Chidus* and *Phycus*, where the shore beginneth to turne Northward. *Strab.* lib. 14. distant twenty

miles from *Rhodes*. *Livy.* lib. 45.

Lycæum, a mountain in *Arcadia*, neere to the confines of *Lacedæmon*, and *Megalopolis*. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*. Not far from *Tegæa*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Lycnidus, a City of *Illyria*, on the Confines of *Macedonia*, in the *Ignatius* way, that leadeth from *Apollonia* to *Therme*. *Strab.* lib. 7.

Lydius, a River of *Macedonia*. *Lydius* and *Alacmon* meeting in one, divide *Battia* from *Macedonia*. *Herodot.* lib. 7.

Lycus, a Region and City of the upper *Macedonia*, the people are called *Lymbesii* by *Thucyd.* lib. 4. and placed by *Strabo* in the way between *Epidamnus* and *Therme*, which hee calles the *Ignatius* way. *Strab.* lib. 7.

M

Macedonia, a famous Kingdome, bordered with *Thracia*, *Epirus*, *Illyria*, and *Thessaly*.

Madynus, a City in the *Thracian* *Chersonesus*. Between *Seslus* and *Madynus*, is the shortest cut over the *Hell-spont*, of not above seven furlongs. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Maender, a River of *Caria*. The mouth of it is fifty furlongs from *Pyræus*, the beginning of the *Lætanian* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Mædæ, a people of *Thrace*, bordering on *Macedonia*. *Polyb.* lib. 2.

Mædonia, a Territory of *Arcadia*, belonging to the City *Manalus*, which City is about threecore and tenne furlongs from *Megalopolis*. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*.

Magnesia, a City of *Thessaly*, the Territory wherof extendeth from the Mountain *Offa* and the Lake *Babæis*, to the Mountain *Pelion*. *Strab.* lib. 9. Before the Continent of *Magnesia*, lyeth the Island *Scythus*. *Herodot.* lib. 7. Also a City of *Ionis* called *Magnesia* on *Maander*, above the City of *Myus*. *Strabo.* lib. 14.

Mæles, a Promontory of *Lacedæmon*, between which and *Tenarus* is comprehended the *Lætanian* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 8. Also the most Southerne Promontory of *Lesbos*, opposite to *Cana*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Mantineæ, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Argis*, *Tegæa*, *Metabyrium*, and *Orchomenus*. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*.

Marathus, a Towne in *Attica*, over against *Eretria* of *Eubœa*. *Herod.* lib. 6. Between *Rhamnus* and *Bradon*. *Strab.* lib. 9. Equally distant from *Athens* and from *Carystus* in *Eubœa*. *Paus.* in *Attica*.

Marathusa, an Island lying before *Claremonte*. *Thucyd.* lib. 8. *Vide* *Claremonte*.

Maronea, a City of *Thrace*, lying to the *Ægean* Sea. *Xerxes*, after he had passed the River *Lissus*, went on toward *Greece* by these Cities, *Maronea*, *Dicaea*, *Abdera*, &c. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Mecephene, a maritime Towne in the Bay of *Tenore*, serving for the shipping of the City *Olympus*. *Strab.* *Epirom.* lib. 7.

The Fleet of Xerxes being come about *Ampelus*, (This is a Promontory neere *Tenore*), passed by these Cities, *Tenore*, *Ge-*

lepus, *Sermyla*, *Mecephene*, &c. *Herodot.* lib. 7.

Medema, a City of *Amphibolia*, on the West of the River *Archeolus*. The Army of the *Peloponnesians* having passed the River *Archeolus*, out of *Archeolus*, went on into *Argolis* by these Cities in order, *Physa*, *Medema*, and *Limæa*. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Megalopolis, a City of *Arcadia*, built after the *Peloponnesian* Warre, by *Epaminondas*. The Territory thereof consisteth on *Lacedæmonia*, *Messenia*, *Heræa*, *Orchomenus*, *Manitinea*, and *Tegæa*. It standeth on the River *Hellus*, not farre from *Alpheus*. *Pausan.* in *Arcadica*.

Megara, a City confining with *Attica* at *Eleusis*, distant from the Sea 18 furlongs. *Paus.* in *Attica*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Melæus, a River, and a Bay into which it entrench, on the West of the *Thracian* *Chersonesus*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Melena, a Promontory of the Island *Cina*, over against the Ile *Pygia*. *Strabo.* lib. 15.

Melienesi, The *Melienesi* are next to the *Thessaly* Southward. *Strab.* *Melien* Bay. lib. 8. The *Melien* Bay beginneth at the Promontory *Cnemidea*. *Id.* lib. 9.

Melitis, a City of *Thessaly*, neere the River *Enipeus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. between *Pharalus* and *Heraclea*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4.

Melos, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide* *Cyclades*. Distant from the Promontory *Scyllæum* seven hundred furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Mende, a City in the *Chersonesus* of *Pelone*. *Herod.* lib. 7. between *Alpysia* and *Sciæne*. *Strab.* *Epi.* lib. 7.

Mesembria, a maritime City of *Thrace*, neere *Dorisus*, the last in the shore of *Dorisus* towards the West. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Messenia, a Region on the West part of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Lacedæmonia*, divided from *Elis* on the parts to the Sea, by the River *Neda*, and confining with *Lacedæmonia* at *Thurides*. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Paus.* in *Messenica*. Of the *Messenian* Bay, the first Towne is *Asine*, the last *Thurides*. *Idem.* lib. 8. The City of *Messene* was built after the *Peloponnesian* Warre, by *Epaminondas*, under the Hill *Ilione*. *Paus.* in *Messenica*. *Vide* *Ilione*.

Melione, a City of *Macedonia*, forty furlongs from *Pyrgus*. *Strab.* *Epi.* lib. 7. Also a City in *Argis*, between *Epidamnus* and *Træzen*. *Strab.* lib. 8. Situate in a *Chersonesus* belonging to the *Træzenians*. *Paus.* in *Corinthiacis*. *Strabo* calleth it *Metbana*. Also a maritime City of *Messenia*, between the Promontories *Corinthium* and *Aegæa*. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Paus.* in *Corinthiacis*. *Pausanias* calleth it *Metbana*. It is now called *Modena*.

Messipus, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozole*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Metabyrium, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantineæ*, distant from *Megalopolis* 170 furlongs. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*.

Metabyria, a City of *Lesbos*, between the Promontories *Sigium* and *Malæa*, distant from *Malæa* 340 furlongs, and from *Sigium* 110. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Mileum,

Miletus, an Ionian City of *Caria*, the farthest toward the South. *Herodot.* lib. 1. next to *Possidius*, in the *Lætanian* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Mimæa, a Hill in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythraea*, between the Cities *Erythraea* and *Clazomenæ*. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Mindus, a maritime City of *Caria*, between the Promontories of *Asyphæa*, and the City *Iasus*. *Strabo.* lib. 14.

Minæ, an Island, as *Thucyd.* a Promontory as *Strabo* saith, that maketh *Nisæa* a Haven. *Strab.* lib. 9. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Minus, the chief City of *Lesbos*, situate between *Metabyria* and *Malæa*, distant from *Malæa* threecore and ten furlongs, from *Cana* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Misthæus, a people of *Epirus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1. dwelling by the River *Acheron*. *Livy.* lib. 8.

Molychia, a City of the *Locri Ozole*, on the Sea side, next to *Antirrhium*, on the part toward *Euenus*. *Paus.* in *Phocia*.

Munychia, a Promontory of *Attica*, which with *Piræus* made the Harbour of the *Athenian* Shipping, with three faire Havens within it. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Myale, a Promontory over against the Ile *Samos*, *Herodot.* lib. 1. A Mountain neere to *Tricene*, opposite to *Samos*, which with *Phlegæum* a Promontory of *Samos*, maketh the straight of seven furlongs over. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Mycale, a City of *Baotia*, between *Thiber* and *Chalcis* of *Eubœa*. *Paus.* in *Baotica*. *Thucyd.* lib. 7.

Myæna, a City once the head of *Argis*, on the left hand to those that goe from *Cleone* to *Argos*, distant from *Argos* fifty furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 8. *Paus.* in *Corinthiacis*.

Myconus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide* *Cyclades*.

Mydonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, divided from *Bottia* by the River *Axius*, and reaching unto *Pallene*. *Herodot.* lib. 7.

Mytilæa, an vpland City of *Caria*, neere to the Sea at *Physia*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Myronia, a maritime City of *Ionis*, between *Ten* and *Leucas*. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Myrcinus, a City of the *Eliani* in *Thrace*, by the River *Sergmon*. *Herodot.* lib. 5.

Myus, an Ionian City, 30 furlongs above the mouth of the River *Maender*. *Strabo.* lib. 14. Also a City of the *Locri Ozole*, neere *Amphissa*, and thirty furlongs more remote from the Sea. *Paus.* in *Phocia*.

Napallus, a City of the *Locri Ozole*, neere to *Antirrhium*, within the *Crissean* Bay. *Strab.* lib. 9. and next to it is *Oranobea*. *Paus.* in *Phocia*.

Nauplia, a City of *Argis*, in the *Argive* Bay, next after *Tenemum*, towards the Promontory *Scyllæum*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Naxos an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide* *Cyclades*.

Neda, a River of *Peloponnesus*, rising in the Mountain *Igneum*. *Pausanias* in *Arcadica*, and passing through *Messenia*. *Idem* in *Messenica*. It divideth the maritime parts of *Elis* and *Messenia*. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Nemea, a Forrest and Towne, The Forrest between *Cleone* and *Phlius*. *Strab.* lib. 8. The Towne between *Cleone* and *Argos*. *Paus.* in *Corinth*.

Neritum, The *Chersonesus* of *Lacedæmon*, since cut off and made an Island by the *Corinthians*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Nessus, a River of *Thrace*, that goeth out into the Sea, neere to the City *Abdera*. *Herod.* lib. 7. on the West side of *Abdera*. *Strab.* *Epi.* lib. 7.

Nisæa, the Haven Towne to the City of *Megara*. *Page* and *Nisæa* comprehend the *Isthmus*, and are distant from each other 130 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 8. On the East of the Island *Atine*. *Id.* lib. 9.

Nisra, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, 60 furlongs from the Ile *Cos*, and as many from the Ile *Telos*, in compass 80 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Nontaria, a City of *Arcadia*, to the West of *Pheneum*, and enclining to the right hand. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*.

Nosium, a Towne on the Sea-side, belonging to the *Colophonians*, and distant from *Colophon* two miles. *Livy.* lib. 37. Also a place in the Ile *Cnins*, between the Promontory *Adlena* and the Haven *Phæne*. Distant from the City *Chius* by Land threecore furlongs, by Sea 300. *Strab.* lib. 14.

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Singus*. *Strab.* *Epi.* lib. 7.

Oche, a Mountain, the greatest of *Eubœa*, neere to the City *Carysus*. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Odangiti, a people of *Thrace*, neere the Mountain *Pangeum*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Odræ, a people of *Thrace*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Oeanthi, a maritime City of the *Locri Ozole*. *Paus.* in *Phocia*. Over against *Ægira* of *Acchaia*. *Polyb.* lib. 4.

Opusæ, a City of *Acarnania*, by the Sea side, opposite to the Promontory *Araxus*, in *Peloponnesus*, and confining on *Ætolia*. *Polyb.* lib. 4. on the East side of the River *Archeolus*, at the mouth of it. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Orcomen, a City of the *Locri Ozole*, not far from *Nauplia*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Orone, a Towne on the border of *Attica*, towards *Baotia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. *Oene* and *Hysse* the last of the Townes of *Attica*, towards *Baotia*, on that part which is remotest from *Chalcis* and *Eubœa*. *Herodot.* lib. 5.

Orontia, a place in *Baotia*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. but whereabouts, I cannot finde.

Orontus, certaine Islands upon the Coast of *Chios*. *Herod.* lib. 1. *Thucyd.* lib. 8.

Oria, a Mountain neere *Thermopylae*.

that part which is neere *Thermopylae*, for about twenty furlongs, is properly called *Oria*, though the whole tract from *Thermopylae*, as farre as the Bay of *Ambracia*, be commonly also called *Oria*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Ortygia, a City of the *Epidamnians*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. Beyond the River *Strymon*, and by the Sea-side, according to *Ptolæmie*.

Oreæus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide* *Cyclades*.

Olenus, a city of *Acchaia*, between *Patra* and *Dyme*, at the mouth of the River *Peirus*. *Paus.* in *Acchaia*.

Olpe, a Castle by the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*, neere to *Argo* *Amphilocheum*. *Thucyd.* lib. 3.

Olpe, a city of the *Locri Ozole*. *Thucyd.* lib. 3. but whereabouts I know not.

Oluphius, a city in Mount *Athos*. *Herod.* lib. 7.

Olympia, a place in *Elis*, with a Temple dedicate to *Jupiter*, upon the side of the River *Alpheus*, distant from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab.* lib. 8.

Olympus, a Mountain, which is the bound of *Thessaly* on the North, and of *Macedonia* on the South, between it and the Mountain *Offa*, is a narrow Valley runneth the River *Tenarus*. *Herod.* lib. 7. *Paus.* *Flacorum* secundo.

Olmithus, a city of the *Bottians* driven out of *Bottia* by the *Macedonians*. *Herod.* lib. 8. The *Bottians* driven out of *Bottia*, seated themselves on the borders of the *Chalcidians* towards *Thrace*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Olynthus standeth somewhat remote from the Sea, and about threecore furlongs from *Piludea*. *Id.* lib. 2. *Mecephene*, which standeth on the Bay of *Tenore*, secured them for the place of their Shipping. *Strab.* *Epi.* lib. 7.

Onagatior, a Promontory of *Lacedæmonia*, between which and *Malæa*, is the city and Bay of *Nuca*. *Paus.* in *Lacedæmonia*.

Opuntii, a people of *Ætolia*, toward the *Mebean* Gulfe. *Thucyd.* lib. 2.

Opus, the chief City of the *Locri Opuntii*, distant from the Sea fifteen furlongs, opposite to *Aegæa* in *Eubœa*. *Strab.* lib. 9.

Orchomenus, a city of *Baotia*, confining on *Phocis*, through the Territory whereof the River *Cephissus* passeth from *Cheronea* into the Lake *Copæus*. *Strab.* lib. 9. *Paus.* in *Baotica*.

Also a city of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantineæ* and *Pheneum*. *Pausanias* in *Arcadica*.

Orestis, a Region of *Macedonia*, confining on *Epirus*. *Thucyd.* lib. 2. not farre from *Elymea*. *Liv.* lib. 31.

Orestium, A city of *Arcadia*, in the or way between *Sparta* and *Orchestum* the *Isthmus*. *Herodot.* lib. 5. and between *Megalopolis* and *Tegæa*. *Paus.* in *Arcadica*.

Oreus, a city of the *Hellians*, in *Eubœa*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9. not farre

the Continent. The City standeth on the South part of it, at the Sea-side. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Sane, a City in *Palatide*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sarab, *Epit. lib. 7.* Also a City by the side of the Dutch made by *Xerxes*, in Mount *Athos*, without the same, and to the Bay of *Singus*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Sardis, the chief City of the *Lydians*, situated under the Hill *Tmolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Through it runneth the River *Pactolus*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Scamander, a River of *Troas*, rising in Mount *Jda*, *Simois*, and *Scamander* meet in a Fenne, and then goe out into the Sea by one Channell, at *Sigeum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Scandarium, a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, neere the City *Cos*, opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the Continent. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Scandea, a City in the Island *Cythera*. *Paus. in Laconia.*

Scaphi, a City of *Troas*, in the highest part of Mount *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Sciene, a City in *Thallene*. *Herod. lib. 7.* between *Mende* and *Sane*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Schiria, the territory of *Schirus*, a Lacedaemon Towne on the confines of *Perthola* in *Arcadia*, neere to *Cypella*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Schenus, a Haven of the Territory of *Garmis*, at the narrowest part of the Isthmus, between *Cenchreae* and *Crotonum*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Scolus, a City of *Chalcides*, not far from *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Scomius, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, out of which riseth the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Seyalbus, an Island in the *Aegean* Sea, lying before the territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Between *Seyalbus* and the Continent of *Magnesia*, there is a narrow straight. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Syllaun, a Promontory of *Peloponnesus*, the bound of the Bay of *Argo*, towards *Corinth*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Syrus, an Island in the *Aegean* Sea, lying over against the Continent of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* between *Euboea* and *Lesbos*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Syllasus, a Towne in *Laconia*, between *Lacedaemon* and the Hill *Parneithus*, which is the bound of *Dacota* and *Argia*. *Paus. in Laconia.*

Selymbria, a City of *Thrace*, by the side of *Propontis*.

Seples, a Promontory of *Magnesia*. *Herod. lib. 7.* the beginning of the *Poggean* Bay.

Siphonia.

Siphonia, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Serrimus, a Promontory, the utmost Westward of the Shore of *Doricus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sermyla, a City of *Chalcides*, upon the *Thermean* Bay. The Navy of *Xerxes* being come about the Promontory *Ampelus*, passed by these Cities, *Toronté*, *Goleplus*, *Sermyla*, &c. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Sessus, a City of the *Thracian* *Chetones*, thirty furlongs from *Abydos*, but neerer to *Prospatu* than *Abydos*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Sibilla, an Island not far from *Melios*,

on the West of the Island *Ins*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Sigon, a City of *Peloponnesus*, between *Corinth* and *Acroia*, distant a hundred furlongs from *Pilbus*. *Paus. in Corinth.*

Sidiffa, a Towne by the Sea-side in *Erythraea*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Sigeum, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, at the mouth of the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Sigium, the most northerne Promontory of the *Ile Lesbos*, between *Erethius* and *Aniffa*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Simois, a River of *Troas*, which running into a Fenne, loyneth there with the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Singus, and the Bay of *Singus*. A Towne, and Bay taking name from it, between Mount *Athos* and *Toronté*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

Sinty, a people about *Amphipolia*. *Liv. lib. 44.* devided from *Peonia* by the Mountaine *Cerme*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

Sipho, a City of *Basia*, upon the *Crissean* Bay. *Paus. in Boeotia.*

Siphnus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Smyrna, a maritime City of *Asia*, in the Bay called from it the Bay of *Smyrna*, beyond *Chryse* towards *Asolis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Solium, a maritime Towne of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. Scythias*, ad lib. 2.

Sparta, the same with *Lacedaemon*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Pide Lacedaemon.*

Spartolus, a City of the *Botticars*, on the border of the *Chalcidians*. *Thuc. lib. 2.*

Spercheus, a River that riseth in *Dolopia*, at a Mountaine called *Tymphesius*, and falleth into the *Malian* Bay, tenne furlongs within *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Sphaleria, a little Island lying before *Pylus* of *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Pausan. in Messenia.*

Sporades, Islands upon the Coast of *Caria*, and of *Creta*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Strymon, a City in the Bay of *Strymon*, between *Argilus* and *Acambus*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7.

Stratus, a City of the *Amphilochians* in *Acarnania*, upon the River *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* two hundred furlongs from the River's mouth. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Strephides, Islands over against *Messenia*, about 400 furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Stryma, a City on the Coast of *Thrace*, next after *Megabria*, towards *Maedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Strymon, a River deviding *Thrace* from *Maedonia*: It riseth in the Hill *Scamius*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* It passeth by *Amphipolia*, on both sides of it, and falleth into the Sea at the City *Ehem*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7. It is said to rise out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* But it is probable that the Hill *Scamius* is part of *Rhodope*.

Symphala, a City of *Aradida*, confining on the Territory of *Pilbus*. *Paus. in Arcadia.* *Strab. lib. 8.*

Syra, a City in *Euboea*, neere to the City *Carystus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Sunna, a Promontory and Towne in *Asia*, towards *Euboea*, between the *Saronen* Bay and the Sea towards *Euboea*.

Syrus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Pide Cyclades.*

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Tanarus, a Promontory of *Laconia*, between the *Laconian* and the *Messenian* Bays. *Paus. in Laconia.* Also a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the *Messenian* Bay, distant from *Tanarus* the Promontory forty furlongs. *Paus. in Laconia.*

Tanagra, a City of *Boeotia*, confining on *Attica*, thirty furlongs from *Aula*, a Haven on the *Euboean* Sea. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Taurantia, a People of *Libya*, about *Dyrachium* (or *Epidamnus*). *Strab. lib. 7.* *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Taigetis, a Mountaine of *Laconia*, beginning at the Sea, about *Thuride*, and reaching up towards *Aradida*, as farre as *Amyle* and *Lacedaemon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Tegea, a City of *Arcadia*, between *Argos* and *Lacedaemon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* *Herodotus*, lib. 6.

Tegea, lib. 4. The Territory thereof confineth with the *Argives* at *Hyfe*, with *Laconia* at the River *Alpheus*, and with the Territory of *Thyrea* at the Hill *Perneus*. *Paus. in Arcad.* These Cities of *Peloponnesus*, *Argos*, *Tegea*, and *Medina*, though much celebrated in History, are placed with little consideration of any History, in all the Maps that I have hitherto seene.

Teichissa, a Castle of the *Milefians* in the Bay of *Iassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Teles, an Island over against *Tropeum*. *Her. lib. 7.* a narrow Island, in circuit 140 furlongs, adjacent to *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Temenium, a Towne in *Argia*, distant from *Argos* 26 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* from *Nauplia* 50 furlongs. *Paus. in Corinth.*

Tenope, a pleasant Valley between the Mountaines *Offa* and *Olympus*: through it runneth the River *Peneus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 9.* *Liv. lib. 44.*

Tentus, an Island in circuit about 80 furlongs, opposite to the Continent of *Troas*, at *Adrianum*, between *Sigeum* and *Lariss*, and distant from it 40 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Tenos, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Pide Cyclades.*

Tenon, a maritime City of *Ionia*, situated in the very Isthmus of the *Erythraean* *Chersonesus*, distant from *Lepus* 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Termerium, a Promontory of the *Mindians*, opposite to the *Ile Cos*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Teuchissa, an Island not farre from *Halicarnassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Thassus, an Island, upon the Coast of *Thrace*, half a dayes saile from *Amphipolia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Thesbe, the principall City of *Basia*, situated neere the Rivers *Ismenus* and *Alopus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Plataea* 70. furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Thera, an Island on the Coast of *Crete*, distant from a Promontory thereof called *Dion*, twenty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Therassa, a small Island neere to *Thera*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Therma and the *Therma* is a City in the *Thermean* Bay. The bottom of the *Thermean* Bay, and the *Thermean* Bay is presently within *Palene*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Thermopylae, the straight entrance into Greece out of *Thessaly*, of about halfe an Acres breadth, between the Mountaine *Ossa* and the *Asclian* Bay. Called *Thermopylae*, from hot waters that rise there (which the *Grecians* call *Therma*), and from Gates made there by the *Phocians* in old time, (which they call *Pyle*). *Herod. lib. 7.* This straight is distant from *Chalcis* in *Euboea* 530. furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Thespiea, a City of *Basia*, under Mount *Helicon*, on the confines of the City *Alarcus*. *Paus. in Boeotia.* neere to the *Crissean* Bay. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Thesprotia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, bordering on the *Ambraciot* and *Leontaciot*. *Herod. lib. 8.* The *Chamae* and *Thesproti* have the whole coast, from the *Ceraman* Mountaines to the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Thessalia, a Region of Greece, contained within the Mountaines *Olympus*, *Offa*, *Pelion*, (which is to the Sea), *Othrys* and *Pindus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* where hee layeth out the bounds of *Thessaly* exactly.

Thracia, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, toward the *Euboean* Sea, next beyond the Promontory *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pide Helene.*

Thracia, a Kingdom bordering on *Maedonia*, at the River *Strymon*, described at large by *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Thria, and *Thria* or *Thria*, a Towne Thrice camp, 5 of *Attica*, between *Athens* and *Eleusis*, over against *Salamis*. The Fields belonging to it, are called *Thriassus*, and the shore *Thriassium*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Herod. lib. 8.*

Thurium, a City of *Laconia*, upon the *Meles* Bay, between the Promontory *Cnemides*, and *Thermopylae*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Thuride, a City in the *Messenian* Bay, the first towards the East, distant from the Promontory *Tanarus* 70 furlongs. *Paus. in Laconia.*

Thurium, a City of *Laconia*, 80 furlongs about *Phara*. *Paus. in Messenia.*

Thymia, a River of *Epirus*, dividing *Thesprotia* from *Cestria*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Thymus, a Hill on the confines of *Argos* and *Amphibolus*, not farre from *Argos*. *Amphibolus*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Thyrea, a maritime City, in the Bay of *Argos*, in the Territory called *Cynuria*, It confineth on *Argia* and *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* and on the Territory of *Tegea*. *Paus. in Arcadia.*

Thyssa, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib. 4.* *Herod. lib. 7.*

Tuchium, a City of *Attica*, in the part inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thuc. lib. 8.*

Tithorea, a City in the top of *Fernassus*, called also *Tecon*, 80 furlongs from *Delphe*. *Paus. in Phocia.*

Tmolus, a Mountaine between the River *Gargyrus* and the City of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.* *Sardes* standeth at the foot of *Tmolus*, and out of this Hill riseth the River *Pactolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Tolophus, a City of the *Lacri Ozols*. *Thuc. lib. 3.*

Tomou, a Hill neere to *Pylus* in *Messenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Toronté, and *Toronté* is a Chalcidique City, the Bay of between the *Singitique* and *Toronté*. —

the Promontory *Ampelus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* The place of the *Torontéan* Bay is vnderstood out of *Livy*, lib. 44, where he saith, that *Cassandrea* (or *Pandaea*) standeth between the *Maedonian* Sea, and the Bay of *Toronté*.

Treges, Islands about *Mileta*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Tropeum, a Promontory of the *Cnidians*. *Thuc. lib. 8.* *Pide Cnidus.*

Tripodiscus, a Village of *Megara*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Trileia, a City of *Achaia*, remote from the Sea, distant from *Phars* 120 furlongs. *Paus. in Achaia.* Also a City of the *Lacri Ozols*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Troas, a Territory of *Asia* the lesse, upon the side of the *Aegean* Sea, between *Asolis* and *Hellepont*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Trogon, a maritime City of *Argia*, the utmost in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strab. lib. 8.* confining on *Epidauria*. *Pausan. in Corinthia.*

Troia. *Pide Ilium.*

Tragilum, a Promontory, and foot of the Mountaine *Mycale*, over against the *Ile Samos*, which with *Posidium* a Promontory of that *Ile*, maketh the straight there of seven furlongs over. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Z

Zacynthus, an Island over against *Peloponnesus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* Now called *Zante*.

Zarex, a maritime City of *Laconia*, distant on one side from *Epidaurum* *Limera* 100 furlongs, and from *Cyparissia* on the other side, sixteen furlongs. *Paus. in Laconia.*

Zetia, a City under Mount *Ida*, toward *Proponis*, distant from *Argos* 190. furlongs, and from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Zaga, a City on the shore of *Doricus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib. 7.*




THE FIRST BOOK

THE HISTORY OF
THE CYCLOPEDIA:

The principall Contents.

The effate of Greece, deriued from the remotest knowne Antiquity thereof, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre. The Occasion and Pretexes of this Warre, arising from the Controuerfies of the Athenians with the Corinthians, concerning Corcyra and Potidæa. The Lacedæmonians, instigated by the Confederates, undertake the Warre; not so much at their instigation, as of enuie to the greatnesse of the Athenian Dominion. The degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The Warre generally decreed by the Confederates at Sparta. The Demands of the Lacedæmonians. The obstinacy of the Athenians; and their Answer, by the aduice of Pericles.

A  **THUCYDIDES** an *Athenian*, wrote the Warre of the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, * as they warred against each other; beginning to write, as soone as the Warre was on foot, with expectation it should prove a great one, and most worthy the relation, of all that had bene before it: Coniecturing so much, both from this, that they flourished on both sides

of whom, some growing now rich, compassed their A
 Towns about with Walls. For out of desire of gain, the
 moines sat under want of servitude with the mighty, and
 then mightily with their wealth brought the lesser Cities
 into subjection. And so it came to pass, that rising up to-
 ver, they proceeded against the weaker against Troy.
 And so great a strength, that Agamemnon, hee together
 that Fleet, not so much for his hee had with him the
 Suters of Helen, bound themselves each to his own, as
 for this, that hee chose did the rest to please. For they
 that by tradition of their Ancestours, know the most cer- B
 tainty of the Acts of the Peloponnesians. By, That first,
 Pelops by the abundance of wealth which he brought with
 him out of Asia, to men in want, obtained such power a-
 mongst them, as, though hee were a Stranger, yet the
 Country was called after his name. And that this power
 was also increased by his Posterity. For Eurystheus being
 King in Laconia, by the Perseides, Menelaus, that was his
 a Uncle by the Mother, (and was then dealing with him
 as a called person, for fear of his Father, for the death
 of Chryseus) and to whom Eurystheus, when he undertooke C
 the Expedition, had committed Agamemnon, and the govern-
 ment thereof, for that he was his Kinsman, when as Eur-
 ystheus came not backe, (the Menelaus being willing to it,
 for fear of the Perseides) and because he was an able man,
 and made much of the Common people, obtained the
 Kingdom of Mycenae, and of what countie else was under
 Eurystheus, for himselfe: And the power of the Perseides
 became greater, then that of the Perseides. To which
 greatness Agamemnon succeeded, and also farre exceeding
 the rest in Shipping, took that Warre in hand, as if con- D
 cerned, and assembled the best Forces, were so much upon
 him, as by force. For it is cleere, that he himselfe both
 conferred most Ships to that Action, and that hee also
 hooden to the Action. And this is likewise declared by
 Homer, if any thinke his testimony sufficient, who at the
 delivery of the Scepter vnto him, calleth him, of many
 Men, and of all a King. Now hee was not living in the
 Court, but had been Lord of the Island, before that such
 a power had gotten, which cannot be many, while hee had
 also had a Navy. And by this Expedition, we see to E
 what were those of the Ages before it.

Now

A Now seeing Mycenae was but a small City, or if any o-
 ther of that Age seeme but of light regard, let not any man
 for that cause, on so weak an Argument, thinke that
 Fleet so have bene lesse, then the Fleet have said, and
 Fame reported it to be. For if the City of Lacedaemon
 were now desolate, and nothing of it left, but the Tem-
 ples, and floors of the buildings, I thinke it would breed
 much ynbeliefe in posterity, long hand, of their power,
 in comparison of the Fame. For although of fine parts
 of Peloponnesus, it possesse Mycenae, and hath the leading of
 the rest, and also of many Confederates without, yet the
 B Citie being not close built, and the Temples and other E-
 difices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabi-
 ted, after the ancient manner of Greece, this power would
 seeme inferior to the report. Against the same things
 happening to Athens, one would conjecture, by the sight
 of their Citie, that their power were double to what it is.
 Wee ought not therefore to bee incredulous, concerning
 the Forces that went to Troy, nor have in regard to much
 the externall shew of a Citie, as the power: but we are
 C to thinke, that that Expedition was indeed greater, then
 those that went before it, but yet inferior to those of the
 present Age, if in this also we may credit the Poetry of
 Homer, who being a Poet, was like to set it forth to the
 utmost. And yet even thus it commeth short. For hee
 maketh it to consist of 1200. Vessels: those that were
 of Boeotians, carrying 120. men apiece, and those which
 came with Philoctetes, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both
 the greatest sort, and the least, and therefore of the big-
 nesse of any of the rest, hee maketh in his Catalogue, no
 D mention at all: but declareth, that they who were in the
 Vessels of Philoctetes, served both as Mariners and Souldi-
 ers: for he writes, that they who were at the Oare, were
 all of them Archers. And for such as wrought, nor, it
 is not likely that many went along, except Kings, and
 such as were in chiefe authority, especially being to passe
 the Sea with Munition of Warre, and in Bottomes with-
 out Deckes, built after the old and Piraticall fashion. So
 then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the meane
 of their Shipping, it will appeare, that the whole num-
 E ber of men considered, as sent jointly from all Greece, were
 not very many. And the cause heereof was not so much
 want

Mycenae, though no great
 Citie, yet was of great
 power.

* 1. Laconia. 2. Arcadia. 3.
 Argolica. 4. Messenia. 5. Elis.
 Morea.

* Laconia, Messenia.

The City of Sparta lesse,
 and the City of Athens,
 greater, then for the pro-
 portion of their power.

A Survey of the Fleet
 sent to Troy.

* As Achilles, Vlysses, A-
 jax, Diomedes, Patroclus,
 and the like.

* The whole number of men,
 estimating the Ships at a me-
 dium to carry 85. men apiece,
 which is the meane betwene
 120. and 50. came to
 102000. men, carried in
 these 1200. Ships. Yet the
 Author makes it a light mas-
 ter in respect of the present
 warre.

want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of victuall, they A
carried the lesse Army, and no greater then they hoped
might both follow the Warre, and also maintaine it selfe.
When upon their victuall, they had gotten the upper hand
in fight, (which is manifest, for else they could not have
fortified their Campe) it appeares, that from that time for-
ward, they employed not there their whole power, but
that for want of victuall, they betooke themselves, a part
of them to the tilage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in
Bootes, whereby divided, the *Trojans*, the more easily
made that tenne yeeres resistance, as being ever a Match B
for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they
had gone furnished with store of provision, and with all
their Forces, eased of Booting and Tillage, since they
were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the
Citie. But they stroue not with their whole power, but
onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the seue-
rall occasions chanced to bee present: when as, if they had
pressed the Siege, they had wonne the place, both in lesse
time, and with lesse labour. But through want of money,
not onely they were weake matters all that preceded this C
Enterprize, but also this, (which is of greater name then
any before it) appeareth to bee in fact beneath the Fame,
and report, which, by meanes of the Poets, now goeth
of it.

For also after the Trojan Warre, the *Grecians* continued
still their shiftings, and transplantations, inso much as ne-
uer resting, they improved not their power. For the late
returne of the *Greekes* from *Ilium*, caused not a little inno-
uation; and in most of the Cities there arose seditions;
and those which were driven out, built Cities for them- D
selves in other places. For those that are now called *Bao-
tians*, in the sixtieth yeere after the taking of *Troy*, expelled
Arne by the *Thessalians*, seated themselves in that Country,
which now *Baotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there
was in the same, a certaine portion of that Nation before,
of whom also were they, that went to the Warfare of
Troy.) And in the eightieth yeere, the *Doreans*, together
with the *Heracleides*, seized on *Peloponnesus*. And with
much adoë, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest, and
shifting their seates no longer, at length sent Colonies a- E
broad. And the *Asbenians* planted *Ionia*, and most of the
Ilands,

The poverty of the
Greekes was the cause
why the *Trojans* could
so long hold out.

The state of Greece, after
the Trojan Warre.

Baotia, more anciently
Cadmeis.

The *Ionians* were the Co-
lonies of the *Athenians*.

A Ilands; and the *Peloponnesians*, most of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and
also certaine parts of the rest of *Greece*. But these Colo-
nies were all planted after the Trojan Warre.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improoved,
and the desire of money withall, their revenues being
enlarged, in most of the Cities there were erected
Tyrannies: (for before that time, Kingdomes with ho-
nours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built
Navies, and became more seriously addicted to the af-
fares of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are said to have been the
B first that changed the forme of shipping, into the necest
to that which is now in vse; and at *Corinth* are reported to
have beene made the first Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is
well knowne, that *Aminocles* the Ship-wright of *Corinth*,
built 4. Ships at *Samos*. And from the time that *Aminocles*
went to *Samos*, untill the end of this present Warre, are at
the most but 300. yeeres. And the most ancient nauall
Battaile that we know of, was fought betweene the * *Co-
rinthians* and the *Corcyraens*, and from that Battaile to the
same time, are but 260. yeeres. For *Corinth* seated on an
C *Isthmus*, had beene alwaies a place of Traffique; because
the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *Peloponnesus*,
trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other inter-
course one to another, but thorow the *Corinthians* Territory.
And was also wealthy in money, as appeares by the Poets,
who haue surnamed this Towne the Rich. And after the
Grecians had comerce also by Sea, then likewise having fur-
nished themselves with a Nauy, they scowred the Sea of
Pirates; and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land,
mightily increased their City in reueneue of money. After
D this, the *Ionians* in the times of *Cyrus*, first King of the
Persians, and of his Sonne *Cambyses*, got together a great
Nauie, and making warre on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the
dominion of that part of the Sea that lyeth on their owne
Coast. Also *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyses*, Ty-
rannized in *Samos*, had a strong Nauy, wherewith he sub-
dued divers of the Ilands; and amongst the rest, having
wonne *Rhenea*, hee consecrated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*.
The * *Phocæans* likewise, when they were building the
City of *Marseilles*, ouercame the *Carthaginians* in a fight
E at Sea.

These were the greatest Navies extant, and yet euen
C these

The difference betweene
Tyranny, and regall
Authority.

At *Corinth* were made the
first *Triemes*, or Gallies
of three tire of Oares,
one aboue another.

* By this it appeares, that
Thucydides, did liued the
whole Warre.

* By *Periander*, the Tyrant
of *Corinth*, for the slaughter
of his Sonne *Lycophron*,
Herod. in *Thalia*.

The meanes of the
wealth of *Corinth*.

Corinth surnamed the Rich.

The *Ionians* had a Nauy
in *Cyrus* his time.

Polycrates Tyrant of *Samos*,
had a Nauy in the time
of *Cambyses*.

* The *Phocæans* in the time
of *Tarquinus*, came into
the Mouth of *Tyber*, entred
into amity with the Ro-
mans, and thence went
and built *Marseilles* amongst the
Savage Nations, of the *Ligu-
rians*, and *Gauls*. *Iustin*.
l. 4.

these, though many Ages after the time of Troy, consisted A
as it seemes, but of a few Gallies, and were made vp with
Vessels of fiftie Oares, and with long Boates, as well as
those of former times. And it was but a little before the
* Median Warre, and death of Darius, successor of Cambyfes
in the Kingdome of Persia, that the Tyrants of Sicily; and
the Corcyraens had of Gallies any number. For these * last,
were the onely Nauies worth speaking of, in all Greece;
before the invasion of the Medes. And the People of
Aegina, and the Athenians, had but small ones; and the most
of them consisting but of fifty Oares a piece; and that so
lately; as but from the time, that the Athenians making
Warre on Aegina, and withall expecting the coming of
the Barbarian, at the perswasion of Themistocles, built those
Ships, which they vsed in that Warre; and these also,
not all had Deckes.

Such were then the Nauies of the Greekes, both ancient
and moderne. Neuerthelesse, such as applyed themselues
to navall businesse, gained by them no small power, both
in reuenue of money, and in dominion ouer other people.
For with their Nauies (especially those men that had not
sufficient Land; where they inhabited, to maintaine them-
selues) they subdued the Islands. But as for Warre by
Land, such as any State might acquire power by; there
was none at all. And such as were, were onely betweene
Borderer and Borderer. For the Grecians had neuer yet
gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from
home; because the lesser Cities, neither brought in their
Forces to the great ones, as Subiects, nor concurred as E-
quals, in any common Enterprize; but such as were neigh-
bours, warred against each other, hand to hand. For the
Warre of old, betweene the Chalcidians and the Eretrians, D
was it, wherein the rest of Greece was most divided, and in
league with either partie.

As others by other meanes were kept backe from grow-
ing great, so also the Ionians by this, That the Persian Af-
fares prospering, Cyrus and the Persian Kingdome, after the
defeat of Croesus, made warre vpon all that lyeth from the
Riuer Halys to the Sea side, and so subdued all the Citties
which they possessed in the Continent, & Darius afterward,
when he had overcome the Phoenician Fleet, did the like E
vnto them in the Islands.

And

A And as for the Tyrants that were in the Grecian Cities,
who forecasted onely for themselues, how, with as much
safely as was possible, to looke to their owne persons, and
their owne Families, they resided for the most part in the
Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, vnlesse it
were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of
Sicily, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus
was Greece for a long time hindred, that neither ioyntly it
could doe any thing remarkable, nor the Cities singly be
adventrous.

B But after that the * Tyrants both of Athens, and of the rest
of Greece, where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last of
them (excepting those of Sicily, put downe by the Laceda-
monians, (for Lacedamon, after it was built by the Dorians
that inhabited the same, though it hath bin longer troubled
with seditions; then any other Citie we know, yet hath it
had for the longest time, good Laws, and bin also alwaies
free from Tyrants. For it is vnto the end of this Warre,
400. yeeres, and somewhat more, that the Lacedaemonians
haue vsed one and the same gouernment: and thereby be-
ing of power themselues, they also ordered the Affaires
C in the other Cities) [I say] after the dissolution of Ty-
rannies in Greece, it was not long before the Battaille was
fought by the Medes, against the Athenians, in the Fields
of Marathon. And in the tenth yeere againe, after that,
came the * Barbarians, with the * great Fleet into Greece,
to subdue it. And Greece being now in great danger, the
leading of the Grecians that leagued in that Warre, was
given to the Lacedaemonians; as to the most potent State.
And the Athenians, who had purposed so much before, and
D already showed their necessities, at the coming in of
the Medes, went in a ship-boord, and became Sea-men.

Which they had ioyntly beaten backe the Barbarians; then
did the Grecians, both such as were revolted from the
King, and such as had in dominion made Warre vpon
him, not long after, diuide themselues into Leagues,
one part with the Athenians; and the other with the La-
cedaemonians. These two Cities appearing to be the
mightiest; for this had the power by Land, and the other
by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while: for af-
terwards, the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians being at
E variance, warred each on other, together with their seuerall

C 2

Confederates.

* Medes and Persians & c.
here promiscuously the Me-
dan Monarchy, being trans-
lated to the Persians.
* Of the Corinthians, To-
nians, and Phocians.

Egins.

The shipping of Greece
very meake before this
Warre.

The causes why the Gre-
cians neuer ioyned their
foices in any great
action.

The Ionians kept downe
by the Persians.

* Pisistratus and his sonnes.

The Lacedaemonians put
downe the Tyrants
through all Greece.

* Xerxes.

* A Fleet of 1200. Gal-
lies, and 1000. Hulks of
the round manner of
building. Corn. Nepos in
vita Themistoclis.

* The Athenians being ad-
monished by the Oracle, for
their safety against the
Medes, to put themselues
within walls of wood: The-
mistocles interpreting the
Oracle, they went into their
Gallies.

All Greece deuided into
two Leagues, the Laceda-
monians and their League,
and the Athenians and
their League.

* This variance began vpon
this, The Cimon having
been sent for to aide the La-
cedaemonians against the
Hilotes, was sent backe with
his army; one of dis-
trust the Lacedaemonians
had of his forward spirit
which the Athenians chose
for a disgrace.

Confederates. And the rest of Greece, where any discord A
chanced to arise, had recourse presently to one of these. In
so much, that from the Warre of the Medes to this present
Warre, being continually [exercised,] sometimes in peace,
sometimes in Warre, either one against the other, or against
revolted Confederates, they arrived at this Warre, both
well furnished with Military provisions, and also expert,
because their practice was with danger.

The Lacedemonians governed not their Confederates so,
as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by
faire meanes to embrace the * *Oligarchy*, convenient to their B
owne Policy. But the Athenians, having with time, taken
into their hands the Gallies of all those that stood out,
(except the *Chians* and *Lesbians*) * reigned over them, and
ordained euery of them to pay a certaine tribute of money.
By which meanes, their * owne particular provision was
greater in the beginning of this Warre, then when in their
flourishing time, the League betweene them and the rest
of Greece remaining whole, it was at the most.

Such then I finde to haue beene the state of things past,
hard to be beleued, though one produce prooffe for euery C
particular thereof. For Men receiue the report of things,
though of their owne Countrey, if done before their owne time, all
alike, from one as from another, without examination.

For the vulgar sort of Athenians thinke, that Hipparchus
was the Tyrant, and slaine by Harmodius and Aristogeiton;
and know not that Hippias had the gouernment, as being
the eldest sonne of Pisistratus, and that Hipparchus and Thes-
tulus were his brethren; and that Harmodius and Aristogeiton,
suspecting that some of their Complices had that day, and
at that instant, discouered vnto Hippias somewhat of their D
treason, did forbear Hippias, as a man forewarned, and de-
sirous to effect somewhat, though with danger, before
they should be apprehended, lighting on Hipparchus, slew
him, neere the Temple called *Leocorium*; whilst he was
setting forth the * *Panatheniacall* Show. And likewise
diuers other things now extant, and which Time hath not
yet inuolued in oblivion, haue beene conceiued amiss by
other Grecians; as that the Kings of Lacedemon, in gi-
uing their suffrages, had not * single, but double Votes.
And that * *Pisistrate* was a band of Souldiers, so called E
there; whereas there was neuer any such. So impatient of
labour

The manner how the La-
cedemonians dealt with
their Confederates.

* The gouernment of the Few,
that is to say, of the Nobility.
The manner how the A-
thenians handled their
Confederates.

* Hence it is, that through
all this History, Subjects
and Confederates are ta-
ken for the same thing, especi-
ally with the Athenians.
* Of the People of Athens
it selfe, excluding their Con-
federates.

Digression, to shew how
negligently men receiue
the fame of things past,
by the example of their
error touching the Story
of Hippias the sonne of Pi-
sistratus, which it seemes
he willingly mentions,
both heere and heereaf-
ter, on light occasion.

* Panathenica, were So-
lemnities instituted by The-
seus, in memory of that he
had drawn together all the A-
thenians that lined disper-
sed in Attica, into the Caste of
Athens Paul, in Arcad.
* Lucan seemeth to retaine
the same error, in Harmo-
dias.
* A Tribe of the Laceda-
monians.

A labour are the most men, in the search of truth, and embrace soon-
est, the things that are next to hand.

Now he, that by the Arguments heere adduced, shall
frame a Iudgement of the things past, and not beleue ra-
ther, that they were such as the Poets haue sung, or Prose-
writers haue composed, more delightfully to the eare, then
conformably to the truth, as being things not to bee dis-
prooued, and by length of time, turned for the most
part into the nature of Fables without credit; but shall
thinke them heere searched out, by the most euident signes
B that can be, and sufficiently too, considering their antiquity;
hee, I say, shall not erre. And though men alwaies iudge
the present Warre wherein they liue, to be greatest; and
when it is past, admire more those that were before it; yet
if they consider of this Warre, by the Acts done in the
same, it will manifest it selfe to bee greater, then any of
those before mentioned.

What particular persons haue spoken, when they were
about to enter into the Warre, or when they were in it,
were hard for mee to remember exactly, whether they C
were speeches which I haue heard my selfe, or haue recei-
ued at the second hand. But as any man seemed, to mee,
that knew what was neere to the * summe of the truth,
of all that hath beene vttered, to speake most agreeably to
the matter still in hand, so haue I made it spoken heere.
But of the Acts themselues done in the Warre, I thought
not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor
such as I my selfe did but thinke to bee true; but onely
those whereat I was my selfe present, and those of which
with all diligence I had made particular enquire. And
D yet euen of those things, it was hard to know the certainty,
because such as were present at every Action, spake not
all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the
Parts; or as they could remember.

To heare this History rehearsed, for that there bee in-
serted in it no Fables, shall bee perhaps not delightfull:
But hee that desires to looke into the truth of things done,
and which (according to the condition of humanity) may
bee done againe, or at least, their like, hee shall finde e-
nough heerein, to make him thinke it profitable. And it
E is compiled rather for an * EVERLASTING POSSES-
sion, then to be * rehearsed for a Prize.

The diligence of the Au-
thor in the enquire of
the truth of what he
wrote: both touching
the Orations, and the
Actions.

* To the analogie and finesse
of what was to be said: so
that though he used not their
words, yet he used their argu-
ments that best might serue to
the purpose, which at any time
was in hand.

The vse of this History.

* *Altera. &c. &c.*
Both Poets and Historiogra-
phers of old, recited their Hi-
stories to captate glory. This
emulation of glory in their
writings, becauseth dys-
virtuous.

The greatness of the present Warre.
* When Xerxes invaded them.

* 2 Battels by Sea, viz. one at Salamis, and the other at Mycale in Ionia. And 2. by Land, one at Thermopylae, and the other at Plataea.

Earthquakes, Eclipses, Famine, Pestilence, concomitants of this Warre.

Negroponte.
* By the Athenians.

The causes of the Warre.
Feare necessitates the Warre in the Lacedaemonians.

The first pretext.
Dyrrhachium. Durrazzo.
Now the Cause of Venice, called so from this an Illyrian.
Illyrij, now Slavonia, and Dalmatia.
* Inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu.
* Corcyra was a Colony of Corinthians, and Epidamnians of Corcyra.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the A
* Medes, and yet that, by * two Battels by Sea, and as many by Land, was soone decided. But, as for this Warre, it both lasted long, and the harme it did to Greece, was such, as the like, in the like space, had never beene seene before. For neither had there ever bin so many Cities expugned, and made desolate, what by the Barbarians, and what by the Greeks warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that when they were taken, changed their inhabitants;) nor so much banishing and slaughter, some by the Warre, some by sedition, as was in this. And those things which concerning former time, there went a fame of, but in fact rarely confirmed, were now made credible. As Earthquakes, generall to the greatest part of the World, and most violent withall; Eclipses of the Sunne, oftner then is reported of any former time; Great droughts in some places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague. All these Evils entred together with this Warre, which began from the time that the Athenians and Peloponnesians brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest of * Euboea, had beene concluded betweene them for thirty yeeres. The Causes why they brake the same, and their Quarrells, I have therefore set downe first, because no man should bee to seeke, from what ground so great a Warre amongst the Grecians could arise. And the truest Quarrell, though least in speech, I conceive to bee the growth of the Athenian power, which putting the Lacedaemonians into feare, necessitated the Warre. But the Causes of the breach of the League, publicly voyced, were these,

E P I D A M N U S is a Citie situate on the right hand to such as enter into the Ionian Gulfe, bordering vpon it, are the Taulantij Barbarians, a people of Illyria. This was planted by the * Corinthians, but Captaine of the Colony, was one Phalius, the sonne of Harvoclidas a Corinthian, of the linage of Hercules, and according to an ancient Custome, called to this charge out of the * Megopolitan Citie; besides that the Colony it selfe consisted in part, of Corinthians, and others of the Dardique Nation. In proesse of time, the Citie of Epidamnus, became great and populous;

A populous; and having for many yeeres together beene annoyed with sedition, was by a Warre, as is reported, made vpon them by the confining Barbarians, brought low, and deprived of the greatest part of their power. But that which was the last accident before this Warre, was, that the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the Cittie, went and ioyned with the Barbarians, and both by Land and Sea, robbed those that remained within. The Epidamnians that were in the Towne, oppressed in this manner, sent their Ambassadors to * Corcyra, as being their Mother Cittie, praying the Corcyraeans not to see them perish, but to reconcile vnto them, those whom they had driven forth, and to put an end to the Barbarian Warre. And this they intreated in the forme of * Suppliants, sitting downe in the Temple of Iuno. But the Corcyraeans, not admitting their supplication, sent them away againe, without effect. The Epidamnians now despairing of reliefe from the Corcyraeans, and at a stand how to proceed in their present affaires, sending to Delphi, enquired at the Oracle, whether it were not best to deliuer vp their Citie into the hands of the Corinthians, as of their Founders, and make tryall what ayde they should obtaine from thence. And when the Oracle had answered, That they should deliuer it, and take the Corinthians for their Leaders, they went to Corinth, and according to the advice of the Oracle, gaue their Citie to them, and declared how the first Founder of it was a Corinthian, and what answer the Oracle had giuen them, intreating their helpe, and that they would not stand by, beholding their destruction. And the Corinthians undertooke their defence, not onely for the equity of the cause, (as thinking them no lesse their owne, then the Corcyraeans Colonie) but also for hatred of the Corcyraeans, who being their Colony, yet contemned them, and allowed them not their due honour in publike meetings, nor in the distribution of the Sacrifice, began at a Corinthian, as was the custome of other Colonies; but being equall to the richest Grecians of their time, for store of money, and strongly furnished with ammunition of Warre, had them in contempt. Also they stuck not sometimes to boast how much they excelled in shipping; and E that Corcyra had beene once inhabited by the * Phaeac, who flourished in glory of nauall affaires; which was al-

* Corfu.

* Either the Epidamnians, had offered the Corcyraeans, or the maner was to take Sanctuary, not only for crimes, but for obsequies, in extreme cases, tacitly disclosing all other helpe, save that of the Gods, and those to whom they made supplication.
The Epidamnians neglected by their Mother Citie, Corcyra, procure the protection of the Corinthians.

* By Homer this Ile is called Phaeacia.

The Corinthians send inhabitants to Epidamnus.

The Corcyreans angry at the aydes sent by the Corinthians, make Warre on Epidamnus.

* *quidam*. Divers occasions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Banishment. *Proscription*, when the Sentence is death, for which cause they fly into banishment: But those that are here meant, are such as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for feare of being murdered, which I call here, banished men, or might call them perhaps better Outlawes or Fugitives, but neither of them properly. The Florentines, and other places of Italy, that were or are Democraticall, wherein such banishment can onely happen, call it properly *Fuorusciti*.

The Corcyreans bessege Epidamnus.

The Corinthians send an Armie to relieue it.

so the cause, why they the rather prouided themselves of A a Nauie; and they were indeed not without power that way; for when they began this Warre, they had 120. Gallies. The Corinthians therefore hauing all these criminations, against them, relieved Epidamnus willingly, not only giuing leaue to whosoever would, to goe and dwell there, but also sent thither a Garrison of Ambraciotes, Leucadians, and of their owne Citizens; which succours, for feare the Corcyreans should haue hindred their passage by Sea, marched by Land to Apollonia. The Corcyreans vnderstanding that new inhabitants, and a Garrison were gone to Epidamnus, and that the Colonie was deliuered to the Corinthians, were vexed extremely at the same; and sayling presently thither, with 25. Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet, in an insolent manner commanded them, both to recall those whom they had banished, (for these * banished men of Epidamnus, had beene now at Corcyra, and pointing to the Sepulchers of their Ancestors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the Corcyreans to restore them) and to send away the Garrison and Inhabitants sent thither by the Corinthians. But the Epidamnians gaue no care to their commandements. Whereupon, the Corcyreans with forty Gallies, together with the banished men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the Illyrians, whom they had ioyned to their part, warred vpon them; and hauing laid Siege to the City, made Proclamation, that such of the Epidamnians as would, and all strangers, might depart safely, or otherwise, were to bee proceeded against as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an Isthmus, they enclozed the City in on euery side. The Corinthians, when newes was brought from Epidamnus, how it was besieged, presently made ready their Armie, and at the same time caused a Proclamation to bee made, for the sending thither of a Colony, and that such as would goe, should haue equall and like priuiledges, with those that were there before: and that such as desired to bee sharers in the same, and yet were vnwilling to goe along in person, at that present, if they would contribute 50. Corinthian Drachmaes, might stay behind. And they were very many, both that went, and that laid downe their siluer. Moreouer, they sent to the Megareans, for feare of E being stopped in their passage by the Corcyreans, to ayde them

A them with some Gallies, who accordingly furnished out 8. the Citizens of Pale in Cephalonia, 4. They also required Gallies of the Epidaurians, who sent them 5. the Citizens of Hermione, 1. the Træzenians, 2. the Leucadians, 10. the Ambraciotes, 8. Of the Thebans and Phlians they required money; of the Eleans, both money, & empty Gallies; and of the Corinthians themselves, there were ready 30. Gallies, and 3000. * men of Armes. The Corcyreans, aduertised of this preparation, went to Corynth, in company of the Ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians, & of the Sycionians, whom they took with them, B and required the Corinthians to recall the Garrison and Inhabitants, which they had sent to Epidamnus, as being a City, they said, wherewith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to haue the cause iudicially tryed, in such Citties of Peloponnesus, as they should both agree on, and they then should hold the Colonie, to whom the same should be adiudged. They said also, That they were content to referre their cause to the Oracle at Delphi: that Warre they would make none; but if they must needes haue it, they should by the violence of them, be forced in their owne defence, to seeke out * better friends then those whom they already had. To this the Corinthians answered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and dismisse the Barbarians from before Epidamnus, they would then consult of the matter: for before they could not honestly doe it: Because whilest they should bee pleading the case, the Epidamnians should be suffering the misery of a Siege. The Corcyreans replied to this, That if they would call backe those men of theirs already in Epidamnus, that then they also would D doe, as the Corinthians had required them; or otherwise, they were content to let the men on both sides stay where they were, and to suspend the Warre, till the cause should be decided. The Corinthians not assenting to any of these propositions, since their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates present, hauing defyed them first by a Herald, put to Sea with 75. Gallies, and * 2000. men of Armes, and set sayle for Epidamnus, against the Corcyreans. Their Fleet was commanded by Aristæus, the sonne of Pellicæas, Callicrates, the sonne of Callias, and Timenor the sonne of Timanthes: and the Land Forces by Arche- timus, the sonne of Eurytimus, and Isarchidas the sonne of I/archus.

Cephalonia.

* *ἐνπλῆρεις*, Men in armour.

The Corcyreans offer to Rand to Arbitrement.

* Meaning the Athenians.

The Corinthians vnwilling to accept it, and not without cause.

The Corinthian Fleet.

* Either here or before, it is likely the number both beene mis-written: for a little before hee sayes they had made ready 3000.

* A Flane famous afterwards, for the Battell betweene Augustus Caesar, and Marcus Antonius.

The Corcyraean Fleet.

* It is said before, that the Corcyraeans had in all 120 Gallies, which number agreeeth with this 80. that fought, and the 40. that maintained the Siege.

The Corcyraeans haue the victory at Sea, and on the same day take the City.

* Upon Turning, particularly turning the backe. Trophies, Monuments, in remembrance of hauing made the Enemy turne their backes. These were usuall in those times, now out of date.

S. with M.auris, now an Island, then a Peninsula.

The Corcyraeans Masters of the Sea.

The *Thesprotis*, part of Albania.

The Corinthians prepare a greater Nauie.

Marchus. After they were come as farre as * *Aetium*, in the Territory of *Anactorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground consecrated vnto him in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyraeans* sent a Herald to them, at *Aetium*, to forbid their coming on, and in the meane time manned out their Fleet, and hauing repaired, and made fit for seruice their old Gallies, and furnished the rest with things necessary, shipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herald was no sooner returned from the *Corinthians*, with an answer not inclining to peace, but hauing their Gallies already manned and furnished, to the number of 80. Sayle, (for * forty attended alwayes the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging themselves, came to a Battell: In which the *Corcyraeans* were cleereely Victors; and on the part of the *Corinthians*, there perished 15. Gallies. And the same day it happened likewise, that they that besieged *Epidamnus*, had the same rendred vnto them, with Conditions, That the Strangers therein found, should be ransomed, and the *Corinthians* kept in bonds, till such time as they should be otherwise disposed of. The Battell being ended, the *Corcyraeans*, after they had set vp C their * Trophie in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, slew their other prisoners, but kept the *Corinthians* still in bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their vanquished Fleet, were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyraeans*, Masters now of the whole Sea in those parts, went first, and wasted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colonie, and then sayled to *Cyllene*, which is the Arsenall of the *Eleans*, and burnt it, because they had, both with money and shipping, giuen ayde to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Masters of those Seas, and infested, the D Confederates of *Corinth*, for the most part of that yeere; till such time as in the beginning of the Summer following, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet and Souldiers vnto *Aetium*, the which for the more safe keeping of *Leucas*, and of other Citties their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Thesprotis*: and the *Corcyraeans*, both with their Fleet and Land Souldiers, lay ouer against them in *Leucimna*. But neither part stirred against the other, but after they had lyen quietly opposite all the Summer, they retyred in Winter, both the one side and the other to their Cities. E

All this yeere, as well before as after the Battaille, the
Corinthians

A *Corinthians* being vexed at the Warre with the *Corcyraeans*, applied themselves to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the strongest they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponnesus*, and all other parts of *Greece*. The *Corcyraeans*, hauing intelligence of their preparations, beganne to feare, and (because they had neuer beene in League with any *Grecian* City, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athenians*, or *Lacedemonians*) thought it best now, to send to *Athens*, to see if they could procure any ayde from thence. B This being perceiued by the *Corinthians*, they also sent their Ambassadors to *Athens*, lest the addition of the *Athenian* Nauy, to that of the *Corcyraeans*, might hinder them from carrying the Warre as they desired. And the Assembly at *Athens* being met, they came so pleade against each other, and the *Corcyraeans* spake to this effect.

Both *Corcyraeans* and *Corinthians* send their Ambassadors to *Athens*.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORCYRA.

C MEN of *Athens*, It is but Iustice, that such as come to implore the ayde of their neighbours, (as now doe wee) and cannot pretend by any great benefit or League, some precedent merit, should before they goe any further, make it appeare principally, that what they seekē conferreth profit, or if not so, yet is not prejudiciall at least, to those that are to grant it: and next, that they will bee constantly thankfull for the same. And if they cannot doe this; then not to take it ill, though their suite bee rejected. And the *Corcyraeans* being fully perswaded that they can make all this appeare on their owne parts, haue therefore sent vs hither, desiring you to ascribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now so it is, that we have had a Custome, both vnreasonable in respect of our Suite to you, and also for the present vnprofitable to our owne estate. For, hauing euer till now, beene vnwilling to admit others into League with vs, we are now not onely suiters for League to others, but also left destitute by that meanes, of friends in this our Warre with the *Corinthians*. And that which before wee thought wisdomē, namely, not to enter with others into League, because wee would not at the discretion of others enter into danger, wee now finde to haue beene our weaknesse, and imprudence. Wherefore, though alone wee repulsed the *Corinthians*, in the late Battell by Sea, yet since they are set to inuade vs with greater preparation, out of *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of
D 2 Greece.

Greece, and seeing with our owne single power we are not able to goe through; and seeing also the danger, in case they subdue vs, would bee very great to all Greece; it is both necessary that wee seeke the succours, both of you, and of whomsoever else wee can; and we are also to be pardoned, though we make bold to crosse our former custome, of not having to doe with other men, proceeding not from malice, but error of iudgement. Now if you yeeld vnto vs, in what wee request, this coincidence (on our part) of need, will on your part bee honourable, for many reasons. First, in this respect, that you lend your helpe to such as haue suffered, and not to such as haue committed the iniustice. And next, considering that you receiue into League, such as haue at stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefite, as to haue a testimony of it; if euer any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the greatest Nauie but your owne, is ours. Consider then, what rarer hap, and of greater grieve to your enemies, can befall you, then that that power, which you would haue prized above any money, or other requittall, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost, present it selfe to your hands; bringing with it reputation amongst most men; a gratefull minde from those you defend; and strenght to your selues. All which haue not happened at once to many. And few there bee of those, that sue for League, that come not rather to receiue strenght, and reputation; then to conferre it. If any heere thinke, that the Warre wherein wee may doe you seruice, will not at all bee, hee is in an error, and seeth not, how the Lacedæmonians, through feare of you, are already in labour of the Warre; and that the Corinthians, gracious with them, and enemies to you; making way for their Enterprize, assault vs now, in the way to the invasion of you heereafter, that wee may not stand amongst the rest of their common Enemies, but that they may be sure before hand, either to weaken vs, or to strengthen their owne estate. It must therefore be your part, we offering, and you accepting the League, to beginne with them, and to anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they object iniustice, in that you receiue their Colonie, henceforth let them learne, that all Colonies, so long as they receiue no wrong from their Mother Citie, so long they honour her; but when they suffer iniurie from her, they then become alienate: for they are not sent out to be the Slaues of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they haue done vs the iniurie, is manifest; for when wee offered them a iudiciall tryall of the Controversie, touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute their quarrell, rather by Armes then Iudgement. Now let that which they haue done vnto vs, who are their kindred, serue you for some Argument, not to bee seduced by their demands, and made their instru-

ments

ments before you bee aware. For hee liues not secure, that hath fewest benefites bestowed by him vpon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles betwene you and the Lacedæmonians; they are not broken by receiuing vs into your League, because wee are in League with neither partie. For there, it is said, that whosoever is Confederate of neither party, may haue access lawfully to either. And sure it were very vnreasonable, that the Corinthians should haue the libertie to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League; and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the least out of * places in your Dominion, and wee bee denied both the League now propounded, and also, all other helpe from whence soeuer. And if they impute it to you as a fault, that you grant our request; wee shall take it for a greater, that you grant it not. For therein you shall reject vs, that are invaded, and bee none of your Enemies; and them, who are your Enemies, and make the invasion, you shall not onely not oppose, but also suffer to raise vnlawfull Forces in your Dominions. Whereas you ought in truth, either not to suffer them to take up Mercenaries in your States, or else to send vs succours also, in such manner as you shall thinke good your selues; but especially by taking vs into your League, and so aiding vs. Many commodities, as wee said in the beginning, wee shew vnto you, but this for the greatest, that whereas they are your Enemies, (which is manifest enough) and not make ones; but able to hurt those that stand up against them, wee offer you a Nauall, not a Terrestriall League; and the want of one of these, is not as the want of the other. Nay rather, your principall aime, if it could be done, should bee, to let none at all haue shipping but your selues; or at least, if that cannot bee, to make such your friends; as are best furnished therewith. If any man now thinke thus, that what we haue spoken, is indeed profitable, but feares if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken: let that man consider, that his feare ioyned with strenght, will make his Enemies D feare, and his confidence, hauing (if hee reject vs) so much the lesse strenght, will so much the lesse be feared. Let him also remember, that hee is now in consultation, no lesse concerning Athens, then Corcyra; wherein hee forecasteth none of the best, (considering the present estate of affaires) that makes a question, whether against a Warre at hand, and onely not already on foot, hee should ioyne vnto it, or not, that City which with most important advantages, or disadvantages, will be friend oremie. For it lyeth so conveniently for sayling into Italy, and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponnesus from thence, and convoy any comming from Peloponnesus thither: and is also for diuers other vses most commodious. And to comprehend all in briebe, consider whether wee bee to bee abandoned,

* At Cephalonia.

done, or not, by this. For Greece having but three Nautes of any A account, yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the delat to to ioyne in one, by letting the Corinthians first yeaze vs, you shall haue to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyreans and the Peloponnesians; whereas by making League with vs, you shall with your Fleet augmented, haue to deale against the Peloponnesians alone.

Thus spake the Corcyreans, and after them, the Corinthians, thus.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH. B

THE Corcyreans in their Oration having made mention not onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are wronged, and vniustly warred on; it is also necessarie for vs first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to proceed to the rest of what we haue to say, to the end you may fore-know, that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may vpon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they alledge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities, C that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they tooke vp that Custome, not from any vertue, but meere wickednesse; as being vniwilling to call any Confederate for a witnesse of their euill actions, and to bee put to blush by calling them. Besides, their City being by the situation sufficient within it selfe, giueth them this point, that when they doe any man a wrong, they themselues are the Iudges of the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldome forth against other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for not admitting Confederates, not because they would not bee content to accompany others in doing euill, but because they had rather doe it alone; D that where they were too strong, they might oppresse; and when there should bee none to obserue them, the lesse of the profit might be shared from them, and that they might escape the shame when they tooke any thing. But if they had beene honest men, (as they themselues say they are) by how much the lesse they are obnoxious to accusation, so much the more meanes they haue, by giuing, and taking what is due, to make their honesty appeare. But they are not such, neither towards others, nor towards vs. For being our Colony, they haue not onely beene euer in reuolt; but now they also make warre vpon vs, and say they were not E sent out to be injured by vs; but we say againe, that wee did not send them

A them forth to bee scorned by them, but to haue the leading of them, and to bee regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour and loue vs much, which is an argument, seeing therest are pleased with our actions, that these haue no iust cause to bee offended alone; and that without some manifest wrong, wee should not haue had colour to warre against them. But say wee had beene in an error, it had beene well done in them, to haue giuen way to our passion, as it had beene also dishonourable in vs, to haue insulted ouer their modesty. But through pride and wealth, they haue done vs wrong, both in many other things, and also in this, that Epidamnus being ours, which whilest it was vexed with Warres, they neuer claimed, as soone as wee came to relieue it, was forcibly seized by them, and so holden. They say now, that before they tooke it, they offered to put the cause to tryall of Iudgement: But you are not to thinke, that such a one will stand to Iudgement, as hath advantage, and is sure already of what hee offereth to pleade for; but rather hee that before the tryall, will admit equality in the matter it selfe, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily these men, offered not this specious pretence of a Iudiciall tryall, before they had besieged the City, but after, when they saw wee meant not to put it C vp. And now hither they bee come, not content to haue beene faulty in that businesse themselues, but to get in you, into their confederacy? no, but into their conspiracy; and to receiue them in this name, that they are enemies to vs. But they should haue come to you then, when they were most in safety; not now, when we haue the wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that neuer partaked of their power, must impart vnto them of your ayde; and hauing beene free from their faults, must haue an equal share from vs of the blame. They should communicate their power before-hand, that meane to make common the issue of the same; and they that share not in the D crimes, ought also to haue no part in the sequele of them. Thus it appeares that wee come for our parts, with arguments of equity and right; whereas the proceedings of these other, are nosbing else but violence and rapine. And now we shall shew you likewise, that you cannot receiue them in point of Iustice. For although it bee in the Articles, that the Cities written with neyther of the parties, may come in, to whether of them they please; yet it holds not for such as doe so, to the detriment of eyther; but onely for those that hauing reuolted from neither part, want protection, and bring not a Warre with them in stead of peace to those (if they bee wise) that receiue them. For you shall not onely be Auxiliaries vnto these; but E to vs, in stead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you goe with them,

it followes, they must defend themselves, not without you. You should A
doe most uprightly, to stand out of both our wayes; and if not that,
then to take our parts against the Corcyraeans, (for betwene the
Corinthians and you, there are Articles of peace, but with the Cor-
cyraeans you neuer had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a
new Law of receiuing one anothers Rebels. For neither did we giue
our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of
Peloponnesus was diuided in opinion: But plainly alledged, That
it was reason, that euery one should haue liberty to proceed against their
owne revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receiue and ayde
the doers of wrong, it will bee seene, that they will come ouer as fast B
from you to vs; and you shall set vp a Law, not so much against vs,
as against your selues. These are the points of lustice wee had to shew
you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now wee come to
matter of aduice, and claime of fauour; which (being not so much your
enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) wee say,
ought in the present occasion, to bee granted vs by way of requitall: For
when you had want of Long Barques against the Aeginetæ, a little
before the Median War, you had 20. lent vnto you by the Corinthi-
ans, which benefite of ours, and that other against the Samians, when
by vs it was, that the Peloponnesians did not ayd them, was the cause C
both of your victory against the Aeginetæ, and of the punishment of
the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when
men, going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects, but of
victory. For euen a mans Domesticke affaires are ordered the worse,
through eagerneesse of present contention. Which benefites considering,
and the yonger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased
to defend vs now in the like manner. And haue not this thought, that
though in what wee haue spoken there bee equity; yet, if the Warre
should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For vility fol-
loweth those actions most, wherein we doe the least wrong; besides D
that the likelihood of the Warre, wherewith the Corcyraeans frighting
you, goe about to draw you to iniustice, is yet obscure, and not worthy
to moue you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians;
but it were rather fit for you indeed, to take away our former ieaousies
concerning the* Megareans. For the last good turne done in sea-
son, though but small, is able to cancell an accusation of much greater
moment. Neither suffer your selues to be drawne on, by the greatnesse
of the Navy which now shall bee at your seruice by this League; for to
doe no iniurie to our equals, is a firmer power, then that addition of
strength, which (pust vp with present shewes) men are to acquire with E
danger. And since wee bee come to this, which once before wee said at
Lacedæmon,

* This which was done against
the Corinthians, by the A-
thenians that ayded Mega-
reans, is related afterwards
in this first Booke.

A Lacedæmon, that euery one ought to proceed, as hee shall thinke
good, against his owne Confederates, wee claime that liberty now of
you; and that you that haue bene helped by our votes, will not hurt
vs now by yours, but render like for like, remembring, that now is
that occasion, wherein hee that aydeth vs, is our greatest friend; and
hee that opposeth vs, our greatest enemy. And that you will not re-
ceiue these Corcyraeans into League against our wills, nor defend
them in their iniuries. These things if you grant vs, you shall both
doe as is fit, and also aduise the best for the good of your owne af-
fares.

B This was the effect of what was spoken by the Corin-
thians.

Both sides hauing bene heard, and the Athenian people
twice assembled; in the former Assembly, they approued
no litle of the reasons of the Corinthians, then of the Corcy-
raeans; but in the latter, they changed their mindes, not so
as to make a League with the Corcyraeans, both offensiue
and defensiu, that the Friends and Enemies of the one,
should be so of the other, (for then, if the Corcyraeans should
haue required them to goe against Corinth, the Peace had
C bene broken with the Peloponnesians) but made it onely
defensiu, that if any one should iuvade Corcyra or Athens;
or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to
assist one another. For they expected, that euen thus,
they should grow to Warre with the Peloponnesians, and
were therefore vnwilling to let Corcyra, that had so great
a Nauie, to fall into the hands of the Corinthians; but ra-
ther, as much as in them lay, desired to breake them one a-
gainst another; that if need required, they might haue to
doe with the Corinthians, and others that had Shipping,
D when they should be weakned to their hands. And the
Iland seemed also to lye conveniently for passing into Italy,
and Sicily. With this minde the people of Athens receiued
the Corcyraeans into League; and when the Corinthians were
gone, sent tenne Gallies not long after to their ayde. The
Commanders of them were Lacedæmonius the sonne of Ge-
mon, Dioimus, the sonne of Strombichus, and Proteas, the
Sonne of Epicles; and had order not to fight with the Co-
rinthians, vlesse they invaded Corcyra, or offered to land
there; or in some other place of theirs. Which if they
E did, then with all their might to oppose them. This
they forbade; because they would not breake the Peace

A League defensiu made
betwene the Athenians
and Corcyraeans.

They ayde Corcyra with
tenne Gallies.

E con-

The Corinthian Fleet.

* Cestrine the Territory of
Cestrina, part of Chaonia.

The Corcyraean Fleet.

The Corinthians set for-
ward.* Above, The Gallies stood all
in a row, in a row, and the
in wing were those that
were on the right hand from
the middle, and the left
wing, those on the left hand.

concluded with the *Peloponnesians*. So these Gallies ar-
rived at *Coreyra*.

The *Corinthians*, when they were ready, made towards
Coreyra with 150. Saile; (viz.) of the *Eleans*, 10. of the
Megareans, 12. of the *Leucadians*, 10. of the *Ambraciotes*, 17.
of the *Anactorians*, 1. and 90. of their owne. The Com-
manders of these, were men chosen out of the said severall
Cities, for the severall parts of the Fleet which they sent in;
& over those of *Corinth*, was *Xenocleides*, the son of *Euticles*,
with 4. others. After they were all come together, vpon
the Coast of the Continent over against *Coreyra*, they say-
led from *Leucas*, and came to *Cheimerium*, in the Countrey
of *Thesprotis*. In this place is a Haven, and about it, further
from the Sea, the Cittie of *Ephyre*, in that part of *Thespro-
tis*, which is called *Eleatis*; and nere vnto it, disbogueth
into the Sea the Lake *Acherusia*, and into that (having
first passed through *Thesprotis*) the Riuer *Acheron*, from
which it taketh the Name. Also the Riuer *Thyanis* run-
neth heere, which divideth *Thesprotis* from * *Cestrine*, be-
twixt which two Riuers, ariseth this Promontory of *Chei-
merium*. To this part of the Continent came the *Corinthi-
ans*, and encamped. The *Corcyraeans* vnderstanding that they
made against them, having ready 110. Gallies vnder the
conduct of *Miciades*, *Aesimides*, and *Eurybatas*, came and in-
camped in one of the Ilands called *Sybota*. And the tenne
Gallies of *Athens* were also with them. But their Land-
forces stayed in the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and with
them 1000. men of Armes of the * *Zacynthians* that came
to ayde them. The *Corinthians* also had in the Continent
the aydes of many *Barbarians*, which in those quarters haue
beene euermore their friends. The *Corinthians*, after they
were ready, and had taken aboard three dayes prouision of
viactuall, put off by night from *Cheimerium*, with purpose
to fight; and about breake of day, as they were sayling,
descried the Gallies of the *Corcyraeans*, which were also
put off from *Sybota*, and comming on to fight with the *Co-
rinthians*. Asloone as they had sight one of another, they
put themselves into order of Battaille. In the right * wing
of the *Corcyraeans* were placed the Gallies of *Athens*; and
the rest being their owne, were diuided into three Com-
mands, vnder the three Commanders, one vnder one. This
was the order of the *Corcyraeans*. The *Corinthians* had in
their

C

D

E

Megara.

* Above, A Picture or I-
mage b. l. d. p. as the Eagle
amongst the Romances.

The Battell.

A their right wing the Gallies of *Megara*, and of *Ambracia*;
in the middle, other their Confederates in order, and oppo-
site to the *Athenians*, and right wing of the *Corcyraeans*, they
were themselves placed, with such Gallies as were best of
Sayle, in the left. The * Standard being on either side lift
vp, they ioyned Battell; having on both parts, both many
men of Armes, and many Archers and Slingers, but after
the old fashion, as yet somewhat vnskilfully appointed.
The Battell was not so artificially as cruelly fought;
nere vnto the maner of a fight at Land. For after they had
once runne their Gallies vp close aboard one of another,
they could not for the number and throng, be easily gotten
asunder againe, but relyed for the victory, especially vpon
their men of Armes, who fought where they stood, whilst
the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Passa-
ges through each other they made none, but fought it out
with courage and strength, rather then with skill: inso-
much as the Battell was in euery part, not without some
tumult and disorder. In which the *Athenian* Gallies, being
alwaies, where the *Corcyraeans* were oppressed, at hand, kept
the enemies in feare, but yet began no assault, because their
Commanders stood in awe of the prohibition of the *Athe-
nian* people. The right wing of the *Corinthians* was in
the greatest distresse, for the *Corcyraeans* with twenty Gal-
lies, had made them turne their backes, and chased them
dispersed, to the Continent; and sayling to their very
Campe, went aland, burnt their abandoned Tents, and
tooke away their Baggage; so that in this part the *Corin-
thians* and their Confederates were vanquished, and the
Corcyraeans had the victory. But in the left wing, where
the *Corinthians* were themselves, they were farre superiour;
because the *Corcyraeans* had twenty Gallies of their num-
ber, which was at first lesse then that of the *Corin-
thians*, absent in the chase of the Enemye. And the *Athe-
nians*, when they saw the *Corcyraeans* were in distresse, now
ayded them manifestly, whereas before, they had abstai-
ned from making assault vpon any. But when once they
fled out-right, and that the *Corinthians* lay fore vpon them,
then euery one fell to the businesse, without making dif-
ference any longer: and it came at last to this necessity,
E that they vndertooke one another, *Corinthians*, and *Athe-
nians*.

The Corinthians haue the
better.The Athenians and Corin-
thians fight.

E 2

The

The *Corinthians*, when their enemies fled, staid not to A fasten the HULLS of the Gallies they had sunke, vnto their owne Gallies, that so they might tow them after; but made after the men, rowing vp and downe, to kill, rather then to take aliue; and through ignorance (not knowing that their right wing had beene discomfited) slew also some of their owne friends. For the Gallies of eyther side being many, and taking vp a large space of Sea, after they were once in the medly, they could not easily discern who were of the Victors, and who of the vanquished party. For this was the greatest Nauall Battell, for B number of Ships, that euer had beene before, of *Grecians* against *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chased the *Corcyraeans* to the shore, they returned to take vp the broken Gallies, and bodies of their dead, which for the greatest part they recouered, and brought to *Sybota*, where also lay the Land-forces of the *Barbarians*, that were come to ayde them. This *Sybota* is a desert Hauen of *Theffrotia*. When they had done, they re-vnited themselues, and made againe to the *Corcyraeans*; and they likewise, with such Gallies as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Battell, together with those of *Athens*, put foorth to meete C them, fearing lest they should attempt to land vpon their Territory. By this time the day was farre spent, and the *Song which they vsed to sing when they came to charge, was ended, when suddenly the *Corinthians* beganne to row a Sterne: for they had descried twenty *Athenian* Gallies, sent from *Athens* to second the former tenne; for feare lest the *Corcyraeans* (as it also fell out) should bee ouercome, and those tenne Gallies of theirs bee too few to defend D them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had sight of these Gallies, suspecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in number then they were, by little and little they fell off. But the *Corcyraeans* (because the course of these Gallies was vnto them more *out of sight) descryed them not, but wondred why the *Corinthians* rowed a Sterne; till at last some that saw them, said they were Enemies; and then retired also the *Corcyraeans*. For by this time it was darke, and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of their Gallies, and dissolued themselues. And thus were they parted, and the Battell ended in night. E

The *Corcyraeans* lying at *Leucimna*, these twenty *Athenian* Gallies,

Sybota of the Continent, a Hauen.

* *Pzan*, a Hymne, to *Mars* in the beginning of fight: to *Apollo* after the victory.

A supply of 20. Sayle from *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

* (viz.) more behind their backes.

A Gallies, vnder the command of *Glaucan*, the sonne of *Leagrus*, and *Androcides*, the sonne of *Leogorus*; passing through the middest of the floating Carkasses, and wrecke, soone after they were descryed, arriued at the Campe of the *Corcyraeans* in *Leucimna*. The *Corcyraeans* at first, (being night) were afraid they had beene Enemies, but knew them afterwards; so they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and as many of *Corcyra* as were fit for seruice, went to the Hauen in *Sybota*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to see B if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had put off from the Land, and arranged themselues in the wide Sea, stood quiet, not meaning of their owne accord to beginne the Battell; both for that they saw the supply of fresh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that happened to them, both about the safe custody of their Prisoners aboard, and also for that beeing in a desert place, their Gallies were not yet repaired; but tooke thought rather how to goe home, for feare lest the *Athenians*, hauing the Peace for already broken, in that they had fought C against each other, should not suffer them to depart. They therefore thought good to send afore vnto the *Athenians*, certaine men, without priuiledge of *Heraulds*; for to sound them, and to say in this manner:

Men of *Athens*, You doe vnjustly to beginne the Warre, and violate the Articles: For whereas wee goe about to right vs on our Enemies, you stand in our way; and beare Armes against vs. If therefore you bee resolu'd to hinder our going against *Corcyra*, or whatsoever place else wee please, dissolue the Peace, and laying hands first vpon vs that are heere, vse vs as Enemies.

D Thus said they: and the *Corcyraeans*, as many of the Armie as heard them, cryed out immediately, to take and kill them. But the *Athenians* made answer thus:

Men of *Peloponnesus*, Neither doe wee beginne the Warre, nor breake the Peace; but wee bring ayde to these our Confederates, the *Corcyraeans*: if you please therefore to goe any whither else, wee hinder you not; but if against *Corcyra*, or any place belonging vnto it, we will not suffer you.

When the *Athenians* had giuen them this answer, the *Corinthians* made ready to goe home, and set vp a Trophie E in *Sybota* of the Continent. And the *Corcyraeans* also, both tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of the dead, which carried

E 3 euery

The *Corcyraeans* offer Battell againe.

The *Corinthians* expostulate with the *Athenians*, to sound their purpose.

The answer of the *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* goe home. Both the *Corcyraeans* and *Corinthian* challenge the victory, and both set vp Trophies.

every way by the Waues, and the Wind that arose the night before, came driuing to their hands; and, as if they had had the victory, set vp a Trophie likewise in *Sybota* the Ilands. The victory was thus challenged on both sides, vpon these grounds: The *Corinthians* did set vp a Trophie, because in the Battell they had the better all day, hauing gotten more of the wrecke and dead bodies, then the other, and taken no lesse then 1000. Prisoners, and sunke about 70. of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Corcyraens* set vp a Trophie, because they had sunke 30. Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arriuall of the *Athenians*, recovered the wrecke and dead bodies, that droue to them, by reason of the Wind; and because the day before, vpon sight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Sterne, and went away from them: and lastly, for that when they went to *Sybota*, the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each side claimed victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, rooke in *Anactorium*, a Towne seated in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, by deceit; (this Towne was common to them, and to the *Corcyraens*) and hauing put into it *Corinthians* onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Corcyraens* 800. that were seruants, they sold; and kept prisoners 250. whom they vsed with very much fauour, that they might bee a meanes, at their returne, to bring *Corcyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*; the greatest part of these, being principall men of the Citie. And thus was *Corcyra* deliuered of the Warre of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the first Cause, that the *Corinthians* had of Warre against the *Athenians*; namely, because they had taken part with the *Corcyraens* in a Battell by Sea, against the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the same Articles of Peace.

PRESENTLY after this, it came to passe, that other differences arose betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*, to induce the Warre. For whilest the *Corinthians* studied to bee reuenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in ielousie, commanded the Citizens of *Potidea*, a Citie seated in the Isthmus of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederate and tributary to the *Athenians*, to pull downe that part of the Wall of their Citie, that

flood

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keepe 250. of the best men prisoners, being *Corcyraens*, and vse them well.

The second pretext of the Warre.

Potidea suspected.

Potidea commanded to giue Hostages, and to pull downe part of their Wall.

A flood towards *Pallene*, and to giue them Hostages, and also to send away; and no more receiue the *Epidaurians*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of *Perdiccas*, and of the *Corinthians*, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potideaens*, the *Athenians* had precontrived, presently after the Nauall Battell fought at *Corcyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had bene their Confederate and friend, now warred vpon them. And the cause why hee did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Deidas* ioyned in Armes against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, hee both sent to *Lacedemon*, to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and also reconciled himselfe to the *Corinthians*; the better to procure the reuolt of *Potidea*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Botticeans*, to reuolt with them. For if hee could make these confining Cities his Confederates, with the helpe of them, hee thought his Warre would bee the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet; for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of *Archestratus*, the Sonne of *Lycomedes*, and tenne others into the Territories of *Perdiccas* both to receiue Hostages of the *Potideaens*, and to demolish their Wall; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not. The *Potideaens* hauing sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteration amongst them; by other Ambassadors, whom they sent along with the Ambassadors of *Corinth* to *Lacedemon*, dealt with the *Lacedemonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to reuenge their quarrell. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, no lesse then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedemon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidea*, to invade *Attica*, then at last they reuolted; and together with them, the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, all mutually sworne in the same Conspiracy.

King of Macedonia.

shall be sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from Corinth; fearing lest through the perswasion of Perdiccas, and of the Corinthians, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in Thrace.

made himselfe friends with the Chalcideans of Thrace, and with the Botticeans, to reuolt with them.

The Athenians perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet; for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of Archestratus, the Sonne of Lycomedes, and tenne others into the Territories of Perdiccas both to receiue Hostages of the Potideaens, and to demolish their Wall; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not.

The Potideaens sought the protection of the Lacedemonians.

The reuolt of Potidea, Botticeans, and Chalcideans, from the Athenians.

Piracy. For *Perdiccas* had also perswaded the *Chalcidians*, A
to abandon and pull downe their maritime Townes, and
to goe up and dwell at *Olynthus*; and that this City to make
strong. And vnto those that remoued, gaue part of his
owne, and part of the Territorie of *Macedonia*, about the
lake *Bolbe*, to liue on, so long as the Warre against the
Athenians should continue. So when they had demolished
their Cities, and were gone vp higher into the Countrey,
they prepared themselves to the Warre.

The *Athenian* Gallies, when they arriued in *Thrace*,
found *Potidea* and the other Cities, already reuolted. And
the Commanders of the Fleet conceiuing it to be impossi- B
ble, with their present forces, to make Warre both against
Perdiccas and the Townes reuolted, set saile againe for *Ma-*
cedonia, against which they had bene at first sent out, and
there staying, ioyned with *Philip*, and the brothers of *Der-*
das, that had invaded the Countrey from aboue.

In the meane time, after *Potidea* was reuolted, and
whilest the *Athenian* Fleet lay on the Coast of *Macedonia*,
the *Corinthians*, fearing what might become of the Citie,
and making the danger their owne, sent vnto it, both of C
their owne Citie, and of other *Peloponnesians*, which they
hired, to the number of 1600. men of Armes, and 400.
* light armed. The charge of these was giuen to *Aristeu*,
the sonne of *Adimantus*, for whose sake most of the Volun-
taries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: (for hee had bene euer
a great Fauourer of the *Potidians*.) And they arriued in
Thrace, after the reuolt of *Potidea*, forty dayes.

The newes of the reuolt of these Cities, was likewise
quickly brought to the *Athenian* people; who hearing
withall of the Forces sent vnto them, vnder *Aristeu*, sent D
forth against the places reuolted, 2000. men of Armes,
and 40. Gallies; vnder the Conduct of *Callias*, the Sonne of
Gallides. These comming first into *Macedonia*, found there
the former thousand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*,
and were now besieging the City of *Pydna*;) and slaying,
helped for a while to besiege it with the rest. But short-
ly after, they tooke composition; and hauing made a * ne-
cessary League with *Perdiccas*, (vraged thereto by the af-
faires of *Potidea* and the arriual there of *Aristeu*) departed
from *Macedonia*. Thence comming to *Berrhoea*, they at- E
tempted to take it: but when they could not doe it, they
turned

The *Athenian* Fleet, find-
ing *Potidea* and other
Cities already lost, goe
into *Macedonia*.

The *Corinthians* send their
Forces to *Potidea* to de-
fend it.

* Archers, darters, and the
lightest of the Army, who
were sent out to the
siege of *Pydna*, and were
not of the main body.

The *Athenians* send forces
against *Potidea*.

Therme, after called
Thessalonica, now *Sa-*
lonica.

* or scarce honourable.

Pydna.

A turned backe, and marched towards *Potidea* by Land.
They were of their owne number 3000. men of Armes,
besides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians*
that had serued with *Philip* and *Pausanias* 600. Horse-men.
And their Gallies, 70: in number, sayling by them along
the Coast, by moderate Iournies, came in three dayes to
Gigonus, and there encamped.

The *Potidians* and the *Peloponnesians* vnder *Aristeu*, in
expectation of the comming of the *Athenians*, lay now en-
camped in the *Isthmus*, nere vnto *Olynthus*, and had the
B Market kept for them without the Citie: and the leading
of the Foot, the Confederates had assigned to *Aristeu*, and
of the Horse, to *Perdiccas*: (for hee fell off againe pre-
sently from the *Athenians*, and hauing left *Iolau* Gouver-
nour in his place, tooke part with the *Potidians*.) The
purpose of *Aristeu* was, to haue the body of the Arme
with himselfe within the * *Isthmus*, and therewith to at-
tend the comming on of the *Athenians*, and to haue the *Chal-*
cidians and their Confederates without the *Isthmus*, and also
the 200. Horse vnder *Perdiccas*, to stay in *Olynthus*, and

C when the *Athenians* were past by, to come on their backs,
and to encloze the Enemy betwixt them. But *Callias* the
Athenian Generall, and the rest that were in Commission
with him, sent out before them their *Macedonian* Horse-
men, and some few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to stop
those within from making any sally from the Towne, and
then dislodging, marched on towards *Potidea*. When they
were come on as far to as the *Isthmus*, and saw the Enemy
make ready to fight, they also did the like, and not long af-
ter, they ioyned Battell. That wing wherein was *Aristeu*
D himselfe, with the chosen men of the *Corinthians* and o-
thers, put to flight that part of their Enemies that stood
opposite vnto them, and followed execution a great way.
But the rest of the Army of the *Potidians* and *Peloponnesi-*
ans were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the Citie.
And *Aristeu*, when hee came backe from the Execution,
was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*; or to *Potidea*.
In the end, hee resolued of the shortest way, and with his
Souldiers about him, ranne as hard as hee was able into
Potidea; and with much adoe got in at the Peere, through
E the Sea, cruelly shot at, and with the losse of a few, but
safety of the greatest part of his company. As soone as
F the

The *Athenians* and those
with *Aristeu*, prepare
themselves for Battell.

* The *Isthmus* of *Pallene*,
where they were.

The Victory fell to
the *Athenians*.

the Battell beganne; they that should haue seconded the *A Potideans* from *Olynthus*, (for it is at most but 60. Furlongs off, and in fight) advanced a little way to haue ayded them; and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselves likewise in order of Battell, to keepe them backe. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly gotten the Victory, and the Standards being taken downe, they retyrred againe, they of *Olynthus*, into *the Citie*; and the *Macedonian* Horsemen, into the Armie of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Caualery at the Battell. After the Battell, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and gaue truce to the *Potideans*, B for the taking vp of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potideans* and their friends, there dyed somewhat lesse then 300. and of the *Athenians* themselves 150. with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

Presently vpon this, the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the City, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part to *Pallene*-ward, they left vnwalld. For they thought themselves too small a number, both to keepe a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withall to goe ouer and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potideans* C and their Confederates should assault them when they were deuided. When the people of *Athens* vnderstood that *Potidea* was vnwalld on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600. men of Armes, vnder the Conduct of *Phormio*, the Sonne of *Asopius*: who arriuing in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphytis*, and marching easily to *Potidea*, wasted the Territory as hee passed through. And when none came out to bid him Battell, hee raised a Wall before the Citie, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidea* on both sides D strongly besieged; and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies, that came vp and rode before it.

Aristeus, seeing the Citie enclosed on every side, and without hope of safety, saue what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other vnexpected way, gaue aduice to all but 100. taking the opportunity of a Wind, to goe out by Sea; that the prouision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remaine within, offered himselfe to bee one. But when his counsell tooke not place, beeing desirous to settle their businesse, and make E the best of their affaires abroad, hee got out by Sea, vn-

scene

See the map of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the situation of the City of Potidea.

The Athenians beganne to besiege Potidea.

The Athenians send Phormio with 6000. men of Armes, to Potidea.

Potidea straightly besieged on all sides.

The aduice of Aristeus, to carry all the people but 500. men out of the City, that their victuall might the better hold out, refused.

Aristeus getteth out of the City, vnscene of the Athenians.

A scene of the *Athenian* Guard, and staying amongst the *Chalcideans*, amongst other actions of the Warre, laid an Ambush before *Sermyla*, and slew many of that Citie, and solicited the sending of ayd from *Peloponnesus*. And *Phormio*, after the Siege laid to *Potidea*, hauing with him his 1600. men of Armes, wasted the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, and some small Townes he tooke in.

These were the Quarrels betweene the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians*, for besieging *Potidea*, and in it, the men of *Corinth* and B *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the *Peloponnesians*, for causing their confederate and tributary City to reuolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought against them in the behalfe of *Potidea*. Neuerthelesse the Warre brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abstained from Armes; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

B V T when *Potidea* was once besieged, both for their mens sakes that were within, and also for feare C to lose the place, they could no longer hold. But out of hand, they procured of their Confederates to goe to *Lacedemon*; and thither also they went themselves, with clamours and accusations, against the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponnesians*. The *Aeginetae*, though not openly by Ambassadors, for feare of the *Athenians*, yet priuily intligated them to the Warre as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to gouerne themselves according to their owne Laws, as by the Articles they ought to haue beene. So the D *Lacedemonians* hauing called together the Confederates, and whosoever else had any iniustice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians*, in the ordinary * Councell of their owne State commanded them to speake. Then presented euery one his accusation; and amongst the rest, the *Megareans*, besides many other their great differences, laid open this especially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markets and Hauens. Last of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had suffered the *Lacedemonians* to be incensed first by the rest, came in, and said as followeth.

E

F 2

THE

And staying in Chalcidica, slew certaine of the City of Sermyla, by ambusment.

Phormio wasteth the Territories of the Chalcideans and Botticeans.

The solicitation of the Warre by the Corinthians, and other Confederates of the Lacedemonians.

Complaints exhibited against the Athenians in the Councell of Sparta.

* Of the Ephori, & those that had the Souerainety, that is to say, before the Aristocratie.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

MEN of Lacedæmon, your own fidelity, both in matter of estate & conuersation, maketh you the lesse apt to beleue vs, when we accuse others of the contrary. And heereby you gaine indeed a reputation of equity, but you haue lesse experience in the Affaires of Forraine States. For although we haue oftentimes foretold you, that the Athenians would doe vs a mischief; yet from time to time when we told it you, you neuer would take informatiō of it; but haue suspected rather, that what we spake, hath proceeded from our owne priuate differences. And you haue therefore called hither these Confederates, not before wee had suffered, but now, when the euill is already vpon vs. Before whom, our speech must bee so much the longer, by how much our obiections are the greater, in that wee haue both by the Athenians beene iniured, and by you neglected. If the Athenians lurking in some obscure place, had done these wrongs vnto the Grecians, wee should then haue needed to proue the same before you, as to men that knew it not. But now what cause haue wee to vse long discourse, when you see already that some are brought into seruitude, and that they are contriuing the like against others, and especially against our Confederates, and are themselves, in case Warre should be made against them, long since prepared for it? For else they would neuer haue taken Corcyra, and holden it from vs by force, nor haue besieged Potidæa, whereof the one was most commodious for any action against Thrace; and the other had brought vnto the Peloponnesians a most faire Nauie. And of all this, you are your selues the authors, in that you suffered them, vpon the end of the Persian Warre, to fortifie their Citie, and againe afterwards to raise their Long Wall, whereby you haue hitherto depriv'd of their liberty, not onely the States by them already subdued, but also your owne Confederates. For not he that bringeth into slavery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the same, is most truly said to doe it; especially if they assume the honour to be the esteemed Deliuerers of Greece, as you doe. And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certaine resolution what to doe. For the question should not haue beene put, Whether, or not, wee haue receiued iniurie, but rather, in what manner we are to repaire it. For they that doe the wrong, hauing consulted vpon it before-hand, vse no delay at all, but come vpon them whom they meane to oppresse, whilst they be yet irresolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians haue incroached

vpon

A vpon their neighbours, but also by what wayes they haue done it. And as long as they thinke they carry it closely, through your blindness, they are the lesse bold. But when they shall perceiue that you see, and will not see, they will then presse vs strongly indeed. For (Lacedæmonians) you are the onely men of all Greece, that sitting still, defend others, not with your Forces, but with promises; and you are also the onely men, that loue to pull downe the power of the Enemie, not when it beginneth, but when it is doubled. You haue indeede a report to bee sure; but yet it is more in fame than in fact. For we our selues know, that the Persian came against Peloponnesus, from the utmost parts of the Earth, before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you comine at the Athenians, who are not as the Medes, farre off, but hard at hand; choosing rather to defend your selues from their inuasion, then to inuade them; and by hauing to doe with them when their strength is greater, to put your selues vpon the chance of Fortune. And yet wee know, that the Barbarians own error, and (in our Warre against the Athenians) their owne oversight, more then your assistance, was the thing that gaue vs victory. For the hope of your ayde, hath beene the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselves by other meanes. Yet let not any man thinke that we speak this out of malice, but only by way of expostulation: for expostulation is with friends that erre, but accusation, against enemies that haue done an iniurie. Besides, if there bee any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we thinke our selues may best doe it, especially on so great quarrels as these, wherof you neither seeme to haue any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in euery kinde the Athenians bee, that you are to contend withall: For they loue innovation, and are swift to devise, and also to execute what they resolue on. But you on the contrary are onely apt to saue your owne; not devise any thing new, nor scarce to attaine what is necessary. They againe are bold beyond their strength, adventurous about their owne reason, and in danger hope still the best: Whereas your actions are euer beneath your power, and you distrust euen what your iudgement assures; and being in a danger, neuer thinke to bee deliuered. They are stirrers, you studiers: they loue to bee abroad, and you at home the most of any. For they make account by being abroad to adde to their estate; you, if you should goe forth against the State of another, would thinke to impayre your owne. They, when they overcome their enemies, aduance the farthest, and when they are overcome by their enemies, fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they vse them in the service of the Common-wealth, as if they were none of their owne;

F 3

but

but their minds, when they would serue the State, are right their owne. **A** Vnlesse they take in hand what they haue once aduised on, they account so much lost of their owne. And when they take it in hand, if they obtaine any thing, they thinke lightly of it, in respect of what they looke to winne by their prosecution. If they faile in any attempt, they doe what is necessary for the present, and enter presently into other hopes. For they alone, both haue and hope for at once, whatsoeuer they conceiue, through their celerity in execution of what they once resolue on. And in this manner they labour and toyle, all the dayes of their liues. What they haue, they haue no leasure to enioy, for continuall getting of more. Nor Holiday esteeme they any, but whereon they effect some **B** matter profitable; nor thinke they ease with nothing to doe, a lesse torment, than laborious businesse. So that, in a word, to say they are men, borne neither to rest themselves, nor suffer others, is to say the truth. Now notwithstanding, (men of Lacedæmon) that this Citie, your Adversary, bee such, as wee haue said; yet you still delay time; not knowing, that those onely are they, to whom it may suffice for the most part of their time to sit still, who (though they vse not their power to doe iniustice) yet bewray a minde vnlikely to swallow injuries; but placing equity belike in this, that you neither doe any harme to others, nor receiue it, in defending of your selues. **C** But this is a thing, you hardly could attaine, though the States about you were of the same condition. But (as we haue before declared) your Customes are in respect of theirs antiquated, and of necessity (as it happeneth in Artes) the new ones will preuaile. True it is, that for a City liuing for the most part in peace, vnchanged customes are the best; but for such as bee constrained to vndergoe many matters, many deuices will be needfull. Which is also the reason, why the Athenian Customes, through much experience, are more new to you, then yours are to them. Here therefore giue a Period to your slacknesse, and by a speedy invasion of Attica, as you promised, relieue both Potidæa, and the rest: **D** lest otherwise you betray your friends and kindred to their cruellest enemies; and lest wee and others, be driuen through despaire, to seeke out some other League. Which to doe, were no iniustice, neither against the Gods, Iudges of mens Oathes, nor against Men, the hearers of them. For not they breake the League, who being abandoned, haue recourse to others; but they that yeeld not their assistance, to whom they haue sworne it. But if you meane to follow the businesse seriously, wee will stay; for else, wee should doe irreligiously, neither should wee finde any other, more conformable to our manners, then your selues. Therefore deliberate well of these points, and take **E** such a course, that Peloponnesus may not by your leading, fall

A fall into worse estate, then it was left vnto you by your Progenitors.

Thus spake the Corinthians.

The Athenian Ambassadors (who chanced to bee residing in Lacedæmon, vpon their businesse) when they heard of this Oration, thought it fit to present themselves before the Lacedæmonians, not to make Apologie for what they were charged with by the other Citties, but to shew in generall, that it was not fit for them in this case to take any sudden resolution, but further time to consider. Also **B** they desired to lay open the power of their City; to the elder fort, for a remembrance of what they knew already; and to the younger, for an information of what they knew not: supposing, that when they should haue spoken, they would encline to quietnesse, rather then to Warre. And therefore they presented themselves before the Lacedæmonians, saying, That they also, if they might haue leaue, desired to speake in the Assembly; who willed them to come in: And the Athenians went into the Assembly, and spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of A T H E N S.

Though our Ambassage was not to this end, that wee should argue against our Confederates; but about such other Affairs as the Citie was pleased to employ vs in; yet hauing heard of the great exclamations against vs; wee came into the Court; not to make answer to the criminations of the Citties (for to pleade before you here, were not to pleade before the Iudges, either of them **D** or vs.) but to the end you may not be drawne away, to take the worst resolution, at the perswasion of the Confederates; in matters of so great importance. And withall, touching the summe of the Oration made against vs, to informe you, that what wee possesse, wee haue it iustly, and that our Citie deserueth reputation. But what neede wee now to speake of matters long past, confirmed more by hearesay, then by the eyes of those that are to heare vs relate them? But our actions against the Persian, and such as you yourselves know as well as wee, those, though it bee tedious to heare them **E** objected, wee must of necessity recite. For when wee did them, we hazarded our selues for some benefit, of which you as had your parts in the substance, so must wee haue ours (if that be any benefit) in the

The Athenian Ambassadors, residing in Lacedæmon, vpon their businesse, desire to make answer to the Oration of the Corinthians.

commemoration. And wee shall make recitall of them, not by way of de-
 precation, but of protestation, and declaration of what a City (in case
 you take ill advice) you haue to enter the list withall. Wee therefore
 say, that wee not onely first and alone, hazarded Battell against the
 Barbarian in the Fields of Marathon, but also afterwards, when
 hee came againe, beeing unable to resist him by Land, imbarqued
 our selues, euery man that was able to beare Armes, and gaue him
 Battell amongst the rest, by Sea, at Salamis; which was the cause
 that kept him backe from sailing to Peloponnesus, and laying it waste
 Cittie after Cittie: for against so many Gallies, you were not able to
 giue each other mutuall succour. And the greatest prooffe of this is
 the Persian himselfe, who when his Fleet was overcome, and that hee
 had no more such Forces, went away in haste, with the greatest part of
 his Armie. Which being so, and euident, that the whole State of the
 Grecians, was imbarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the same,
 the three things of most aduantage; namely, the greatest number of
 Gallies, the most prudent Commander, and the most liuely courage.
 (For of 400. Gallies in the whole, our owne were few lesse then two
 thirds), and for Commander, Themistocles, who was the principall
 cause that the Battell was fought in the * streight, whereby he cleerely
 saued the whole businesse, and whom, though a Stranger, you your
 selues haue honoured for it, more then any man that came vnto you;
 and a forwardnesse wee shewed, more adventurous then any other, in
 this, that when none of them had ayded vs by Land before, and the rest
 of the Cities, as farre as to our owne, were brought into seruitude, wee
 were neuertheless content, both to quit our Citie, and lose our goods,
 and euen in that estate, not to betray the Common Cause of the Confe-
 derates, or diuided from them, to bee vnusefull; but to put our selues
 into our Nauie, and vndergoe the danger with them, and that
 without passion against you, for not hauing formerly defended vs in the
 like manner. So that we may say, that wee haue no lesse conferred a
 benefite vpon you, then wee receiued it from you. You came indeed to
 ayde vs, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might
 still keepe them so; and when you were afraid, not of our danger,
 but your owne: whereas wee, coming from a City no more in
 * being, and putting our selues into danger, for a City, hopelesse euer
 to bee againe; saued both you (in part) and our selues. But if wee
 had ioyned with the Persian, fearing (as others did) to haue our Ter-
 ritories wasted; or afterwards, as men lost, durst not haue put our
 selues into our Gallies, you must not haue fought with him by Sea, be-
 cause your Fleet had bene too small, but his affaires had succeeded
 as hee would himselfe. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deserue

not

* Of Salamis.

* The Athenians, at the
 coming in of the Persian,
 when they put themselves into
 their Gallies, left their Citie
 to the Army of the Persians
 by Land, and sent their wives
 and children into Egina,
 mis, and Trazena.

A not so great enuie of the Grecians, for our courage at that time, and
 for our prudence, and for the dominion wee hold, as wee now vnder-
 goe. Which dominion wee obtained not by violence, but because the
 Confederates, when your selues would not stay out the reliques of the
 Warre against the Barbarian, came in; and intreated vs to take the
 command, of their owne accord. So that at first wee were forced to
 aduance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it
 selfe; as chiefly for feare, next for honour; and lastly for profit. For
 when wee had the enuie of many, and had reconquered some that had
 already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends, as you had
 bene, but suspected, and quarrelled vs, wee held it no longer a safe
 course, laying by our power, to put our selues into your danger. For the
 reuolts from vs, would all haue bene made to you. Now it is no
 fault for men in danger, to order their affaires to the best. For you al-
 so (men of Lacedæmon) haue command ouer the Cities of Pello-
 ponnesus, and order them to your best aduantage: and had you;
 * when the time was, by staying it out, bene enuied in your Command,
 as wee know well, you would haue bene no lesse heauy to the Confe-
 derates, then wee, you must haue bene constrained to rule imperiously,
 or to haue falne into danger. So that, though overcome by three the
 greatest things, honour, feare, and profit, wee haue both accepted
 the dominion deliuered vs, and refuse againe to surrender it. Wee haue
 therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men.
 Nor haue wee bene the first in this kinde; but it hath bene euer a
 thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept vnder by the stronger. Besides,
 we tooke the gouernment vpon vs, as esteeming our selues worthy of
 the same; and of you also so esteemed, till hauing computed the commo-
 dity, you now fall to allegation of equity; a thing which no man that
 had the occasion to atchieue anything by strength, euer so farre pre-
 ferred, as to diuert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of
 commendation, who following the naturall inclination of man, in desi-
 ring rule ouer others, are iust, then for their power they need. And
 therefore if another had our power, we thinke it would best make ap-
 peare our owne moderation; and yet our moderation hath vnderferred
 by incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in pleas-
 of Covenants with our Confederates, when in our owne City we haue
 allowed them triall by Laws equall both to them and vs, the Iudgement
 hath bene giuen against vs, we haue then neuertheless bene reputed
 contentions. None of them considering that others, who in other
 places haue dominion, and are toward their subiect States lesse moderate
 E then wee, yet are neuer vphrayded for it. For they that haue the power
 to compell, need not at all to goe to Law. And yet these men haue
 bene

* That is, when Pausanias,
 King of Lacedæmon, pur-
 suing the Reliques of the Per-
 sian Warre, through his pride
 and insolent Command, procu-
 red the hatred of the Confe-
 derates; as here, as the Lacedæ-
 monian State calling him
 home, they put some lies
 under the leading of the
 Athenians.

G

beene used to converse with vs upon equall termes; if they take any thing which they thinke they should not, either by sentence, or by the power of our government, they are not thankfull for the much they receive; but take in worse part the little they receive, then if at first; laying Law aside, we had openly taken their goods by violence; For in that kinde also, they themselves cannot deny, but the weaker must give way to the stronger. And men, it seemes, are more passionate for injustice, then for violence. For that, coming as from an equall, seemeth rapine; and the other, because from one stronger; but necessity. Therefore when they suffered worse things under the Medes dominion, they bore it, but thinke ours to be rigorous. And good reason; for to men in subjection, the present is ever the worst estate. Inasmuch as you also, if you should put vs downe, and reigne your selves, you would soon find a change of the lot, which they beare you now for feare of vs; if you should doe againe, as you did for a while, when you were their Commanders against the Medes. For not onely your owne institutions are different from those of others; but also when any one of you comes abroad [with charge,] he neither useth those of yours, nor yet those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as of a matter of great importance; and do not upon the opinions and criminations of others, procure your owne trouble. Consider before you enter; how unexpected the chances of Warre bee: for a long Warre for the most part endeth in calamity, from which we are equally far off, and whether part it will light on vs, is to be tryed with uncertaintie. And men when they goe to Warre, as many times to fall first to action, the which ought to come behind, and when they have already taken harme, then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such error our selves; nor doe finde that you are; wee advise you; whilst good counsell is in both our elections; not to breake the peace, nor violate your Oathes; but according to the Articles, let the controuersie bee decided by Iudgement; or else wee call the Gods you have sworne by to witnesse; that if you beginne the Warre, we will endeavour to reuenge our selves the same way that you shall walke in before vs. *And thus spake the Athenians.*

After the Lacedaemonians had heard both the complaints of the Confederates against the Athenians; and the Athenians Answer, they put them euery one out of the Court, and consulted of the businesse amongst themselves. And the opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the Athenians had done unrightly; & ought speedily to be warred on. But Archidamus their King, a man reputed both wise and temperate, spake as followeth.

* Meaning the Superiours and tyrannicall command of Paulanias.

The Lacedaemonians amongst themselves take counsell how to proceed.

A

THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

MEN of Lacedaemon, both I my selfe haue the experience of many Warres, and I see you of the same age with mee, to haue the like; insomuch as you cannot desire this Warre, either through inexperience (as many doe) nor yet as apprehending it to bee profitable or safe. And whosoever shall temperately consider the Warre wee now deliberate of, will finde it to bee no small one. For though in respect of the Peloponnesians, and our neighbour States, wee haue equall strength, and can quickly bee vpon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as money, both priuate and publicke, Shipping, Horses, Armes, and number, more then any one part of Greece besides; and that haue many Confederates, paying them Tribute; against such, I say, why should we lightly vndertake the Warre? And since wee are vnfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Nauie? But therein we are too weake. And if we will provide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our money? But therein also we are more too weake; for neither hath the State any, nor will priuate men readily contribute. But it may be, some rely on this, that wee exceed them in Armes, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land vnder their dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoeuer they shall stand in need of. Againe, if wee assay to alienate their Confederates, wee must ayde them with Shipping, because the most of them are Ilanders. What a Warre then will this of ours bee? For vlesse we haue the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their reuenuue, whereby their Navy is maintained, we shall doe the most hurt to our selves. And in this case to let fall the Warre againe, will be no honour for vs, when we are chiefly thought to haue begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey, the Warre will soone be at an end; let that neuer lift vs vp: for I feare we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the Athenians haue the spirit not to be slaues to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the Warre. And yet I doe not aduise that wee should stupidly suffer our Confederates to bee wronged, and not apprehend the Athenians in their plots against them; but onely, not yet to take vp Armes, but to send and expostulate with them, making no great shew neither of war, nor of sufferance: and in this meane time to make our provisio, and make friends, both of Greeks & Barbarians,

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such

THE

such as in any place wee can get, of power either in shipping or money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as wee are by the Athenians, take vnto them, not Grecians only, but also Barbarians for their safety) and withall to set forth our owne. If they listen to our Ambassadors, best of all; if not, then two or thre yeeres passing ouer our heads, being better appointed, wee may warre vpon them, if we will. And when they see our preparation, and heare words that import no lesse, they will perhaps relent the sooner; especially, hauing their grounds vnhurt, and consulting vpon commodities extant, and not yet spoiled. For wee must thinke their Territorie to bee nothing but an Hostage, and so much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which wee ought therefore to spare as long as wee may, lest making them desperate, we make them also the harder to expugne. For if vnfurnished as wee bee, at the instigation of the Confederates, we waste their Territory, consider if in so doing, we doe not make the Warre both more dishonourable to the Peloponnesians, and also more difficult. For though accusations, as well against Cities, as priuate men, may bee cleared againe, a warre for the pleasure of some, taken vp by all, the successe whereof cannot bee foreseene, can hardly with honour be letten fall againe. Now let no man thinke it cowardise, that being many Cities, we goe not presently, and invade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money, they haue more then wee; and Warre is not so much Warre of Armes, as Warre of Money, by meanes whereof Armes are vsfull; especially when it is a Warre of Land-men, against Sea-men. And therefore let vs first prouide our selues of money, and not first raise the Warre, vpon the perswasion of the Confederates. For wee that must be thought the causes of all euents, good or bad, haue also reason to take some leasure, in part to foresee them. As for the slacknesse and procrastination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee neuer ashamed of it; for the more haste you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it vnprouided. Besides, our Citie hath bene euer free, and well thought of. And this which they obieect, is rather to be called a Modesty proceeding vpon iudgement. For by that it is, that we alone, are neither arrogant vpon good successe, nor shrinke so much as others in aduersity. Nor are wee, when men prouoke vs to it with praise, through the delight thereof, moued to vndergoe danger, more then wee thinke fit our selues; nor when they sharpen vs with reprehension, doth the smart thereof

A thereof a lot the more preuaile vpon vs. And this modesty of ours maketh vs both good Souldiers, and good Counsellours: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellours, in this, that wee are brought vp more simply, then to disesteeme the Lawes, and by severity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that, that wee doe not, like men exceeding wise in things needlesse, finde fault brauely with the preparation of the Enemy, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but doe thinke our neighbours cogitations like our owne, and that the euents of Fortune cannot be discerned by a speech; and doe therefore alwayes so furnish our selues really against the enemy, as against men well aduised. For we are not to build our hopes vpon the ouersights of them, but vpon the safe foresight of our selues. Nor must wee thinke that there is much difference betweene man and man, but him onely to bee the best, that hath bene brought vp amongst the most difficulties. Let vs not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestours, which wee haue so long retained to our profit; nor let vs, of many mens liues, of much money, of many Cities, and much honour, hastily resolue in so small a part of one day, but at leasure; the which wee haue better commodity then any other to doe, by reason of our power. Send to the Athenians, about the matter of Potidaea, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are iniured; and the rather, because they bee content to referre the cause to Iudgement: And one that offereth himselfe to Iudgement, may not lawfully be invaded, as a doer of iniurie, before the iudgement be giuen; and prepare withall for the Warre; so shall you take the most profitable counsell for your selues, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake Archidamus.

But Sthenelaidas, then one of the Ephori, stood vp last of all, and spake to the Lacedaemonians in this manner:

THE ORATION OF STHENELAIDAS.

For my part, I vnderstand not the many words vsed by the Athenians; for though they haue bene much in their owne praises, yet they haue said nothing to the contrary, but that they haue done iniury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carried themselues well against the Medes, when time was, and now ill against vs, they deserue a double punishment, because they are not good as they were; and because they are euill, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and meane not (if we be wise) either to conuine

at the wrongs done to our Confederates; or deferre to repaire them; for the harme they suffer; is not deferred. Others haue much money, many Gallies, and many Horses; and wee haue good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, nor to bee defended with words; (for they are not hurt in words) but to be ayded with all our power, and with speed. Let no man tell mee, that after wee haue once receiued the iniurie, wee ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of iniurie, to spend time in consultation. Wherefore (men of Lacedæmon) decree the Warre, as becommeth the dignity of Sparta; and let not the Athenians grow yet greater, nor let vs betray our Confederates, but in the name of B the Gods, proceed against the doers of iniustice.

Having thus spoken, being himselfe Ephore, hee put it to the question in the Assembly of the Lacedæmonians; and saying afterwards, that hee could not discern whether was the greater cry (for they vsed there to giue their votes *viua voce*, and not with * Balles) and desiring that it might bee euident that their minds were enclined most to the Warre, he put it vnto them againe, and said, To whosoever of you it seemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the Athenians haue done un-justly, let him arise, and goe yonder. And withall he shewed C them a certaine place: And to whomsoever it seemeth otherwise, let him goe to the other side. So they arose, and the Roome was diuided, wherein farre the greater number were those, that held the Peace to bee broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, that for their owne parts, their sentence was, That the Athenians had done them wrong; But yet they desired to haue all their Confede-rates called together, and then to put it to the question againe, that if they would, the Warre might bee decreed by Common consent. This done, their Confederates went home, and so did also D afterwards the Athenians, when they had dispatched the businesse they came about. This Decree of the Assem-bly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the fourteenth yeere of those thirty yeeres, for which a Peace had bene formerly concluded, after the actions past in Eubæa.

THE LACEDAEMONIANS gaue Sentence, that the Peace was broken, and that Warre was to bee made, not so much for the words of the Con-federates, as for feare the Athenian greatnesse should still E encrease: For they saw that a great part of Greece was

* *Lu'oe, Propoli lapillus, Calculus.* A little stone or ball, which hee that gaue his voice, put into a Box, either on the affirmative or negative part, as he pleased. The Athenians vsed Beanes, white and blacke. The Venetians now use Balls, and the distinction is made by the Box inscribed with yea and no.

The Lacedæmonians by question conclude that the Athenians had broken the Peace.

Negroponte.

The true cause of this Warre being the feare the Lacedæmonians had of the power of Athens, the Author digresseth, to shew how that power grew first vp.

A false already into their hands. Now the manner how the Athenians came to the administration of those affaires, by which they so raised themselues, was this:

After that the Medes, overcome by Sea and Land, were departed, and such of them as had escaped by Sea to * My-cæle, were there also utterly ouerthrowne, Leotycheides King of the Lacedæmonians, then Commander of the Grecians, at Mycæle, with their Confederates of Peloponnesus, went home: But the Athenians with their Confederates of Ionia, and the Hellespont, as many as were already revolted from B the * King, staid behinde, and besieged Sestus, holden then by the Medes, and when they had layne before it all the Winter, they tooke it, abandoned by the Barbarians; and after this they set sayle from the Hellespont, euery one to his owne Citie. And the * body of the Athenians, as soon as their Territory was cleere of the Barbarians, went home also, and fetcht thither their Wiues and Children, and such goods as they had, from the places where they had bin put out to keep, and went about the reparation of their City & Wallies. For there were yet standing some pieces of the C circuit of their Wall, and likewise a few houses, (though the most were downe) which the principall of the Persians had reserved for their owne lodgings. The Lacedæmonians hearing what they went about, sent thither their Am-bassadors, partly because they would themselves haue bene glad, that neither the Athenians, nor any other had had Wallies; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatnesse of their D Name, which they had not before, but also their courage shewed against the Persians) and encreased them, nor to build their Wallies, but rather to ioyne with them in pul-ling downe the Wallies of what Cities stood without Peloponnesus, that them yet standing. Not discouraging their meanings, and graciously they had of the Athenians; but pretending this, that if the Barbarians returned, hee might find no fortified Citie, to make the State of his Warre, as he would of Thebes; and that Peloponnesus was sufficient for the all, whereunto to retire, and from whence to withstand the Warre. But the Athenians by the aduice of Themisto-clus, when the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors had so said, E dismissed them presently with this Answer, That they would presently send Ambassadors about the businesse they

The meanes by which the Athenians came to haue the command of the common forces of Greece against the Persians, by which they their King.

* A Proconsul, or Governor, as the Lacedæmonians called of Xerxes. The word is, I think, the same as that the Lacedæmonians also desig-nated by Pausanias at places, as the slaughter of Mardonius, their Generall, and al-most their whole armie of 300000. men.

Of Persia. The Athenians returne to their City.

* To saue the State. That is, they made Athens a game the state of it is go-uermental, whereas before it was in the power and campe of the Persians.

They reparaire their Citie, and wall it.

The Lacedæmonians aduise them to the contrary for their owne ends, pretending the Common good.

Themistocles aduise them to build on.

His subtilty in deluding the Lacedæmonians.

The building hastened.

Themistocles goeth to Lacedæmon Ambassadors.

He adviseth the Lacedæmonians to send Ambassadors, to see if the Wall went vp, or not.

He sendeth Letters to the Athenians, to have those Ambassadors stayed, till the returne of himselfe and his fellowes from Lacedæmon.

And hearing that the Wall was finished, he iustifieb it.

they spake of, to Lacedæmon. Now Themistocles willed A them to send himselfe to Lacedæmon for one, and that as speedily as they could; but such as were chosen Ambassadors with him, not to send away presently, but to stay them till the Wall was so raysed, as to fight vpon them from a sufficient height; and that all the men in the Citie, in the meane time, both they, and their Wiues and Children, sparing neither priuate nor publike edifice, that might aduance the worke: but pulling all downe whatsoever, should helpe to raise it. When hee had thus instructed them, adding, that hee would himselfe doe the B rest at Lacedæmon, he tooke his Iourney. And when hee came to Lacedæmon, he went not to the State, but delaying the time, excused himselfe; and when any of those that were in Office, asked him why hee did not present himselfe to the State, answered, That he stayed for his fellow-Ambassadors, who vpon some businesse that fell out, were left behind, but he expected them very shortly, and wondred they were not come already. Hearing this, they gaue credit to Themistocles, for the loue they bore him; but when others comming thence, auerred plainly, that the Wall went vp, and that C it was come to good height already, they could not then choose but belieue it. Themistocles, when hee saw this, wished them not to belee by reports, but rather to send thither some of their owne, such as were honest men, and hauing informed themselves, would relate the truth. Which they also did. And Themistocles sendeth priuily to the Athenians, about the same men, to take order for their stay, with as little appareance of it as they could, and not to dismisse them, till their owne Ambassadors were returned. (For by this time were arrived those that were ioyned with him, namely, Abronychus, the sonne of Lyficles, and Aristides, the sonne of Lysimachus, and brought him word that the Wall was of a sufficient height.) For hee feared lest the Lacedæmonians, when they knew the truth, would refuse to let them goe. The Athenians therefore kept there those Ambassadors, according as it was written to them to doe. Themistocles comming now to his audience before the Lacedæmonians, said plainly, That the Citie of Athens was already walled, and that sufficiently, for the defence of those within: And that if it shall please the Lacedæmonians, E vpon any occasion to send Ambassadors vnto them, they were so send

A sende beforewardes to the noble warden, and what concluded high, to their state, and also to the common good of all Greece. For when they thought it best to quit their Citie, and put themselves into their Citie, they said they were a battaine in the hands of the Athenians, of whom being in the hands of the Athenians, they were as good as the Athenians themselves. And when they saw their Citie was so well walled, they were not so much troubled, but for all the Confederates in common, they said they would be walled for a common defence, and that they would be walled for a common defence of Greece. The rest (said he) vnto the Confederates, Cities, let me walled for your sakes, in the same manner as I have done, and I have done, when they heard him, though they made him they were being walled with the Athenians, (for they had not sent their Ambassadors to forbid them, but by way of advice, to aduise them to build the Wall, besides they were their affection, then, for the courage they were against the Athenians, they were inwardly offended, because they missed of Athens will. And the Ambassadors returned home of Lacedæmon, without complaint, thus the Athenians quickly raised their Wall, the structure of the Wall was made, the hatching of the building. For the foundation consisted of stones of all sorts, and the same place was wrought, and as they were brought to the place. Many Pillars also taken from Sepulchers, and polished Stones, were piled together amongst the rest, for the ornament of the Citie was so walled, with further care, and therefore hastening, they took a like what was done next to hand. Themistocles likewise persuaded them to build vpon the rest of the Citie, (for it was begun in the year that himselfe was Archon of Athens) as concerning the place, both beautifull, in that it had three naturall Harbours, and that, being now Sea-men, it would very much conduce to the enlargement of their power. For hee was indeede the first man that durst tell them, that they ought to take vpon them the command of the Sea, and which presently helped them in the obtaining it. By this counsell also it was, that they built the Wall of that breadth about Athens, which is now to be seene. For two Carts carrying Stones met, and passed vpon one by another. And yet without it, there was neither Rubbish nor Morter, to fill it vp, but it was made all of great Stones, eue square, and bound together

The Lacedæmonians dislike their dislike.

The Lacedæmonians dislike their dislike.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

The Wall of Athens built in haste.

together with Iron and Lead. But for height it was raised A but to the halfe of the most of what he had intended. For hee would have had it able to hold out the Enemy both by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the fewest of men might have sufficed to defend it, and the rest have served in the Name. For principally hee was added to the Sea, because as I thinke he had observed, that the Forces of the King had easier access to invade them by Sea, then by Land; and thought that *Persea* was more profitable then the City above. And often times he would extolre the *Athenians*, that in case they were oppressed by Land, they should goe downe whither, and with their Gallies, make resistance against what Enemies force. Thus the *Athenians* built their Wallies, and fitted themselves in other kinds, immediately upon the departure of the *Perseus*.

In the meane time was *Pausanias* the sonne of Cleombrotus, sent from *Lacedæmon*, Commander of the *Grecians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Peloponnesus*. With which went also 30. Saile of *tribes*, besides a multitude of other Confederates, and making Warre on *Cyprus*, subdued the greatest part of the same; and afterwards, vnder the same Command came before *Byzantium*, which they besieged, and wonne.

But *Pausanias* being now growne insolent, both the rest of the *Grecians*, and specially the *Ionians*, who had newly recovered their liberty from the King, offended with him, came vnto the *Athenians*, and requested them for * confanguinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect them from the violence of *Pausanias*. The *Athenians*, accepting the motion, applyed themselves both to the defence of these, and also to the ordering of the rest of the affaires there, in such sort as it should seeme best vnto themselves. In the meane time the *Lacedæmonians* sent for *Pausanias* home, to examine him of such things as they had heard against him. For great crimes had bene laid to his charge by the *Grecians* that came from thence; and his gouernment was rather an imitation of Tyranny, then a Command in Warre. And it was his hap to bee called home at the same time, that the Confederates, all but the Souldiers of *Peloponnesus*, out of hatred to him, had turned to the *Athenians*. When he came to *Lacedæmon*, though

The reason why *Themistocles* was most addicted to affaires by Sea.

Pausanias sent Generall of the *Grecians*, to pursue the reliques of the *Perseus* Warre.

* Constantinople.

Pausanias growing insolent, the *Ionians* offended, desire the protection of the *Athenians*.

* The *Ionians* were all Colonies of the people of *Athens*.

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certaine accusations.

In his absence, the *Grecians* giue the *Athenians* the leading of them.

A he were censured for some wrongs done to priuate men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of Medizing, the which seemed to bee the most euident of all. Him therefore they sent Generall no more, but *Dorcus* and some others with him, with no great Army; whose command the Confederates refused, and they finding that, went their wayes likewise. And after that, the *Lacedæmonians* sent no more; because they feared lest such as went out, would proue the worse for the State, (as they had seene by *Pausanias*;) and also because they desired to be rid of the *Perseus* Warre, conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee sufficient Leaders, and at that time, their friends.

When the *Athenians* had thus gotten the Command, by the Confederates owne accord, for the hatred they bare to *Pausanias*, they then set downe an order, which Cities should contribute money for this Warre against the *Barbarians*, and which, Gallies. For they pretended to reparaire the iniuries they had suffered, by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came vp amongst the *Athenians*, the Office of * *Treasurers of Greece*, who were receivers of the * *Tribute*, (for so they called this money contributed.) And the first Tribute that was taxed, came to * 460. Talents. The Treasure was at * *Delos*, and their meetings were kept there, in the * *Temple*.

Now vling their authority at first, in such maner, as that the Confederates liued vnder their own Laws, and were admitted to Common Councell; by the War, and administration of the common affaires of *Greece*, from the *Perseus* War to this, what against the *Barbarians*, what against their own innouating Confederates, and what against such of the *Peloponnesians* as chanced alwaies in euery Warre to fall in, they effected those great matters following; which also I haue therefore written, both because this place hath bene pretermitted by all that haue written before me. (For they haue either compiled the *Grecian* acts before the invasion of the *Perseus*, or that invasion only. Of which number is *Hellanicus*, who hath also touched them in his *Antique Historie*, but briefly, and without exact mention of the times;) and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the *Athenian* Empire grew vp.

E And first, vnder the Conduct of *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, they tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, from the

Pausanias acquit, but sent Generall no more.

The *Grecians* refuse the command of *Dorcus*, sent from *Sparta* to be their Generall.

The *Athenians* asseesse their Confederates, for the sustaining of the Warre.

* *ἐν ἀπορίᾳ*.

* *οὐκ*. The original of the Tribute paid to the *Athenians*. * 86150. pound sterling. * Not at *Athens*, because they would not seeme to challenge a propriety in that money. * Of *Apollo*.

The History of the time betweene the *Perseus* and *Peloponnesian* War, pretermitted by other Writers, briefly deliuered by *Thucydides*.

The steps of the *Athenians* toward their great Dominion. The *Athenians* take *Eion*.

And Scyros.

And Carystus.

And Naxos, their Confederate, now Naxia.

The cause of revolts from the Athenians.

The Athenians defeat the Persian, upon the Riuer of Eurymedon.

They waite on Thasus.

Medes by siege, and carried away the Inhabitants Captiues. Then the Ile *Scyros*, in the *Aegean* Sea, inhabited by the *Dolopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they also carried away Captiues, and planted therein a Colony of their owne. Likewise they made Warre on the *Caristians*, (alone, without the rest of the *Eubæans*) and those also after a time, came in by composition. After this they warred on the revolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by siege. And this was the first Confederate Citie, which contrary to the Ordinance, they deprived of their free estate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turnes, they did the like by the rest.

Amongst other causes of revolts, the principall was their failing to bring in their Tribute, and Gallies, and their refusing (when they did so) to follow the Warres. For the *Athenians* exacted strictly, and were grieuous to them, by imposing a necessity of toyle, which they were neither accustomed nor willing to vndergoe. They were also otherwise not so gentle in their gouernment as they had beene, nor followed the Warre vpon equall termes, and could easily bring backe to their subiection, such as should revolt. And of this the Confederates themselves were the causes: for through this refusall to accompanie the Armie, the most of them, to the end they might stay at home, were ordered to excuse their Gallies with Money, as much as it came to. By which meanes, the Navy of the *Athenians* was increased at the cost of their Confederates, and themselves vnprovided; and without meanes to make Warre, in case they should revolt.

After this, it came to passe, that the *Athenians* and their Confederates, fought against the *Medes*, both by Land and by Water, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon*, in *Pamphylia*; and in one and the same day, the *Athenians* had Victory in both; and tooke or sunke all the *Persian* Fleet, to the number of 200. Gallies. After this againe happened the revolt of *Thasus*, vpon a difference about the places of Trade, and about the Mines they possessed in the opposite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, ouerthrew them in a Battell at Sea, and landed in the Island; But hauing about the same time sent 10000. of their owne and of their Confederates people, into the Riuer of *Strymon*, for a Colonie to be planted in a place

A place called then the *Nine-ways*, now *Amphipolis*. They wonne the said *Nine-ways*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther, towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*, they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a Citie of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*, that were Enemies to this new-built Towne of the *Nine-ways*. The *Thasians*, in the meane time, being overcome in diuers Battels; and besieged, sought ayde of the *Lacedæmonians*, and entreated them to diuert the Enemy by an invasion of *Attica*: which, vnknowne to the *Athenians*, they promised to doe, and also had done it, but by an Earthquake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earth-quake, their * *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Townes the *Thuriate*, and *Aetheans*, revolted, and seized on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into seruitude in former times; whereby also it came to passe, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedæmonians* a Warre now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians* in the third yeere of the Siege, rendered themselves to the *Athenians*, vpon condition to raze their Wallles; to deliuer vp their Gallies, to pay both the money bebinde, and for the future, as much as they were wont; and to quit both the Mines and the Continent. The *Lacedæmonians*, when the Warre against those in *Ithome* grew long, amongst other their Confederates, sent for aide to the *Athenians*; who also came with no small Forces, vnder the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally, for their reputation in murall assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kinde; whereby they might perhaps haue gotten the place by force. And vpon this Iourney, grew the first manifest diffension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and innovating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a * contrary Race, might, at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they said; dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discovering their ieaousie, but alledging, that they had no further need of their Service. But the *Athenians* perceiving that they were not sent away vpon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heynous matter; and conceiuing that they had better de-
H 3
serued

They take *Amphipolis*, and afterwards receive a great overthrow at *Drabescus* in *Thrace*.

The *Lacedæmonians* intending to invade *Attica*, are hindred by an Earthquake.

* The *Lacedæmonians* employed the Captiues taken in Warre, and their posterity, in husbandry, and other seruile workes, which was called by this kind of men, and they were called by them *Helotes*, because the first of them so employed, were Captiues of the Towne of *Helos* in *Laconia*. *Thasus* is rendered to the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* send for ayde to the *Athenians*, in their Warre against *Ithome*.

The first diffension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*.

* The *Lacedæmonians* were Doreans, the *Athenians*, *Ionians*.

The *Athenians* being had in suspition by the *Lacedæmonians*, ioyne with the *Argues*.

ferued at the Lacedæmonians hands, as soone as they were Agone, left the League which they had made with the Lacedæmonians against the Persian, and became Confederates with their Enemies the Argiues; and then both Argiues and Athenians tooke the same Oath, and made the same League with the Theſſalians.

Those in Ithome, when they could no longer hold out, in the tenth yeere of the Siege, rendred the place to the Lacedæmonians, vpon condition of security to depart out of Peloponnesus, and that they should no more returne; and whoſoeuer should bee taken returning, to bee the Slaue of him that should take him. For the Lacedæmonians had before beene warned by a certaine answer of the Pythian Oracle, to let goe the Suppliant of Iupiter Ithometis. So they came forth, they, and their Wiues, and their Children. And the Athenians, for hatred they bore to the Lacedæmonians, receiued them, and put them into * Naupaetum, which Citie they had lately taken from the Locrians of Ozola. The Megareans also revolted from the Lacedæmonians, and came to the League of the Athenians, because they were holden downe by the Corinthians, with a Warre about the limits of their Territories. Wherevpon Megara and Pegæ were put into the hands of the Athenians; who built for the Megareans, the long Walles, from the Citie to * Nisæa, and maintained them with a Garrison of their owne. And from hence it was chiefly, that the vehement hatred grew of the Corinthians against the Athenians. Moreouer, Inarus, the sonne of Psammeticus, an African, King of the Africans that confine on Ægypt, making Warre from Marea, aboue Pharos, caused the greatest part of Ægypt to rebell against the King Artaxerxes; and when hee had taken the gouernment of them D vpon himselfe, hee brought in the Athenians to assit him; who chancing to be then warring on Cyrus, with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, left Cyrus, and went to him. And going from the Sea, vp the Riuer of Nilus, after they had made themselves Masters of the Riuer, and of two parts of the Citie of * Memphis, assaulted the third part, called the White-Wall. Within were of the Medes and Persians, such as had escaped, and of the Egyptians, such as had not revolted amongst the rest. The Athenians came also with a Fleet to Halias, and landing E their Souldiers, fought by Land with the Corinthians and

The Helotes in Ithome, after ten yeeres siege, compounded, and quitted Peloponnesus.

The Athenians receiue them, and place them in Naupaetum.
* Lepanto.
Megara revolteth from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

* The Hauca and Arsenal of Megara.

The Athenians send an Arme into Egypt, to ayde the Rebels against the King of Persia.

* Cairo.

The Athenians fight by Sea, against the Corinthians and Epidaurians.

A Epidaurians; and the Corinthians had the Victory. After this, the Athenians fought by Sea against the Fleet of the Peloponnesians at Cecryphæa, and the Athenians had the Victory. After this againe, the Warre being on foot of the Athenians against the Argiues, at the River of the Argiues, betweene them and by Sea, vpon the Coast of Argina, the Confederates of both sides being at the same time, in which the Athenians had the Victory; and having taken 70. Gallies, landed their Arme, and besieged the Citie, under the Conduct of Leocrates. The sonnes of Smabius sent ouer into B Peloponnesians desiring to ayde the Athenians, sent ouer into Argina 60. selfe three hundred men of Armes; of the same that had before aydd the Corinthians and Epidaurians, and with other Forces, staid on the top of * Ceryneia. And the Corinthians, and their Confederates, came downe from thence, into the Territory of Megara, supposing that the Athenians, having much of their Arme absent in Ægypt, would be unable to ayde the Megareans; or if they did, would be forced to rise from before Argina. But the Athenians staid not from Argina, but those that remained at Athens, both young and old, vnder the conduct of Myronides, went to Megara; and after they had fought with doubtfull victory, they parted asunder againe, with an opinion in both sides, not to haue had the worse in the Action. And the Athenians, who notwithstanding had rather the better, when the Corinthians were gone away, erected a Trophie. But the Corinthians, having beene reviled at their returne, by the ancient men of the Citie, about 12. dayes after, came againe prepared, and set vp their Trophie likewise, as if the Victorie had beene theirs. Herevpon the Athenians, filling out of Megara, with a huge shout, both slew those that were setting vp the Trophie, and charging the rest, got the victory. The Corinthians being overcome, went their way; but a good part of them, being hard followed, and missing their way, lighted into the inclosed ground of a private man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through: which the Athenians perceiving, opposed them at the place by which they eured, with their men of Armes, and encompassing the ground with their light-armed Souldiers, killed those that E were entered, with stones. This was a great losse to the Corinthians, but the rest of their Arme got home againe. About

After that, against the Peloponnesians.

* Some stand about Peloponnesus, whose situation is not more knowne. Then against the Argiues.

The Corinthians ayde Argina.

* A ridge of a Hill, lying before the entrance into the Isthmus.

The Corinthians receiue a great losse in Megara.

The Athenians build their long Wall, from both sides of the City to the Sea.

* The Dorians, the Mother Nation of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Country on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Terapolis, from the four Cities it contained; of which three were mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus.

* Gulf of Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians fight with the Athenians at Tanagra.

The Athenians overthrow the Boeotians at Oenophyta, (that is to say, the Vineyards) and subdue Boeotia and Phoen.

About this time the Athenians began the building of their long Wall, from the City down to the Sea; the one reaching to the Haven called *Phaleron*; the other to the *Long Wall*. The Phœnicians also making War upon *Boeotia*, *Corinth*, and *Ægina*; Towns that belonged to the *Argives*, of whom the Lacedæmonians were descended, and having taken one of them, the *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Pericles*, the son of *Clisthenes*, in the *Plata* before the *Argives*, who were King *Phalaris*, who was yet in his infancy, sent upon them the *Argives*, *Dorians*, and *Boeotians*, men of the kind of their own, and of their Confederates, *Boeotians* and *Boeotians*. And when they had formed the *Phœnicians* upon composition to surrender the Town, which they had taken, they went their wayes againe. Notwithstanding they could not goe home by Sea, through the *Gulf of Corinth*, the Athenians going about with their Fleet, would be ready to stop them, and to passe over *Geranea* to them, though it was a waste, because the Athenians had in their hands *Argos*, and *Phœgia*. For *Geranea* was not onely a difficult passage of it selfe, but was also wayes guarded by the Athenians. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the *Boeotians*, and to consider by which way they might most safely goe through. Whilst they were there, there wanted not some Athenians, that proudly solicited them to come to the City, hoping to have put the people out of government, and to have demolished the long Wall, their building. But the Athenians, with the whole power of their City, and *Argos*, and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 10000 men, went out to meet them; for there was suspicion that they came thither to depose the *Democritus*. There also came to the Athenians certaine Horsemen out of *Thessaly*; which in the Battell turned to the Lacedæmonians. They fought at *Tanagra* of *Boeotia*, and the Lacedæmonians had the Victory; but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the Lacedæmonians, entering into the Territories of *Megara*, and cutting downe the Woods before them, returned home by the way of *Geranea* and the *Isthmus*. Upon the two and sixtieth day after this Battell, the Athenians, under the conduct of *Myronides*, made a Journey against the *Boeotians*, and overthrew them at *Oenophyta*, and brought the Territories of *Boeotia* and *Phocis* under their obedience; and withall razed

Azed the Wall, of *Tanagra*, and tooke of the wealthiest of the *Locrians* of *Opus*, 100. Hostages; and finished also at the same time, their long Wall, at home. After this, *Ægina* also yeelded to the Athenians, on these conditions, That they should haue their Wall pulled downe, and should deliuer up their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come. Also the Athenians made a Voyage about *Peloponnesus*, wherein they burnt the Arsenall of the Lacedæmonians *Nauie*, tooke * *Chalcis*, a City of the *Corinthians*; and landing their Forces in *Sycionia*, ouercame in fight those that made head against them. All this while the Athenians stayed still in *Egypt*, and saw much variety of Warre. First the Athenians were Masters of *Egypt*. And the King of *Persia* sent one *Megabazus*, a *Persian*, with money to *Lacedæmon*, to procure the *Peloponnesians* to invade *Attica*, and by that meanes to draw the Athenians out of *Egypt*. But when this tooke no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, *Megabazus* returned with the money he had left, into *Asia*. And then was *Megabazus* the sonne of *Zopirus*, a *Persian*, sent into *Egypt*, with great Forces, and comming in by Land, ouerthrew the *Egyptians* and their Confederates in a Battell, draue the *Grecians* out of *Memphis*, and finally inclosed them in the Ile of *Protopia*; There hee besieged them a yeere and a halfe, till such time as hauing drained the Channell, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lye aground, and the Iland for the most part Continent, and so came ouer, and wonne the Iland with Land-Souldiers. Thus was the Armie of the *Grecians* lost, after sixe yeeres Warre; and few of many passing through *Africa*, saued themselves in *Cyrene*; but the most perished. So *Egypt* returned to the obedience of the King, except onely *Amyrtæus*, that raigned in the *Fennes*, for him they could not bring in, both because the *Fennes* are great, and the people of the *Fennes*, of all the *Egyptians* the most warlike. But *Inarus*, King of the *Africans*, and Author of all this stirre in *Egypt*, was taken by treason, and crucified. The Athenians moreover had sent fifty Gallies more into *Egypt*, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at *Mendesum*, one of the mouthes of *Nilus*, knew nothing of what had happened to the rest; and being assaulted from the Land by the Armie, and from the Sea by the *Phœnician* Fleet, lost the

Ægina yeelded to the Athenians.

The Athenian saile round Peloponnesus, and waste it.

* A City of Corinthians, nere the River Tuenas.

The end of the Athenian Forces in Egypt.

A supply of Athenians going to Egypt, defeated by the forces of the King.

greatest part of their Gallies, and escaped home againe A
with the lesser part. Thus ended the great expedition of
the Athenians, and their Confederates into *Aegypt*.

Also *Orestes* the sonne of *Echecratidas*, King of the *Thessalians*, driven out of *Thessaly*, perswaded the Athenians to restore him: And the Athenians, taking with them the *Bœotians* and *Phocians*, their Confederates, made Warre against * *Pharsalus*, a Citie of *Thessaly*; and were Masters of the Field, as farre as they strayed not from the Armie, (for the *Thessalian* Horsemen kept them from straggling) but could not winne the Citie, nor yet performe any thing else B
of what they came for, but came backe againe without effect, and brought *Orestes* with them. Not long after this, a thousand Athenians went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the Athenians) vnder the command of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, and sayled into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight such of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then presently tooke vp forces in *Achaia*; and putting ouer, made Warre on *Oenias*, a Citie of *Acarmania*, which they besieged; neuertheless they tooke it not, but returned home.

Three yeeres after this, was a Truce made betweene C
the *Peloponnesians* and Athenians for five yeeres; and the Athenians gaue ouer the *Grecian* Warre, and with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, vnder the conduct of *Cimon*, made Warre on *Cyprus*. Of these, there went 60. Sayle into *Aegypt*, sent for by *Amyrteus*, that reigned in the Fennes, and the rest lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine arising in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had passed *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, against D
the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, & *Cilicians* and hauing gotten victory in both, returned home, and with them the rest of their Fleet, now come backe from *Aegypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* tooke in hand the Warre, called the Holy Warre; and hauing wonne the Temple at *Delphi*, deliuered the possession thereof to the *Delphians*. But the Athenians afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Armie, and regaining it, deliuered the possession to the *Phocians*. Some space of time after this, the Outlawes of *Bœotia*, being seized of *Orchomenus* and *Cheronea*, E
and certaine other places of *Bœotia*, the Athenians made Warre

The Athenians invade
Thessaly.

* Famous for the Battell be-
twene Iul. Cæsar, and Cn.
Pompeius.

The Athenians vnder Peri-
cles besiege Orniades.

Truce for 5. yeeres be-
twene the Athenians and
Peloponnesians.

The Athenians warre on
Cyprus.
" dyeth.

The Holy Warre.

A Warre vpon those places, being their Enemies, with a thousand men of Armes of their owne, and as many of their Confederates as feuerally came in, vnder the conduct of *Tolmidas*, the sonne of *Tolmeus*. And when they had taken *Cheronea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captiues, and leauing a Garrison in the Citie, departed. In their returne, those Outlawes that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubœan* Outlawes, and others of the same Faction, set vpon them at *Coronea*, and ouercomming the Athenians in Battell, some they slew, B
and some they tooke aliue. Wherevpon the Athenians relinquished all *Bœotia*, and made peace, with condition to haue their Prisoners released. So the Outlawes and the rest, returned, and liued againe vnder their owne Lawes. Not long after, revolted *Eubœa* from the Athenians; and when *Pericles* had already passed ouer into it with the Athenian Armie, there was brought him newes, that *Megara* was likewise revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had slaine the Athenian Garrison, except onely such as fled into *Nisea*. C
Now the *Megareans*, when they revolted, had gotten to their ayd, the *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Armie from *Eubœa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and wasted the Countrey about *Eleusine*, and *Thriasium*, vnder the conduct of *Pleistoonax*, the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but so went away. After which the Athenians passed againe into *Eubœa*, and totally subdued it; the *Hestians* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their owne hands; but ordered the rest of D
Eubœa, according to composition made: Being returned from *Eubœa*, within a while after, they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, for thirty yeeres, & rendred *Nisea*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Træzén*, (for these places the Athenians held of theirs) to the *Peloponnesians*. In the sixth yeere of this Peace, fell out the Warre betweene the *Samians* and *Milesians*, concerning *Priene*; and the *Milesians* being put to the worse, came to *Athens*, and exclaimed against the *Samians*; wherein also certaine priuate men of *Samos* it selfe, tooke part with the *Milesians*, out of desire E
to alter the forme of Government. Wherevpon the Athenians went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and set

The Athenians recouer
Cheronea, taken by the
Bœotian Outlawes.

The Athenians defeated
at Coronea by the Out-
lawes, lose Bœotia.

Eubœa revolteth from the
Athenians.

Megara revolteth;

Eubœa subdued by the
Athenians.

Peace for 30. yeeres, be-
twene the Athenians and
Peloponnesians.

The Athenians warre vpon
Samos.

Stalimene.

vp the Democratic there, and tooke of the *Samians* 50. Boyes, A
and as many men, for Hostages; which when they had
put into *Lemnos*, and set a Guard vpon them, they came
home. But certaine of the *Samians* (for some of them, not
enduring the popular gouernment, were fled into the Con-
tinent) entring into a League with the mightiest of them
in *Samos*, & with *Pissuthnes*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, who then
was Gouvernour of *Sardis*, and leuying about 700. auxiliary
Souldiers, passed ouer into *Samos* in the euening, and first
set vpon the popular Faction, and brought most of them
into their power, and then stealing their Hostages out of B
Lemnos, they reuolted, and deliuered the *Athenian* Guard, and
such Captaines as were there, into the hands of *Pissuthnes*,
and withall prepared to make Warre against *Miletus*.
With these also reuolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*,
when they heard of these things, sent to *Samos* 60. Gallies,
16. whereof they did not vse, (for some of them went into
Caria, to obserue the Fleet of the *Phœnicians*, and some to
fetch in succours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*;) but with the 44.
that remained, vnder the command of *Pericles* and 9. o-
thers, fought with 70. Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof C
twenty were such as serued for transport of Souldiers,) as
they were comming all together from *Miletus*; and the *A-*
thenians had the Victory. After this came a supply of
forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*
25. With these hauing landed their men, they ouerthrew
the *Samians* in Battell, and besieged the City; which they
enclosed with a triple Wall, and shut it vp by Sea with
their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60. Gallies
out of the Road, made haste towards *Caunus* and *Caria*,
vpon intelligence of the comming against them of the *Phœ-* D
nician Fleet. For *Stesagoras* with five Gallies, was already
gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meete
the *Phœnicians*. In the meane time, the *Samians* comming
suddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling vpon the
Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was vnfortified, sunke
the Gallies that kept watch before it, and ouercame the
rest in fight; insomuch as they became Masters of the
Sea neere their Coast, for about foureteene dayes together,
importing and exporting what they pleased. But *Pericles*
returning, shut them vp againe with his Gallies; and E
after this, there came to him from *Athens* a supply of forty
Sayle,

Sio. Mitilene.

A Sayle, with * *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty
with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*,
forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against
these a small battell at Sea, yet vnable to hold out any
longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they rendred the
Citie vpon composition: Namely, to demolish their Wallles; to
giue Hostages; to deliuer vup their Navy; and to repay the money
spent by the *Athenians* in the Warre, at dayes appointed. And
the *Byzantines* also yeeked, with condition to remaine sub-
iect to them, in the same manner as they had beene before their re-
volt.

B Now not many yeeres after this, happened the matters
before related, of the *Corcyreans* and the *Poidaans*, and what-
soeuer other interuenient pretext of this Warre. These
things done by the *Græcians*, one against another, or against
the *Barbarians*, came to passe all within the compasse of
fiftie yeeres, at most, from the time of the departure of
Xerxes, to the beginning of this present Warre: In which
time, the *Athenians* both assured their Gouernment ouer
the Confederates, and also much enlarged their owr parti-
cular wealth. This the *Lacedæmonians* saw, & opposed not,
saue now and then a little, but (as men that had cuer before
beene slow to Warre without necessity; and also for that
they were hindred sometimes with domestique Warre)
for the most part of the time stirred not against them;
till now at last, when the power of the *Athenians* was ad-
vanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done iniury
to their Confederates, they could forbear no longer, but
thought it necessary to goe in hand with the Warre with
all diligence, and to pull downe, if they could, the *Atheni-*
D an greatnesse. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedæ-*
monians, themselves decreed, That the Peace was broken,
and that the *Athenians* had done vniustly. And also hauing
sent to *Delphi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should
haue the better in the Warre, or not, they receiued (as it
is reported) this Answer: That if they warred with their
whole power, they should haue victory; and that himselfe would be
on their side, both called and vnalled.

E Now when they had assembled their Confederates again,
they were to put it to the question amongst them, Whether
they should make Warre, or not. And the Ambassadors of the
seuerall Confederates comming in; and the Councell set.

* Not the Writer of the
History.Samos yeeked to the
Athenians.The businesse about Cor-
cyra and Poidaia, before
related.Betweene the Persian and
Peloponnesian Warre, fifty
yeeres.The Oracle consulted by
the Lacedæmonians, en-
courageth them to the
Warre.Consultation of the Pelopon-
nesians in generall,
whether they should en-
ter into a Warre, or not.

aswell the rest spake what they thought fit, most of them accusing the Athenians of iniurie, and desiring the Warre; as also the Corinthians, who had before intreated the Cities, every one severally to giue their Vote for the Warre, fearing lest Potidea should bee lost before helpe came, being then present, spake last of all to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of CORINTH.

Confederates, we can no longer accuse the Lacedæmonians, **B** they hauing both decreed the Warre themselves, and also assembled vs to doe the same. For it is fit for them who haue the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the rest, so also (administring their priuate affaires equally with others) to consider before the rest, of the Common businesse. And though as many of vs as haue already had our turnes with the Athenians, need not bee taught to beware of them; yet it were good for those that dwell vpon in the Land, and not as wee, in places of traffique on the Sea side, to know, that vnlesse they defend those below, they shall with a great deale the more difficulty, both carry to the Sea, the commodities of the seasons, and againe more hardly receiue the benefits afforded to the inland Countries from the Sea; and also not to mistake what is now spoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect those that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will also reach vnto themselves; and that this consultation concerneth them no lesse then vs, and therefore not to bee afraid to change their Peace for Warre. For though it bee the part of discreet men to be quiet, vnlesse they haue wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men, when they receiue iniury, to passe from Peace into Warre, and after successe, from Warre to come againe to composition: and neither to swell with the good successe of Warre, nor to suffer iniurie, through pleasure taken in the ease of Peace. For hee whom pleasure makes a Coward, if hee sit still, shall quickly lose the sweetnesse of the ease that made him so. And hee that in Warre, is made proud by successe, obserueth not, that his pride is grounded vpon vnfaithfull confidence. For though many things ill aduised, come to good effect, against Enemies worse aduised; yet more, thought well aduised, haue faile but badly out, against well-aduised enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the same confidence hee premeditates it: for we deliuer opinions in safety, whereas in the Action it selfe, wee faile through feare. **E** As for the Warre at this time, wee raise it, both vpon iniuries done vs,

As, and vpon other sufficient allegations; and when we haue repaired our wrongs vpon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. And it is for many reasons probable, that wee shall haue the victory. First, because wee exceed them in number: and next, because when wee goe to any action intimated, we shall be all of one * fashion. And as for a Naue, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, wee shall provide it, both out of euery ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, wee shall bee able to draw from them their forraigne Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather mercenarie then domestike. Whereas our owne power is lesse obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if wee overcome them but in one Battell by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished. And if they hold out, wee also shall with longer time apply our selues to Nauall affaires. And when wee shall once haue made our skill equall to theirs, we shall surely overcome them in courage. For the valour that wee haue by nature, they shall neuer come vnto by teaching; but the experience which they exceed vs in, that must wee attaine vnto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to passe, it must be all our parts to contribute. **C** For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not sticke to contribute to their owne seruitude; and wee should refuse to lay out our money, to bee reuenged of our enemies, and for our owne preservation, and that the Athenians take not our money from vs, and euen with that doe vs mischiefe. Wee haue also many other wayes of Warre, as the reuolt of their Confederates: which is the principall meanes of lessening their reuenue; * the building of Forts in their Territorie, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of Warre is guided by nothing lesse then by the points of our account; but of it selfe contriueth most things vpon the occasion. **D** Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firmeest; and hee that is most passionate, ofteneest miscarries. Imagine wee had differences each of vs about the limits of our Territorie, with an equall Adversary; wee must vndergoe them. But now the Athenians are a match for vs all at once; and one Citie after another, too strong for vs. Inso much that vnlesse wee oppose them ioyntly, and euery Nation and Citie set to it vmanimously, they will overcome vs asunder, without labour. And know, that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to heare it) brings with it, no lesse then manifest seruitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suffer vnder one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For it must then bee thought, that wee are either punished vpon merite, or else that

* All Land Souldiers, all of one manner of Arming and discipline.

* Though thus he here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was neuer thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when hee was sent from his Country.

that wee endure it out of feare, and so appeare degenerate from our Ancestours; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath beene restored; whereas wee for our parts, assure not so much as our owne; but claiming the reputation of having deposed Tyrants in the severall Cities, suffer a Tyrant Citie to be established amongst us. Wherein we know not how we can auoyd one of these three great faults, Foolishnesse, Cowardise, or Negligence. For certainly, you auoyde them not, by imputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Contempt of the Enemy: for Contempt, because it hath made too many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Foolishnesse. But to what end should wee object matters past, more then is necessary to the busines in hand? wee must now by helping the present, labour for the future. For it is peculiar to our Countrey to attaine honour by labour; and though you be now somewhat advanced in honour and power, you must not therefore change the custome; for there is no reason that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But wee should confidently goe in hand with the Warre, as for many other causes, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle aduised us thereto, and promised to bee with us himselfe: and also for that the rest of Greece some for feare, and some for profit, are ready to take our parts. Nor are you they that first breake the Peace, (which the God, in as much as hee doth encourage us to the Warre, iudgeth violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For not hee breaketh the Peace, that taketh reuenge, but hee that is the first invader. So that, Seeing it will be every way good to make the Warre, and since in common wee perswade the same; and seeing also that both to the Cities, and to priuate men, it will bee the most profitable course, put off no longer, neither the defence of the Potidæans, who are Doreans, and besieged (which was wont to bee contrary) by Ionians, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them already oppressed: and others (after it shall be knowne wee met, and durst not right our selues) shall shortly after vndergoe the like. But thinke (Confederates) you are now at a necessity, and that this is the best advice. And therefore giue your Votes for the Warre, not fearing the present danger, but coueting the long Peace proceeding from it. (For though by warre groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet for loue of ease to refuse the warre, doth not likewise auoyde the danger. But making account, that a Tyrant Citie set vp in Greece, is set vp alike ouer all, and reigneth ouer some already, and the rest in intention; we shall bring it againe into order by the warre; and not onely liue for the time to come out of danger our selues, but also deliuer the

A the already embrailed Grecians out of seruitude: Thus said the Corinthians.

The Lacedæmonians, when they had heard the opinion of them all, brought the * Balles to all the Confederates present, in order, from the greatest State to the least. And the greatest part gaue their Votes for the Warre. Now after the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them to goe in hand with it presently, because they were vnprouided, and every State thought good without delay, seuerally to furnish themselues of what was necessary, yet there passed not fully a yeere in this preparation, before *Attica* was invaded, and the Warre openly on foot.

IN THE MEANE TIME, they sent Ambassadors to the Athenians, with certaine Criminations, to the end that if they would giue care to nothing, they might haue all the pretext that could bee, for raising of the Warre. And first the Lacedæmonians, by their Ambassadors to the Athenians, required them to * banish such as were vnder curse of the Goddess *Minerua*, for Pollution of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had beene one *Cylon* an Athenian, a man that had beene Victor in the *Olympian* exercises, of much Nobility, and power amongst those of old time, and that had married the Daughter of *Theagenes*, a *Megarean*; in those dayes, Tyrant of *Megara*. To this *Cylon*, asking counsell at *Delphi*, the God answered, That on the greatest Festival day, hee should seaze the Cittadell of Athens. Hee therefore hauing gotten Forces of *Theagenes*, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize, seazed on the Cittadell, at the time of the *Olympicke* Holidayes in *Peloponnesus*, with intention to take vpon him the Tyranny. Esteeming the Feast of *Iupiter* to be the greatest, and to touch withall on his Particular, in that he had beene Victor in the *Olympian* exercises. But whether the Feast spoken of, were meant to be the greatest in *Attica*, or in some other place, neither did hee, himselfe consider, nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst the Athenians the *Diaphia*, which is called the greatest Feast of *Iupiter Meilichius*, and is celebrated without the City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people, many men offered Sacrifices, not of liuing Creatures, but * such as was the fashion of the Natives of the place. But hee, supposing hee had rightly vnderstood the Oracle, laid

The Warre decreed by all the Confederates. * *σφαιρας* *σφαίρας*. The fashion it seemeth, as now in some places, to present a Ball or *Vrue*, and a little Ball of flax, or beane; to him that giue his Vote, to the end hee might put his Ball into the part of the *Vrue* that was for affirmation or negation, as he saw cause.

The Lacedæmonians send Ambassadors to the Athenians, about expiation of Sacriledges, only to pick better quarrels for the Warre.

* Excommunication extending also to posterity.

* The Oracles were alwayes obscure, that euery man might be found to false their credit; and whether they were the influence of the Deuill, or of men, which is the more likely, they had no pretension, nor secure wise coniecture of the future.

* Images of liuing creatures, made of paste.

hand to the enterprise; and when the *Athenians* heard of A
it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and
lying before the Cittadell, besieged it. But the time
growing long, the *Athenians* wearied with the Siege, went
most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cit-
tadell, and the whole businesse to the nine *Archontes*,
with absolute authority to order the same, as to them
it should seeme good. For at that time, most of the af-
faires of the Common-weale were administred by those
9. *Archontes*. Now those that were besieged with *Cylon*,
were for want both of victuall and Water, in very euill e-
state; and therefore *Cylon*, and a Brother of his, fled priui-
ly out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of
them dead with famine, fate downe as *suppliants*, by the
* Altar that is in the Cittadell: And the *Athenians*, to
whose charge was committed the guard of the place, ray-
ling them, vpon promise to doe them no harme, put them
all to the Sword. * Also they had put to death some of
those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the * *Sa-
uere Goddesses*, as they were going away. And from this,
the *Athenians*, both themselves and their posterity, were C
called * *accursed* and *acrie ious persons*. Heereupon the *A-
thenians* banished those that were vnder the curse: and *Cle-
omenes*, a *Lacedaemonian*, together with the *Athenians*, in a
Sedition banished them afterwards againe: and not onely
so, but dis-enterred and cast forth the bodies of such of
them as were dead. Neuerthelesse there returned of them
afterwards againe; and there are of their race in the Citie
vnto this day. This Pollution therefore the *Lacedaemonians*
required them to purge their Citie of. Principally for-
sooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing with-
all, that *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, was by the Mo-
thers side one of that Race. For they thought, if *Pericles*
were banished, the *Athenians* would the more easily bee
brought to yeeld to their desire. Neuerthelesse, they ho-
ped not so much, that hee should bee banished, as to bring
him into the entrie of the Citie, as if the misfortune of
him, were in part the cause of the Warre. For being the
most powerfull of his time, and hauing the sway of the
State, hee was in all things opposit to the *Lacedaemonians*,
not suffering the *Athenians* to glue them the least way, but E
inticing them to the Warre.

Contrariwise,

* The Government of Rulers
of the City.

* of Minerva.

* The Lacedaemonians
that in the reigns of Codrus
invaded Athens, and were
defeated, some of them being
entred the City, could not get
away but fate at those altars,
and were dismissed safe, but
some of them staine as they
went home.* *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*.* *Pericles* alwayes aduerse
to the *Lacedaemonians*.

A Contrariwise the *Athenians* required the *Lacedaemonians* to
banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at *Tae-
narus*. For the *Lacedaemonians*, when they had caused their
Helots, *Suppliants* in the Temple of *Napturn* at *Tenarus*,
to forsake Sanctuary, slew them: For which cause,
they themselves thinke it was, that the great Earthquake
happened afterwards at *Sparta*.

Also they required them to purge their Citie of the pol-
lution of Sanctuary in the Temple of *Pallas Chalciceas*, which
was thus: After that *Pausanias* the *Lacedaemonian* was recal-
B led by the *Spartans* from his charge in *Hellepont*, and having
bin called in question by them, was absolved, though hee
was no more sent abroad by the State, yet hee went againe
into *Hellepont*, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, as a priuate man,
without leaue of the *Lacedaemonians*, to the *Grecian* Warre,
as hee gaue out, but in truth to negotiate with the King,
as hee had before begunne, aspiring to the Principality of
Greece. Now the benefit that hee had laid vp with the
King, and the beginning of the whole businesse, was at
first from this: When after his returne from *Cyprus* he had
C taken *Byzantium*, when he was there the first time, (which
being holden by the *Medes*, there were taken in it, some
neere to the King, and of his kindred) unknowne to the
rest of the Confederates, hee sent vnto the King those neere
ones of his which hee had taken, and gaue out, they were
runne away. This hee practised with one *Gongylus*, and
Eretrian, to whose charge hee had committed both the
Towne of *Byzantium*, and the Prisoners. Also he sent Let-
ters vnto him, which *Gongylus* carried, wherein, as was
afterwards knowne, was thus written.

D The Letter of *Pausanias* to the King.

P A V S A N I A S, General of the Spartans, being de-
sirow to doe thee a courtesie, sendeth backe vnto thee these
men, whom thee hath by Armes taken prisoners: And I haue
a purpose, if the same seeme also good vnto thee, to take thy Daugh-
ter in marriage, and to bring *Sparta* and the rest of *Greece*, into
thy subiection. These things I account my selfe able to bring to passe,
if I may communicate my counsels with thee. If therefore any of
E these things doe like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by
whose mediation wee may conserre together.

K 2

These

The *Athenians* require the
Lacedaemonians to expiate
the violation of Sanctua-
ry also on their parts.The occasion and manner
of the death of *Pausanias*
in the Temple of *Iupiter*
Chalciceas.*Pausanias* practiseth with
the King of *Persia* against
the State of *Greece*.

These were the Contents of the Writing. *Xerxes* being pleased with the Letter, sends away *Artabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces*, to the Sea side, with commandment to take the government of the Province of *Dascyli*, and to dismiss *Megabates*, that was Governour there before: and withall, gives him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which hee commanded him to send over to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seale, and well and faithfully to performe, whatsoever in his affaires, he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to doe. *Artabazus*, after hee arrived, hauing in other things done as hee was commanded, sent over the Letter, wherein was written this answer.

The Letter of *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*.

THUS saith King *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*: For the men which thou hast saved, and sent over the Sea unto mee, from *Byzantium*, thy benefit is laid up in our House, indeebly registered for euer: And I like also of what thou hast propounded: And let neither night nor day make thee remisse in the performance of what thou hast promised. Neither bee thou bindred by the expence of Gold and Siluer, or multitude of Souldiers requisits, whither soeuer it bee needfull to haue them come: But with *Artabazus*, a good man, whom I haue sent vnto thee, doe boldly both mine and thine owne businesse; as shall bee most fit, for the dignity and honour of vs both.

Pausanias hauing receiued these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority, for his conduct at *Plataea*, became now many degrees more eleuated; and endured no more to liue after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went apparelled at *Byzantium*, after the fashion of *Persia*; and when hee went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Egyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was hee able to conceale his purpose; but in trifles made apparant before-hand, the greater matters hee had conceiued of the future. Hee became moreover difficult of access, and would bee in such cholericke passions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approach him; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedaemonians* heard of it, they called him

Pausanias groweth proud vpon the receipt of these Letters.

A him home the first time. And when being gone out the second time without their command, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, it appeared that hee continued still in the same practises; and after hee was forced out of *Byzantium* by siege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*, but newes came, that hee had seated himselfe at *Colona*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practising still with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpose: Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but sent vnto him a publicke Officer, with the * *Scytale*, commanding him not to depart from the Officer; and in case hee refused, denounced Warre against him. But he, desiring as much as he could to decline suspicion, and beleeuing that with money hee should bee able to discharge himselfe of his accusations, returned vnto *Sparta* the second time. And first he was by the *Ephori* committed to ward; (for the *Ephori* haue power to doe this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, hee came forth, and exhibited himselfe to Iustice, against such as had any thing to alledge against him. And though the *Spartans* had against him no manifest prooffe, neither his enemies, nor the whole Citie, whereupon to proceed to the punishment of a man, both of the Race of their Kings, and at that present in great authority: for *Plisarchus* the Sonne of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pausanias*, who was his Cousin german, had the tuition of him: yet by his licentious behaviour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* customes, hee gaue much cause of suspicion, that hee meant not to liue in the equality of the present State. They considered also, that hee differed in manner of life, from the discipline established: amongst other things, by this, that vpon the Tripode at *Delphi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the best of the spoile of the *Medes*, hee had caused to bee inscribed of himselfe in particular, this Elegiaque Verse:

PAUSANIAS, Greeke Generall,
Hauing the Medes defeated,
To Phœbus in record thereof,
This gift hath consecrated.

* *Scytale*, properly a Staffe; here, a forme of Letter, used by the *Lacedaemonians*, in this manner; they had two round staves of one bignesse, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad, kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapp'd about it a small thong of Parchment; and hauing thereon written, took it off againe, and sent only that thong, which wrapped likewise about the other staffe, the letter is ioyned againe, and might be read. Thus saith *Pausanias* retained his Staffe, from the time hee had charge at *Byzantium*.

Pausanias his ambition, in dedication of the Tripode at *Delphi*.

But the *Lacedemonians* then presently defaced that in-
scription of the *Tripode*, and engraue thereon by name,
all the Cities that had ioyned in the ouerthrow of the
Medes, and dedicated it so. This therefore was num-
bred amongst the offences of *Pausanias*; and was thought
to agree with his present designe, so much the rather, for
the condition hee was now in. They had information fur-
ther, that hee had in hand some practice with the *Helotes*:
and so hee had: For hee promised them, not onely manu-
mission, but also freedome of the Citie, if they would
rise with him, and coöperate in the whole businesse. But
neither thus, vpon some appeachment of the *Helotes*,
would they proceed against him, but kept the custome
which they haue in their owne cases, not hastily to giue a
peremptory Sentence against a *Spartan*, without vnquesti-
onable prooffe. Till at length (as it is reported) purpo-
sing to send ouer to *Artabazus* his last Letters to the King,
hee was bewrayed vnto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time
past, his * *Minion*, and most faithfull to him: who be-
ing terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those
which had beene formerly sent, had euer returned, got
him a Seale like to the Seale of *Pausanias*; (to the end that
if his ielousie were false, or that hee should neede to alter
any thing in the Letter, it might not bee discouered) and
opened the Letter, wherein (as he had suspected the addi-
tion of some such clause) hee found himselfe also written
downe to bee murdered. The *Ephori*, when these Let-
ters were by him shewne vnto them, though they beleeu-
ed the matter much more then they did before, yet desi-
rous to heare somewhat themselves from *Pausanias* his
owne mouth; (the man being vpon designe gone to *Tæn-
narus* into Sanctuary, and hauing there built him a little
Roome with a partition, in which hee hid the *Ephori*; and
Pausanias comming to him, and asking the cause of his
taking Sanctuary,) they plainly heard the whole matter.
For the man both expostulated with him, for what hee
had written about him, and from point to point discou-
ered all the practice: saying, that though hee had neuer
boasted vnto him these and these seruices concerning the
King, hee must yet haue the honour, as well as many o-
ther of his seruants, to bee flaine. And *Pausanias* himselfe
both confessed the same things, and also bade the man not

Pausanias accused of pra-
ctice with the *Helotes*.

* *Minion*, taken both in good
and bad sense, for a man with
whom another man is in love.

Hee sends Letters to the
King, which are opened
by the way.

Pausanias, by the arte of
the *Ephori*, made to be-
tray himselfe.

to

A to be troubled at what was past, and gaue him assurance
to leaue Sanctuary, entreating him to goe on in his jour-
ney with all speed, and not to frustrate the businesse in
hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had distinctly heard him,
for that time went their way, and knowing now the cer-
taine truth, intended to apprehend him in the Citie. It is
said, that when hee was to bee apprehended in the Street,
hee perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephori*
comming towards him, what they came for: and when
B another of them had by a secret becke, signified the mat-
ter for good will, he ranne into the * Close of the Temple
of *Pallas Chalcieca*, and got in before they ouertooke him.
Now the * Temple it selfe was hard by, and entring in-
to a House belonging to the Temple, to auoyd the iniurie
of the open ayre, there staid. They that pursued him,
could not then ouertake him: but afterwards they tooke
off the rooffe and the doores of the house, and watching a
time when hee was within, beset the House, and mured
him vp, and leauing a Guard there, famished him. When
C they perceiued him about to giue vp the Ghost, they car-
ried him as hee was, out of the House, yet breathing, and
being out, hee dyed immediately. After hee was dead,
they were about to throw him into the * *Cæada*, where
they vse to cast in Malefactors: yet afterwards they
thought good to bury him in some place thereabouts:
But the Oracle of *Delphi* commanded the *Lacedemonians* af-
terward, both to remoue the Sepulcher from the place
where hee dyed, (so that he lyes now in the entry of the
Temple, as is euident by the inscription of the Pillar)
D and also (as hauing beene a Pollution of the Sanctuary,) to
render two bodies to the Goddesse of *Chalcieca*, for that
one. Whereupon they set vp two brazen Statues, and de-
dicated the same vnto her for *Pausanias*. Now the *Abeni-
ans* (the God himselfe hauing iudged this a Pollution of
Sanctuary) required the *Lacedemonians* to banish out of
their Citie, such as were touched with the same.

At the same time that *Pausanias* came to his end, the
Lacedemonians by their Ambassadors to the *Abenians*, ac-
cused *Themistocles*; for that hee also had medized together
E with *Pausanias*; hauing discouered it by proofes against
Pausanias; and desired that the same punishment might be
like.

Hee flyeth into Sanctuary

* *Ægea*. Both the Temple, &
the ground consecrated, where-
in standeth the Temple, Altar,
and edifices for the vse of
their Religion.

* *Tænarus*. The Temple or
Church of the Goddesse.

* *Cæada*, a pit where *Lace-
demon*.

Themistocles in the same
Treason.

* A kinde of banishment, wherein the Athenians wrote upon the shell of an Oyster the names of him they would banish: used principally against great men, whose power or faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certaine yeeres. Themistocles, pursued by the Athenians and Peloponnesians, flyeth to Corcyra.

Thence is put ouer to the maine Land, and goeth to the King of the Molossians.

* Τῷ Νέπῳ. Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, saies it was their daughter.

Thence he is conueyed to Bydæ.
* The Ægean Sea.
* King of Macedonia.
* Of Persia.

In danger to be cast vpon the Athenian Fleet at Naxos, he maketh himselfe knowne to the Master of the Ship.

likewise inflicted vpon him. Whereunto consenting, (for **A** he was at this time in banishment by * Ostracisme, and though his ordinary residence was at Argos, hee trauelled to and fro in other places of Peloponnesus, they sent certaine men in company of the Lacedæmonians, who were willing to pursue him, with command to bring him in, wherefoeuer they could finde him. But Themistocles hauing had notice of it before-hand, flyeth out of Peloponnesus into Corcyra, to the people of which Citie, he had formerly beene beneficiall. But the Corcyreans alleaging that they durst not keep him there, for feare of displeasing both the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, conuey him into the opposite Continent: and being pursued by the men thereto appointed, asking continually which way hee went, hee was compelled at a freight, to rume in vnto Admetus, King of the Molossians, hisemie. The King himselfe beeing then from home, hee became a suppliant to his Wife, and by her was instructed, to take their * Sonne with him, and sit downe at the Altar of the House. When Admetus not long after returned, hee made himselfe knowne to him, and desired him, that though hee had opposed him **C** in some suite at Athens, not to reuenge it on him now, in the time of his flight: saying, that being now the weaker, he must needs suffer vnder the stronger; whereas noble reuenge is of equals, vpon equall termes: and that hee had beene his Aduersary but in matter of profit, not of life; whereas, if hee deliuered him vp (telling him withall, for what, and by whom hee was followed) hee depriued him of all meanes of sauing his life. Admetus hauing heard him, bade him arise, together with his Sonne, whom he held as he fate: which is the most submisse **D** (supplication that is.

Not long after came the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, and though they alledged much to haue him, yet hee deliuered him not, but sent him away by Land to Bydæ, vpon the * other Sea (a City belonging to * Alexander) because his purpose was to goe to the * King: where finding a Ship bound for Ionia, hee embarqued, and was carried by foule weather vpon the the Fleet of the Athenians, that besieged Naxos. Being afraid, hee disco- **E** uered to the Master (for hee was vnknowne) who hee was, and for what hee fled; and said, that vnlesse hee would

A would saue him, hee meant to say, that hee had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to saue him, there needed no more but this, to let none goe out of the Ship, till the weather serued to bee gone. To which if hee consented, hee would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Master did so; and hauing lyen a day and a night at Sea, vpon the Fleet of the Athenians, he arriued afterward at Ephesus. And Themistocles hauing liberally rewarded him with money, (for hee receiued there, both what was sent him from his friends at Athens, and also **B** what he had put out at Argos,) hee tooke his journey vponwards, in company of a certaine Persian of the * Low-Countries, and sent Letters to the King Artaxerxes, the Sonne of Xerxes, newly come to the Kingdome, wherein was written to this purpose:

He arriueeth at Ephesus.

* The Low-countries of Asia lying to the Ægean Sea.

His Letter to Artaxerxes.

I THEMISTOCLES am comming vnto thee, who, **C** of all the Grecians, as long as I was forced to resist thy Father that invaded mee, haue done your House the manifest damages; yet the benefits I did him, were more, after once I with safety, hee with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turne is already due vnto mee, (writing here, how hee had forewarned him of the Grecians departure out of Salamis, and ascribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falsely vnto himselfe.) and as this time to doe thee many good seruices, I present my selfe, persecuted by the Grecians for thy friendships sake. But I desire to haue a yeeres respite, that I may **D** declare vnto thee the cause of my comming my selfe.

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpose might bee, and commanded him to doe as he had said. In this time of respite, hee learned as much as hee could of the Language and fashions of the place; and a yeere after comming to the Court, he was great with the King, more then euer had beene any Grecian before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of Greece, which hee promised to bring into his subiection; but especially for **E** the tryall hee gaue of his wisdom. For Themistocles was a man, in whom most truly was manifested the strength of

The praise of Themistocles.

of naturall iudgement, wherein hee had something worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his naturall prudence, without the helpe of instruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters, vpon short deliberation, the best discerner, and also of what for the most part would bee their issue, the best coniecturer. What hee was perfect in, hee was able also to explicate: and what hee was vnpractised in, hee was not to seeke how to iudge of conueniently. Also hee foresaw, no man better, what was best or worst in any case that was doubtful. And (to say all in few words) this man, by the naturall goodnesse of his wit, and quicknesse of deliberation, was the ablest of all men, to tell what was fit to bee done vpon a sudden. But falling sicke, hee ended his life: some say hee dyed voluntarily by Poyson, because hee thought himselfe vnable to performe what hee had promised to the King. His monument is in * *Magnesia* in Asia, in the Market place: for hee had the government of that Countrey, the King hauing bestowed vpon him *Magnesia*, which yeelded him fifty Talents by yeere for his * bread, and *Lampfacus* for his Wine, (for this City was in those dayes thought to haue store of Wine,) and the City of *Myus* for his meate. His bones are said, by his Kindred to haue beene brought home by his owne appointment, and buryed in *Antica*, vnknowne to the *Athenians*: for it was not lawfull to bury one there, that had fled for Treason. These were the ends of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, the most famous men of all the *Grecians* of their time. And this is that which the *Lacedæmonians* did command, and were commanded, in their first Ambassage, touching the banishment of such as were vnder the curse.

AFTER THIS, they sent Ambassadors againe to *Athens*, commanding them to leuy the Siege from before *Potidan*, and to suffer *Ægina* to bee free; but principally, and most plainly telling them, that the Warre should not bee made, in case they would abrogate the Act concerning the *Megareans*. By which Act, they were forbidden both the Fayres of *Antica*, and all Ports within the *Athenian* dominion: But the *Athenians* would not obey them, neither in the rest of their Commands,

His death.

* There is another Citie of that name in Greece.

* Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, says that the King gave him these Cities with these words, *Magnesia* to finde him bread, *Lampfacus* wine, and *Myus* meat.

The Athenians by Ambassadors command the abrogation of the Act against the Megareans.

nor

A nor in the abrogation of that Act, but recriminated the *Megareans*, for hauing tilled holy ground, and vsfet-out with bounds: and for receiuing of their Slaues that reuolted. But at length, when the last Ambassadors from *Lacedæmon* were arriued, namely, *Rhamphias*, *Melesippus*, and *Agasander*, and spake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but onely this, That the *Lacedæmonians* desire that there should be Peace, which may bee had, if you will suffer the *Grecians* to bee gouerned by their owne Lawes. The *Athenians* called an Assembly, and propounding their opinions amongst themselves, thought good, after they had debated the matter, to giue them an answer once for all. And many stood forth, and deliuered their mindes on eyther side, some for the Warre, and some, that this Act concerning the *Megareans*, ought not to stand in their way to Peace, but to bee abrogated. And *Pericles* the sonne of *Xanthippus*, the principall man, at that time, of all *Athens*, and most sufficient both for speech and action, gaue his aduice in such manner as followeth.

The last Ambassadors from Lacedæmon, require the Athenians to lay down their dominion.

The Athenians consult what to answer.

C THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

MEN of Athens, I am still not onely of the same opinion, not to giue way to the *Peloponnesians* (notwithstanding, I know that men haue not the same passions in the Warre it selfe, which they haue when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the events) but also I see, that I must now aduise the same things, or very neere to what I haue before deliuered. And I require of you, with whom my counsell shall take place, that if wee miscarry in ought, you will eyther make the best of it, as decreed by Common Consent, or if wee prosper, not to attribute it to your owne wisdom onely. For it falleth out with the euent of Actions, no lesse then with the purposes of man, to proceed with vncertainty: which is also the cause, that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, wee vse to lay the fault on Fortune. That the *Lacedæmonians*, both formerly, and especially now, take counsell how to doe vs mischief, is a thing manifest. For whereas it is said, [in the Articles] that in our mutuall controuersies, we shall giue and receiue trials of Iudgement, and in the meane time, eyther side, hold what they possesse, they neuer yet sought any such trial themselves, nor will accept of the same offered by vs. They will

L 2

cleere

cleere themselves of their accusations, by Warre rather then by words: A
and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they
command vs to arise from before Potidæa, and to restore the Egina
nææ to the liberty of their owne Lawes, and to abrogate the AET con
cerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command vs to
restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you con
ceiue that wee shall goe to Warre for a trifle, by not abrogating the
AET concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended most, and
that for the abrogation of it, the Warre shall stay,) nor retaine a scru
ple in your mindes, as if a small matter moued you to the Warre: for
euery this small matter containeth the tryall and constancy of your re
B
solution. Wherein if you giue them way, you shall hereafter bee com
manded a greater matter, as men that for feare will obey them like
wise in that. But by a stiffe deniall, you shall teach them plainly, to
come to you hereafter on termes of more equality. Resolue therefore
from this occasion, eyther to yeeld them obedience, before you receiue
damage; or if wee must haue Warre, (which for my part I thinke is
best,) be the pretence weighty or light, not to giue way, nor keepe what
wee possesse, in feare. For a great and a little claime, imposed by e
quals vpon their neighbours, before Iudgement, by way of command,
hath one and the same vertue to make subiect. As for the Warre, C
how both wee and they be furnished, and why wee are not like to haue
the worse, by hearing the particulars, you shall now vnderstand. The
Peloponnesians are * men that liue by their labour, without money,
eyther in particular, or in common stocke. Besides, in long Warres,
and by Sea, they are without experience, for that the Warres which
they haue had one against another, haue bene but short, through po
uerty; and * such men can neither man their Fleets, nor yet send out
their Armies by Land very often, because they must bee farre from
their owne wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides bar
red the use of the Sea. It must bee a * stocke of money, not forced D
Contributions; that support the Warres; and such as liue by their
labour, are more ready to serue the Warres with their bodies, then
with their money. For they make account that their bodies will out
liue the danger, but their money they thinke is sure to bee spent; espe
cially if the Warre (as it is likely) should last. So that the Pelopon
nesians and their Confederates, though for one Battell they bee able
to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintaine a Warre a
gainst such as haue their preparations of another kinde, they are not
able; in as much as not hauing one and the same counsell, they can
speedily performe nothing vpon the occasion; and hauing equality of E
Vote, and being of severall * races, euery one will presse his particular
interest;

* ἀνθρώποι.

* as liue by their labour.

* ἐκείνοι.

* Of the Peloponnesians
and their Confederates, some
were Dorians, some Æoli
ans, some Boeotians.

A interest; whereby nothing is like to bee fully executed. For some will
desire most to take reuenge on some enemy, and others to haue their
estates least wasted; and being long before they can assemble, they
take the lesser part of their time to debate the Common businesse, and
the greater, to dispatch their owne priuate affaires. And euery one
supposeth that his owne neglect of the Common estate, can doe little
hurt; and that it will bee the care of some body else to looke to that, for
his owne good: Not obseruing how by these thoughts of euery one in
seuerall, the Common businesse is ioyntly ruined. But their greatest
hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raised slow
B
ly, their actions must bee full of delay, which the occasions of warre
will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Naue, they
are matters not worthy feare. For it were a hard matter for a Citie
equall to our owne, in time of peace to fortifie in that manner, much
lesse in the Countrey of an Enemy, and wee no lesse fortified a
gainst them. And if they had a Garrison here, though they might by
excursions, and by the receiuing of our Fugitiues, annoy some part of
our Territory; yet would not that bee enough both to besiege vs, and
also to hinder vs from sayling into their Territories, and from taking
revenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our strength lyeth.
C
For wee haue more experience in Land-service, by use of the Sea, then
they haue in Sea-service, by use of the Land: Nor shall they attaine
the knowledge of nauall affaires easily. For your selues, though fall
ing to it immediately vpon the Persian warre, yet haue not attained
it fully. How then should husbandmen, not Sea-men, whom also wee
will not suffer to apply themselves to it; by lying continually vpon
them with so great Fleets, performe any matter of valie? Indeed, if
they should bee opposed but with a few Ships, they might aduenture,
encouraging their want of knowledge, with store of men; but awed by
many, they will not stirre that way; and not applying themselves to it,
D
will bee yet more vnskilfull, and thereby more cowardly. For know
ledge of Nauall matters, is an Art as well as any other, and not to be
attended at idle times, and on the * by; but requiring rather, that
whilest it is a learning, nothing else should bee done on the by. But say
they should take the money at Olympia and Delphi, and there
with, at greater charges, goe about to draw from vs the Strangers em
ployed in our Fleet: this indeed, if going aboard both our selues, and
those that dwell amongst vs, wee could not match them, were a dange
rous matter. But now, wee can both doe this, and (which is the prin
cipal thing) wee haue Seereshmen, and other necessary men for the
E
service of a Ship; both more and better of our owne Citizens, then are
in all the rest of Greece. Besides that, not any of these Strangers,
L 3
vpon

* οὐ τὰ παύματα.

* That is, of victory by Sea, where they were to be employed.

upon tryall, would bee found content to fly his owne Countrey, and A
withall vpon lesse * hope of victory, for a few dayes increase of wa-
ges, take part with the other side. In this manner, or like to this,
seemeth vnto mee to stand the case of the Peloponnesians: Whereas
ours is both free from what in theirs I haue reprehended, and hath ma-
ny great aduantages besides. If they inuade our Territory by Land,
wee shall inuade theirs by Sea. And when wee haue wasted part of
Peloponnesus, and they all Attica, yet shall theirs bee the greater
losse. For they, vnlesse by the sword, can get no other Territory in
stead of that wee shall destroy: Whereas for vs, there is other Land,
both in the Ilands, and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is a B
great matter. Consider but this; If we dwelt in the Ilands, whether
of vs then were more inexpugnable? Wee must therefore now, draw-
ing as neere as can bee to that imagination, lay aside the care of Fields
and Villages, and not for the losse of them, out of passion, giue battell to
the Peloponnesians, farre more in number then our selues; (for
though wee giue them an ouerthrow, wee must fight againe with as
many more: and if wee bee ouerthrowne, we shall lose the helpe of our
Confederates, which are our strength; for when we cannot warre vp-
on them, they will revolt) nor bewaile yee the losse of Fields or Houses,
but of mens bodies: for men may acquire these, but these cannot ac- C
quire men. And if I thought I should preuaile, I would aduise you to
goe out, and destroy them your selues, and shew the Peloponnesians,
that you will neuer the sooner obey them for such things as these. There
be many other things that giue hope of victory, (* in case you doe not,
whilest you are in this Warre, strine to enlarge your dominion, and vn-
dergoe other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our owne errors,
more then of their designses,) but they shall bee spoken of at another
time, in prosecution of the warre it selfe. For the present, let vs send
away these men with this Answer: That the Megareans shall
haue the liberty of our Fayres and Ports, if the Lacedemo- D
nians will also make no banishment of vs nor of our Confe-
derates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning
Megara, nor their banishment of Strangers, is forbidden in
the Articles. Also, that we will let the Grecian Cities be
free, if they were so when the Peace was made; and if the
Lacedemonians will also giue leaue vnto their Confederates,
to vse their freedome, not as shall serue the turne of the
Lacedemonians, but as they themselves shall euery one
thinke good. Also, that wee will stand to Iudgement ac-
cording to the Articles, and will not beginne the Warre, E
but bee reuenged on those that shall. For this is both iust,
and

* Thucydides hath his mind here, vpon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many yeeres after the death of Pericles. Whereby it seemes, he frameth his speech more to what Pericles might haue said, then to what he did say. Which also he professeth in generall of his course in setting downe Speeches, Besides, he maketh Pericles here to answer point by point to the Oration of the Corinthians at Lacedemon, as if hee had bene by, when it was deliuered: and yet the same manner in all opposit Oration.

A and for the dignity of the City to answer. Neuerthelesse, you must know, that of necessity Warre there will bee; and the more willingly wee embrace it, the lesse pressing we shall haue our enemies; and that out of greatest dangers, whether to Cities or priuate men, arise the greatest honours. For our Fathers, when they vnderooke the Medes, did from lesse beginnings, nay abandoning the little they had, by wisdom rather then Fortune, by courage rather then strength, both repell the Barbarian, and aduance this State to the height it now is at. Of whom wee ought not now to come short, but rather to reuenge vs by all meanes vpon our enemies, and doe B
our best to deliuer the State vnimpayred by vs, to posterity.

Thus spake Pericles.

The Athenians liking best of his aduice, decreed as hee would haue them, answering the Lacedemonians according to his direction, both in particular as hee had spoken, and generally, That they would doe nothing on command, but were ready to answer their accusations vpon equall termes, by way of arbitrement. So the Ambassadors went home, and after these, there came no more.

C These were the Quarrels and differences on eyther side, before the Warre: which Quarrels beganne presently vpon the businesse of Epidamnus and Corcyra. Neuerthelesse, there was still commerce betwixt them, and they went to each other without any Herald, though not without ieaousie. For the things that had passed, were but the confusion of the Articles, and matter of the Warre to follow.

The Answer of the Athenians to the Ambassadors of Lacedemon.

FINIS.



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The entry of the Theban Souldiers into Platæa, by the Treason of some within. Their repulse and slaughter. The irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. The wasting of the Coast of Peloponnesus by the Athenian Fleet. The Publike Funerall of the first slain. The second invasion of Attica. The Pestilence in the City of Athens. The Ambraciotes warre against the Amphilochoi. Platæa assaulted. Besieged. The Peloponnesian Fleet beaten by Phormio, before the Straight of the Gulfe of Crissa. The same Fleet repaired, and re-inforced and beaten againe by Phormio, before Naupactus. The attempt of the Peloponnesians on Salamis. The fruitlesse expedition of the Thracians against the Macedonians. This in the first 3. yeeres of the Warre.

D **T**HE Warre betweene the Athenians and the Peloponnesians beginnech now, from the time they had no longer commerce one with another without a Herald, and that hauing once begun it, they warred without intermission. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the seuerall matters came to passe.

E The Peace, which after the winning of Eubœa, was concluded

M

THE FIRST YEERE
OF THE WARRE.

concluded for thirty yeeres, lasted foureteeen yeeres. but A
in the fifteenth yeere being the first yeere of the Archi-
hood of *Chrysis* in *Argos* *Democritus* being the Archon of *Athena*,
and *Pythadorus* Archon of *Corinth*, having then two moneths
of his government to serve, the sixth moneth after the
Battell at *Epidaurea* and in the beginning of the Spring thice
hundred and odd *Thebans*, led by *Pythangelus* the Sonne of
Philides, and *Diemporus*, the sonne of *Oenotoridas*, * *Bæotian*
Rulers, about the first Watch of the night, entred with
their Armes into *Plataea*, a Citie of *Bæotia*, and Confederate
of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates B
opened vnto them, by *Nauclicides* and his Complices, men
of *Plataea* that for their owne private ambition, intended
both the destruction of such Citizens as were their ene-
mies, and the putting of the whole Citie vnder the sub-
iection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one
Eurymachus, the Sonne of *Leontidas*, one of the most po-
tent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreseeing the Warre,
desired to præoccupate *Plataea* (which was alwayes at
variance with them) whilst there was yet Peace, and the
Warre not openly on foot. By which meanes, they more C
easily entred vndiscovered, there being no order taken be-
fore for a Watch. And making a stand in their Armes
in the Market place, did not (as they that gaue them en-
trance would haue had them) fall presently to the busi-
nesse, and enter the Houses of their Adversaries, but re-
solved rather to make favourable Proclamations, and to in-
duce the Citie to composition and friendship. And the
Herald proclaimed, That if any man, according to the ancient
custome of all the *Bæotians*, would enter into the same league of
Warre with them, hee should come, and bring his Armes to D
theirs: supposing the Citie by this meanes, would easily
be drawne to their side. The *Plataeans*, when they perceived
that the *Thebans* were already entred, and had surprized the
Citie, through feare, and opinion that more were entred
then indeed were; (for they could not see them in the
night) came to composition, and accepting the condi-
tion, rested quiet, and the rather, for that they had
yet done no man harme. But whilst these things
were treating, they observed that the *Thebans* were not
many, and thought that if they should set vpon them, E
they might easily haue the victory. For the *Plataean* Com-
mons

* Priestesse of Iuno. By
whose Priesthood they reck-
ned their yeeres.

* The Athenians began
their yeeres about the Sum-
mer Solstice.
Plataea surprized by the
Thebans by Treason.

* Potestates, &c. There were
11. of them in all, and had
the absolute command of the
Bæotians in their Warres,
in peace.

* *Σύμβουλοι τῶν ὁπλῶν*.
The Thebans execute not
the designe of the Tray-
tors.

But offer composition.

The Plataeans accept it.

The Plataeans take heart.

A mons were not willing to haue revolted from the *Atheni-
ans*. Wherefore it was thought fit to undertake the mat-
ter; and they vnited themselves, by digging through the
Common Wallles, betwene house and house, that they
might not be discovered as they passed the Streets. They
also placed Carts in the Streets (without the Cattell that
drew them) to serue them in stead of a Wall; and euery
other thing they put in readinesse, as they seuerally seem-
ed necessary for the present enterprize. When all things
according to their meanes, were ready, they marched from
B their Houses, towards the enemies; taking their time
whilst it was yet night, and a little before breake of day;
because they would not haue to charge them, when they
should bee emboldned by the light, and on equall termes,
but when they should by night bee terrified, and inferiour
to them in knowledge of the places of the Citie. So they
forthwith set vpon them, and came quickly vp to hand-
stroakes. And the *Thebans* seeing this, and finding they
were deceiued, cast themselves into a round figure, and
beat them backe in that part where the assault was made: C
and twice or thrice they repulsed them: But at last,
when both the *Plataeans* themselves charged them with
a great clamour, and their Wiues also and Families
shouted, and screeched from the Houses; and withall
threw stones and Tyles amongst them; the night hauing
beene also very wet, they were afraid, and turned their
backes, and fled heere and there about the Cittie; ig-
norant for the most part, in the darke and durt, of the
wayes out, by which they should haue beene saued (for
this accident fell out vpon the change of the Moone) D
and pursued by such as were well acquainted with the
wayes to keepe them in; insomuch as the greatest part
of them perished. The Gate by which they entred,
and which onely was left open, a certaine *Plataean* shut
vp againe, with the head of a Iaueline, which hee
thrust into the Staple, in stead of a bolt: so that this
way also their passage was stopped. As they were
chased vp and downe the Citie, some climbed the Wallles,
and cast themselves out, and for the most part dyed;
some came to a desert Gate of the Citie, and with a
E Hatchet giuen them by a Woman, cut the staple, and
got forth vnscene: but these were not many: for the
M₂ thing

And vnite themselves by
digging through the
Common Wallles of
their Houses.

They assault the Thebans.

The Thebans fly, but can-
not get out.

The Thebans penned vp in a House, which they entred into, by mistaking the doore for the City Gate.

They yeeld to discretion

The whole power of Thebes come to rescue their Fellowes.

The Thebans seeke to intercept the Plataeans in the Villages.

The Plataeans send to the Thebans, to be gone, and promise to release their prisoners.

thing was soone discovered: others againe were slaine, A
dispersed in severall parts of the Citie. But the greatest part, and those especially who had cast themselves before into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice, adioyning to the Wall, the doores whereof being open, they thought had bene the Gates of the Citie, and that there had bene a direct way through to the other side. The Plataeans seeing them now pend vp, consulted whether they should burne them as they were, by firing the House, or else resolve of some other punishment. At length, both these, and all the rest of the Thebans that were straggling in the Citie, agreed to yeeld themselves and their Armes to the Plataeans, at discretion. And this successe had they that entred into Platea.

But the rest of the Thebans, that should with their whole power haue bene there before day, for feare the surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came so late with their ayde, that they heard the newes of what was done, by the way. Now Platea is from Thebes, 70. Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier, for the raine which had falne the same night. For the Riuer Asopus was swolne so high, that it was not easily passable; so that what by the foulness of the way, and what by the difficulty of passing the Riuer, they arrived not, till their men were already some slaine, and some taken prisoners. When the Thebans vnderstood how things had gone, they lay in waite for such of the Plataeans as were without: (for there were abroad in the Villages, both men, and household stufte, as was not vlikely, the euill happening vnexpectedly, and in time of peace;) desiring, if they could take any Prisoners, to keepe them for exchange for those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were saued alieue. This was the Thebans purpose. But the Plataeans, whilest they were yet in Councell, suspecting that some such thing would bee done, and fearing their case without, sent a Herald vnto the Thebans, whom they commanded to say, That what they had already done, attempting to surprize their Citie in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid them to doe any injury to those without, and that otherwise they would kill all those men of theirs that they had alieue; which, if they would withdraw their forces out of their Territory, they would againe restore vnto them. Thus the Thebans say, and that the

A the Plataeans did sweare it. But the Plataeans confesse not that they promised to deliuer them presently, but vpon treaty, if they should agree, and deny that they swore it. Vpon this the Thebans went out of their Territory, and the Plataeans, when they had speedily taken in whatsoever they had in the Countrey, immediately slew their Prisoners. They that were taken were 180. and Burymachius, with whom the Traytors had practised, was one. When they had done, they sent a Messenger to Athens, and gaue truce to the Thebans to fetch away the bodies of their dead, and ordered the City as was thought conuenient for the present occasion.

The newes of what was done, comming straightway to Athens, they instantly laid hands on all the Boeotians then in Attica, and sent an Officer to Platea, to forbid their further proceeding with their Theban Prisoners, till such time as they also should haue aduised of the matter: for they were not yet aduertised of their putting to death. For the first Messenger was sent away when the Thebans first entred the Towne; and the second, when they were ouercome, and taken prisoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the Athenians when they sent, knew not what was done; and the Officer arriuing, found that the men were already slaine. After this, the Athenians sending an Armie to Platea, victualled it, and left a Garrison in it, and tooke thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were vnseruiceable for the Warre.

This action falling out at Platea, & the Peace now cleerly dissolued, the Athenians prepared themselves for Warre; D so also did the Lacedemonians and their Confederates; intending on either part to send Ambassadors to the * King, and to other Barbarians, wheresoeuer they had hope of succours; and contracting Leagues with such Cities as were not vnder their owne command. The * Lacedemonians, besides those Gallies which they had in Italy and Sicily, of the Cities that tooke part with them there, were ordered to furnish, proportionably to the greatnesse of their severall Cities, so many more, as the whole number might amount to 500 Sayle, and to prouide a Summe of money E assessed, and in other things not to stirre farther, but to receiue the Athenians, comming but with one Gally at once,

The Thebans goe off, and the Plataeans fetch in their men and goods, and kill their prisoners.

The Athenians lay hands on such Boeotians as were in Attica.

They victual Platea, and put a Garrison into it, and take out their vn-necessary people.

Preparation of both sides for the Warre.

* of Persia.

* The Lacedemonian League, or Lacedemonian party, not particularly that State.

once, till such time as the same should be ready. The Athenians on the other side, furnished their present Confederates, and sent Ambassadors to those places that lay about Peloponnesus, as *Coreyra*, *Cephalonia*, *Acarnania*, and *Zacynthus*, knowing that as long as these were their friends, they might with the more security make Warre round about vpon the Coast of Peloponnesus.

Neither side conceived small matters, but put their whole strength to the Warre. And not without reason. For all men in the beginnings of enterprizes, are the most eager. Besides, there were then in Peloponnesus many youngmen, and many in Athens, who for want of experience, not unwillingly vnderooke the Warre. And not onely the rest of Greece stood at gaze, to behold the two principall States in Combate, but many * Prophecies were told, and many * sung by the Priests of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to warre, and in others.

There was also a little before this, an Earthquake in Delos, which in the memory of the Grecians, neuer shooke before; and was interpreted for, and seemed to bee a signe of what was to come afterwards to passe. And whatsoever thing then chanced of the same nature, it was all sure to bee enquired after. But mens affections for the most part went with the Lacedemonians; and the rather, for that they gaue out, they would recover the Grecians liberty. And every man, both priuate and publike person, endeououred as much as in them lay, both in word and deede to asist them; and thought the businesse so much hindred, as himself was not present at it. In such passio were most men against the Athenians; some for desire to be deliuered from vnder their gouernment, and others for feare of falling into it. And these were the preparations and affections brought vnto the Warre.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were these: The Lacedemonians had all Peloponnesus within the Isthmus, except the Argiues and Acheans: (for these were in amity with both, saue that the Pellenians at first, onely of all Achaia, tooke their part; but afterwards all the rest did so likewise) and without Peloponnesus, the Megareans, Locrians, Boeotians, Phocians, Ambraciotes, Leucadians, and Anaetorians. Of which the Corinthians, Megareans, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciotes, and

Prophecies and Oracles preceding the Warre. * *Apes* Prophecies in *Prophetis*, Sung. For those Prophecies which the Oracles deliuered by their Priests, were in verse, and were not called *Apes*, but *Prophetis*.

The affections of the Grecians to wards the combatant States.

The Confederates of the Lacedemonians.

A and Leucadians found Shipping. The Boeotians, Phocians, and Locrians, Argiues, and the rest of the Cities, Footmen. And these were the Confederates of the Lacedemonians. The Athenian Confederates were these: The Chians, Lesbians, Plataeans, the Argiues in *Nimphaea*, most of the Acarnanians, the *Coreyra*, and *Zacynthus*, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst those Nations. Also that part of Caria which is on the Sea Coast, and the Dardaniads adjoining to them, *Tanais*, *Blasphonia*, the Cities bordering on Thracia, all the lands from Peloponnesus to Creta on the East, and all the rest of the *Argades*, except *Malasia* and *Tbera*. Of these the Chians, Lesbians, and *Coreyra*ans found Gallies, the rest Footmen and money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the Warre on both sides.

The Lacedemonians, after the businesse of *Platen*, sent Messengers presently up and downe Peloponnesus, and to their Confederates, without to haue in readinesse their Forces, and such things as should bee necessary for a Forraigne expedition, as intending the inuasion of *Attica*. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezvous in the *Isthmus* at a day appointed, two thirds of the Forces of *Peudrys*, *Glauc*. When the whole Army was gotten together, *Archidamus*, King of the Lacedemonians, General of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the seuerall Cities; and such as were in authority, and most worthy to be present, and spake vnto them as followeth.

THE ORATION OF

ARCHIDAMVS.

D Men of Peloponnesus, and Confederates, not onely our Fathers haue had many Warres, both within and without Peloponnesus, but wee our selues also, such as are any thing in yeeres, haue bene sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did wee neuer before see forth with so greata preparation as at this present. And now wee onely wee are a numerous and puissant Army that inuade; but the State also is puissant, haue inuaded by vs. Wee haue reason therefore to bea our selues, neither worse then our Fathers, nor short of the opinion conceived of our selues. For all Greece, is vp in this Commotion, observing vs, and through their hatred to the Athenians, doe wish that wee may accomplish whatsoeuer

The Confederates of the Athenians.

The Lacedemonian league meete in the Isthmus, inuade *Attica*.

The Oration of Archidamus in the Council of Warre, in the Army of the League.

whatsoever we intend. And therefore though we seeme to invade them with a great Army, and to have much assurance, that they will not come out against us, to battell, yet we ought not for this, to march the lesse carefullly prepared, but of every City, as well the Captaine, as the Souldier, to expect always some danger or other, in that part wherein wee himselfe is placed. For the accidents of Warre are uncertaine, and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and upon passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten backe the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they have gone unprepared. And in the Land of an Enemy, though the Souldiers ought always to have bold hearts, yet for action, they ought to make their preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will give them both more courage to goe upon the enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But we invade not now a City that cannot defend it selfe, but a City every way well appointed. So that we must by all meanes expect to be fought with, though now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see us in their Countrey, wasting and destroying their possessions: For all men, when in their owne fight, and on a sudden, they receive any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into ebull, and the lesse they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others; for they thinke themselves worthy to have the command of others, and to invade and waste the territory of their neighbours, rather then to see their neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore, as being to Warre against a great City, and to procure, both to your Ancestours and your selves, a great fame, eyther good or bad, as shall bee the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as about all things you esteeme of order and watchfulness. For there is nothing in the world more comely, nor more safe, then when many men are seene to observe one and the same order.

Archidamus having thus spoken, and dismissed the Councell, first sent Melesippus, the Sonne of Diacrius, a man of Sparta, to Athens, to try if the Athenians, seeing them now on their journey, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the Athenians neither received him into their City, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of Pericles had already taken place, not to receive from the Lacedaemonians neither Herald nor Ambassadour, as long as their Armie was abroad. Therefore they sent him backe without audience, with commandment to be out of their

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassadour to the Athenians.

And tries all other means to right his Countrey, before Warre.

A their borders the selfe-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should returne every one to his home, and send their Ambassadours from thence. They sent with him also certaine persons, to convey him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should conferre with him: who when hee came to the limits, and was to bee dismissed, uttered these words: *This day is the beginning of much euill unto the Grecians: and so departed.*

B When hee returned to the Campe, Archidamus perceived that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Armie into their Territory. The Boeotians with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, ayded the Peloponnesians; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territorie of Plataea.

C Whilest the Peloponnesians were comming together in the Isthmus, and when they were on their March, before they brake into Attica, Pericles the sonne of Xanthippus, (who with nine others was Generall of the Athenians) when he saw they were about to breake in, suspecting that Archidamus, either of private courtesie, or by command of the Lacedaemonians, to bring him into icaloulie (as they had before for his sake commanded the excommunication) might oftentimes leave his Lands untouched, told the Athenians before hand in an Assembly, *That though Archidamus had bene his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoever, if the Enemy did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then hee gave them to the Common-wealth.* And therefore desired that for this hee might not bee suspected. Also hee aduised them concerning the businesse in hand, the same

D things hee had done before, *That they should make preparation for the Warre, and receive their goods into the City; that they should not goe out to Battell, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Navy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a carefull hand over their Confederates, telling them, how that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in Warre consisted wholly in Councell, and store of money.* Further, hee bade them bee confident, *in that there was yearly comming in to the State, from the Confederates, for Tribute, besides other revenue * 600. Talents, and remaining yet then in the Citadell*

E * 6000. Talents of silver coine. (for the greatest summe there had bene, was * 10000. Talents, wanting 300. out of

N

which

The Ambassadours from Archidamus conveyed backe without Conference.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

Pericles imagining Archidamus might spare his grounds, promiseth, if he did, to give them to the State.

The speech of Pericles to the Assembly at Athens, touching the means of the Warre, &c.

The Treasure of the people of Athens.

* 600. Talents, of our money about 112500. pounds.
* 6000 Talents, of our money about 1125000. pounds.
* 9700. Talents, 1818758. pounds sterling.

which was taken that which had been expended upon the Gate-houses of the Cittadell, and upon other Buildings, and for the charges of Potidaea. Besides the consecrated gold and silver of private and publique Offerings, and all the dedicated Vessels, belonging to the Sheibes and Games, and the Spoiles of the Persian, and other things of that nature, which amounted to no lesse then * 500. Talents. Hee added further, that much money might be had out of other Temples without the Citie, which they might use. And if they were barred the use of all these, they might yet use the ornaments of gold about the * Goddesse her selfe, and said, that the Image had about it, the weight of * 40. Talents of most pure Gold, and which might all be taken off, but having made use of it for their safety, hee said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity againe. Thus hee encouraged them, touching matter of money. Men of Armes he said they had 13000. besides the 16000. that were employed for the guard of the Citie, and upon the Walles, (for so many at the first kept watch at the comming in of the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that dwelt amongst them, as many as could beare Armes.) For the length of the Phalerian Wall, to that part of the circumference of the Wall of the City where it ioyned, was 25. Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch, namely the part betweene the Long Walles and the Phalerian) was 43. Furlongs: and the length of the Long Walles downe to Piræus, (of which there was a Watch onely on the outmost) was 40. Furlongs: and the whole compasse of Piræus, together with Munychia, was 60. Furlongs, (whereof that part that was watched, was but halfe.) He said further, they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on horsebacke, 12000. and 16000. Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea, 3000. All this and no lesse had the Athenians, when the invasion of the Peloponnesians was first in hand, and when the warre beganne. These and other words spake Pericles, as hee used to doe, for demonstration, that they were likely to outlast this Warre.

When the Athenians had heard him, they approoved of his words, and fetcht into the Citie their Wiues and Children, and the furniture of their houses, pulling downe the very Timber of the houses themselves. Their sheepe and Oxen they sent ouer into Eubœa, and into the Islands ouer against them. Neuerthelesse this remouall, in respect they

* 500. Talents. 937500 pound.

* Minerva.

* The weight of 40. Talents in gold, at 3. pound an ounce, comes to 9000. pound.

The length of the wall to which the Watchmen were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The Athenians fetch in their Wiues and Children and substance into the Citie.

A they had most of them beene accustomed to the Countrey life, grieved them very much.

This custome was from great antiquity, more familiar with the Athenians, then any other of the rest of Greece. For in the time of Cecrops, and the first Kings, downe to Theseus, the Inhabitants of Attica had their seuerall * Bourghes, and therein their * Common-Halles, and their Governours; and vnlesse they were in feare of some danger, went not together to the King for aduice, but euery City administred their owne affaires, and deliberated by themselves. And B some of them had also their particular Warres, as the Eleusinians, who ioyned with Eumolpus against * Erechtheus. But after Theseus came to the Kingdome, one who besides his wisdom, was also a man of very great power, hee not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolued the Councils and Magistracies of the rest of the Townes; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Councell-house, brought them all to cohabite in the Citie that now is; and contrained them, enioying their owne as before, to * use this one for their Citie, which (now, C when they all paid their duties to it) grew great, and was by Theseus so deliuered to posterity. And from that time to this day, the Athenians keepe a holiday at the publique charge to the * Goddesse, and call it * Synœcia. That which is now the Cittadell, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadell, was before this time the Citie. An argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadell it selfe; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As, that of Iupiter Olympius, and of Apollo Pythius, and of Tellus, and of Bacchus in Lymnae, (in honour of whom, the old * Bacchanals were celebrated on the twelfth day of the moneth of * Anthesterion, according as the Ionians, who are deriued from Athens, doe still obserue them) besides other ancient Temples situate in the same part. Moreouer, they serued themselves with water for the best vses, of the Fountaine, which, now the Nine-pipes, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called Callirœe, and was neere. And from the old custome, before Marriages, and other holy Rites, they ordaine the use of the same water to this day. And the E Cittadell, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the Athenians still called the Citie.

The Athenians accustomed to live in the Countrey.

* Dion.
* Cypria. etc. Guild-hall, places where they that administred the State did meet: were also, for honourable cause and service, were a loved dye, and wherein Vesta was worshipped, and a light continually burned; so that some thence derive the name, making capitalities quasi nopolis vocantur.

* King of the Athenians. Theseus first brought the inhabitants of Attica to make Athens their capital Citie.

* Not that they must needs dwell in it, but make it the seat of the government, and pay their duties to it. This caused the Citie to grow both populous and potent, because now the whole Nation united into one Citie, made use of the Sea, which deuoted they could not haue done.
* Minerva.
* Cobæization.

* There were in Athens 3. Bacchanals; wh. of this of Bacchus in Lymnae, that is, in the Marshes, was principally; another were the Rural Bacchanals, and the third the City Bacchanals.
* This Month fell about our January, and was the second of their winter quarter.

The Athenians remoue out of the thorough Townes into the Citie, vnwillingly.

^a Altars, Chappels, Houfehold gods.

Athenians thronged with the coming in of the Countrey.

^b Men supposed to be gotten betwene a Deity, and a Mortall, or such as exceed the rest of men by many degrees in Magnanimity.

^c Eleusinium, a Temple in Athens, vsed with great religion.

^d Pelasgicum, a place by the Cittadell, where the Pelasgians once fortified themselves against the Athenians, and for that cause there was laid a curse upon the habitation of it. Paul. in Atticis.

An old Prophecy against dwelling in the Pelasgick.

The Athenians make ready 100. Gallies to send about Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesians Arme assault Oenoe, a frontier Towne of Attica, in vain.

The Athenians therefore had liued a long time, gouerned A by Lawes of their owne in the Countrey Townes; and after they were brought into one, were neuertheless (both for the custome which most had, as well of the ancient time, as since, till the Persian Warre, to live in the Countrey with their whole families; and also especially, for that since the Persian Warre, they had already repayred their Houses and furniture) vnwilling to remoue. It pressed them likewise, and was heauily taken, besides their Houses, to leaue the ^a things that pertained to their Religion, (which, since their old forme of gouernment, were become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and to bee no better then banished euery man his Citie. After they came into Athens, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with some friends or kindred. But the greatest part seated themselves in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the ^b Heroes, (sauius in such as were in the Cittadell, and the ^c Eleusinium, and other places strongly shut vp.) The ^d Pelasgicum also, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verse C in a Pythian Oracle, in these words, — Best is the Pelasgicon empty, was neuertheless for the present necessity inhabited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwelling there, caused not the calamities that befell the Citie, but the Warre caused the necessity of dwelling there: which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it should one day bee inhabited vnfortunately. Many also furnished the Turrets of the Walles, and whatsoever other place they could any of them get. For when they D were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the Long-Walles diuided amongst them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of Piræus. Withall they applyed themselves to the businesse of the Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready 2 hundred Gallies to send about Peloponnesus. Thus were the Athenians preparing.

The Arme of the Peloponnesians marching forward, came first to Oenoe, a Towne of Attica, the place where they intended to breake in; and encamping before it, prepared with Engines, and by other meanes, to assault the E Wall.

A Wall. For Oenoe lying on the Confines betweene Attica and Boeotia, was walled about, and the Athenians kept a Garrison in it for defence of the Countrey, when at any time there should bee Warre. For which cause they made preparation for the assault of it, and also spent much time about it otherwise.

And Archidamus for this was not a little taxed, as thought to haue bin both slow in gathering together the forces for the Warre, and also to haue fauoured the Athenians, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardnesse in it. And afterwards likewise, his stay in the Isthmus, and his slownesse in the whole journey, was laid to his charge, but especially his delay at Oenoe. For in this time the Athenians retired into the Citie: whereas it was thought, that the Peloponnesians marching speedily, might but for his delay, haue taken them all without. So passionate was the Arme of Archidamus, for his stay before Oenoe. But expecting that the Athenians, whilst their Territory was yet unhurt, would relent, and not endure to see it wasted, for that cause (as it is reported) hee held his hand. But after, when they had assaulted Oenoe, and tryed all meanes, but could not take it, and seeing the Athenians sent no Herald to them, then at length arising from thence, about 80. dayes after that which happened to the Thebans that entered Plataea; the Summer, and Corne being now at the highest, they fell into Attica; led by Archidamus, the sonne of Zeuxidamus, King of the Lacedemonians. And when they had pitched their Campe, they fell to wasting of the Countrey; first about Eleusis, and then in the plaine of Tiberias; and put to flight a few Athenian Horsemen, at the Brookes called D Rheiti. After this, leauing the Egaleon on the right hand, they passed through Cecropia, till they came vnto Acharnes, which is the greatest towne in all Attica, of those that are called ^a Demoi; and pitching there, both fortified their Campe, and staid a great while wasting the Countrey thereabout.

Archidamus was said to haue staid so long, at Acharnes, with his Arme in Battell array, and not to haue come downe all the time of his invasion, into the Champaigne, with this intention: Hee hoped that the Athenians flourishing in number of young men, and better furnished for Warre, then euer they were before, would perhaps haue come

Archidamus taxed of backwardnesse, and fauour to the Athenians.

Archidamus with his Army entred into Attica.

And comes to Acharnes, and stays there long, cutting downe their Corne and Treas. ^a Burroughes.

The Deligne of Archidamus in staying so long at Acharnes.

come forth against him, and not endured to see their fields A cut downe and wasted; and therefore seeing they met him not in *Thriasia*, hee thought good to try if they would come out against him lying now at *Acharnas*. Besides, the place seemed unto him commodious for the Army to lye in; and it was thought also that the *Acharnans* being a great piece of the Citie (for they were 3000. men of Armes) would not haue suffered the spoiling of their Lands, but rather haue vrged all the rest to goe out and fight. And if they came not out against him at this inuasion, they might hereafter more boldly, both waste the B Champaign Countrey, and come downe euen to the Wallés of the Citie. For the *Acharnans*, after they should haue lost their owne, would not bee so forward to hazard themselves for the goods of other men: But there would bee thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the Citie. These were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whilest he lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Armie of the Enemie lay about *Eleufs*, and the Fields of *Thrius*, and as long as they had any hope it would come on no further, (remembering C that also *Plistoanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, when 14 yeeres before this Warre, hee entred *Attica* with an Armie of the *Peloponnesians*, as farre as *Eleufs*, and *Thriasia*, retired againe, and came no further; for which hee was also banished *Sparta*, as thought to haue gone backe for money) they stirred not. But when they saw the Army now at *Acharnas*, but 60. Furlongs from the Citie, then they thought it no longer to bee endured; and when their Fields were wasted (as it was likely) in their fight, (which the yonger sort had neuer seene before, nor D the elder, but in the *Persian* Warre) it was taken for a horrible matter; and thought fit, by all, especially by the youth, to goe out, and not to endure it any longer. And holding Councils apart one from another, they were at much contention, some to make a sally, and some to hinder it. And the Priests of the Oracles, giuing out Prophecies of all kinds; euery one made the interpretation according to the sway of his owne affection. But the *Acharnans* conceiuing themselves to bee no small part of the *Athenians*, were they that whilest their owne Lands were wasting, E most of all vrged their going out. Insomuch as the Citie was

The *Athenians* hardly containe themselves from going out to fight.

A was euery way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembering nothing of what hee had formerly admonished them; but reuiled him, for that being their Generall; hee refused to leade them into the Field, and imputing vnto him the cause of all their euill: but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present losse, and ill aduised, and being confident hee was in the right touching not sallying, assembled them not, nor called any Councell, for feare lest being together, they might vpon passion rather then iudgement commit some error. But looked to the guarding of the Citie, and as much as hee could, to keepe it in quiet. Neuertheless he continually sent out Horse-men, to keepe the Scowts of the Armie from entering vpon, and doing hurt to the Fields neere the Citie. And there happened at *Phrygi* a small Skirmish, between one troope of Horse of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horsemen of the *Boeotians*; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worfe, till such time as the *Boeotians* were ayded by the comming in of their men of Armes, and then they were put to flight, and a few of the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slaine; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leaue of the Enemie: and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophie. This ayde of the *Thessalians* was vpon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissians*, *Pharalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirassians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Phereans*. The Leaders of the *Larissians*, were *Polymedes* and *Aristonius*, men of contrary factions in their Citie. Of the *Pharalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the seuerall Cities, seuerall Commanders.

D The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnas*, wasted certaine other Villages, betweene the Hills *Parnethus*, and *Brelissus*.

Whilest these were in *Attica*, the *Athenians* sent the hundred Gallies which they had prouided, and in them 1000. men of Armes, and 400. Archers, about *Peloponnesus*; the Commanders whereof were *Charcinus*, the sonne of *Xenotimus*; *Proteus*, the sonne of *Epicles*; and *Socrates*, the sonne of *Antigenes*: who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

E The *Peloponnesians*, when they had stayd in *Attica* as long as their prouision lasted, went home through *Boeotia*, not the

A Skirmish betweene the *Athenian* and *Boeotian* Horse.

Archidamus remoues from *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians* send 100. Gallies to infect the Sea-Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

The *Peloponnesians* goe home.

the way they came in; but passing by *Oropus*, wasted the A Country (called *Peiræce* which is of the tillage of the *Oropians*, Subjects to the People of *Aibens*; and when they were come backe into *Peloponnesus*, they disbanded; and went euery man to his owne Citie.

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, such as were to continue to the end of the Warre. And made a Decree, to take out a thousand Talents of the money in the Cittadell, and set it by, so as it might not bee spent, but the charges of the Warre bee borne out of other monies; and made it capitall for any B man to moue, or giue his vote for the stirring of this money, for any other vse, but onely (if the Enemie should come with an Armie by Sea to inuade the Citie) for necessity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewise set apart 100. Gallies, and those to be euery yeere the best; and Captaines to be appointed ouer them, which were to bee employed for no other vse then the money was, and for the same danger, if need should require.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, and with them the *Corcyraens* with the ayde C of 50. Sayle more, and certaine others of the Confederates thereabout, amongst other places which they infested in their course, landed at *Methone*, a Towne of *Laconia*, and assaulted it, as being but weake, and few men within. But it chanced that *Brasidas*, the sonne of *Tellis*, a *Spartan*, had a Garrison in those parts, and hearing of it, succoured those of the Towne with 100. men of Armes: wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, disperfed in the Fields, directly towards the Towne, hee put himselfe into *Methone*; and with the losse of few of his men in the passage, D hee saued the place, and for this aduenture, was the first that was praised at *Sparta*, in this Warre. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, sailed along the Coast, and put in at *Pheia*, of *Elis*, where they spent two dayes in wasting the Countrey, and in a Skirmish ouerthrew 300. choice men of the lower *Elis*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts, that came forth to defend it. But the Wind arising, and their Gallies being tossed by the weather, in a harbourlesse place, the most of them imbarqued, and sailed about the Promontory called *Isthys*, into the Hauen E of *Pheia*. But the *Messenians* and certaine others that could not

The *Athenians* set by 1000 Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence against an inuasion by Sea.

The *Athenians* assault *Methone*.

Brasidas defendeth it.

They take *Pheia*, a Town of *Elis*.

A not get aboard, went by Land to the Towne of *Pheia*, and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about tooke them in, and leauing *Pheia*, put forth to Sea againe: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it; but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and wasting some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about * *Locris*, which were to serue also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these, *Cleopompus* the sonne of *Clinias* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in diuers B parts, both wasted some places of the Sea-coast, and won the Towne of *Thronium*, of which hee tooke Hollages; and ouercame in fight at *Alope*, the *Locrians* that came out to ayde it.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* put the *Æginete*, man, woman, and childe, out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principall cause of the present Warre. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colonie of their own people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the C same. When the *Æginete* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them *Thyrea* to dwell in, and the occupation of the Lands belonging vnto it, to liue on; both vpon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits receiued at the hands of the *Æginete*, in the time of the Earthquake, and insurrection of their *Helotes*. This Territory of *Thyrea*, is in the border betweene *Argolica* and *Laconica*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest disperfed into other parts of *Greece*.

Also the same Summer, * on the first day of the Mo- D neth, according to the Moone, (at which time it seemes onely possible) in the afternoone, happened an Eclipse of the Sunne; the which after it had appeared in the forme of a crescent, and withall some Starres had been discerned, came afterwards againe to the former brightnesse.

The same Summer also the *Athenians* made *Nymphodorus* the sonne of *Pythos*, of the Citie of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their * Host, though before they tooke him for an Enemie, and sent for him to *Aibens*, hoping by his meanes E to bring *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, into their League. This *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was the

* That *Locris* whose chief Citie is *Opius*, but that where the *Locri Ozolæ* dwell.

The inhabitants of *Ægina* renoued by the *Athenians*.

And receiued by the *Peloponnesians*.

Eclipse of the Sunne and Starres discerned. * *Pythos* is *πυθίων*. The first day of the month, according to the Moone, in distinction of the Moone's Cusps, though these yeeres were lunar, yet was it not so exact, as that the Moone changed often on the first day.

The *Athenians* seeke the fauour of *Sitalces*, King of *Thrace*, and *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*.

* That is, the man at whose house, and by whom any publicke person was to be entertained that came from *Athens* to *Abdera*.

* See the Fable of Tereus
and Procne in Ovids
Metam.

* King of Macedon.

Sedocus the Sonne of Si-
talces, King of Thrace,
was a Citizen of Athens.
* The Wars about Potidea.

The Athenians take Solium
and Apsalus, and the Ile
of Cephalonia.

The Athenians invade Me-
gara.

first that advanced the Kingdome of the *Odrysiens*, above A
the power of the rest of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* con-
sisteth of free States; And * *Tereus* that tooke to wife
(out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion*, was no
kinne to this *Tereus*, nor of the same part of *Thrace*. But
that *Tereus* was of the Citie of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now
called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the
fact of the Women concerning *Itys* was done there; and
by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingall, that
Bird is also called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pan-
dion* matched his Daughter with this man for vicinity, and B
mutuall succour, then with the other, that was so many
dayes journey off, as to *Odryse*.) And *Tereus*, which is al-
so another name, was the first that seized on the King-
dome of *Odryse*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans sonne, the *Athe-
nians* got into their League, that they might haue the
Townes lying on *Thrace*, and * *Perdiccas* to bee of their
party. *Nymphodorus*, when hee came to *Athens*, made this
League betweene them and *Sitalces*, and caused *Sadocus*,
the sonne of *Sitalces*, to bee made free of *Athens*, and also
vndertooke to end the Warre in * *Thrace*. For hee would C
perswade *Sitalces* to send vnto the *Athenians*, a *Thracian* Ar-
mie of Horsemen and Targettiers. Hee likewise reconcil-
led *Perdiccas* to the *Athenians*, and procured of him the re-
stitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* presently ayded the *A-
thenians* and *Phormio*, in the Warre against the *Chalcideans*.
Thus were *Sitalces*, the sonne of *Tereus*, King of *Thrace*, and
Perdiccas the sonne of *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, made
Confederates with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* being yet with their hundred Gallies a-
bout *Peloponnesus*, tooke *Solium*, a Towne that belonged to D
the *Corinthians*, and put the *Palirenses* onely of all the *Acar-
nians*, into the possession both of the Towne and Territo-
rie. Having also by force taken *Astacus*, from the Ty-
rant *Euarchus*, they draue him thence, and ioyned the place
to their League. From thence they sayled to *Cephalonia*,
and subdued it without battell. This *Cephalonia* is an I-
land lying ouer against *Acarnania*, and *Leucas*, and hath in
it these foure Cities, the *Pallenses*, *Cranij*, *Samei*, and *Pronai*.
And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumne of this Summer, the E
Athenians, both themselves, and the Strangers that dwelt
amongst

A amongst them, with the whole power of the Citie, vnder
the conduct of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, inuaded the
Territory of *Megara*. And those *Athenians* likewise that
had bene with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in
their returne (being now at *Argina*) hearing that the whole
power of the Citie was gone into * *Megara*, went and ioyn-
ed with them. And this was the greatest Armie that e-
uer the *Athenians* had together in one place before; the
Citie being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet a-
mongst them; (For the *Athenians* of themselves were no
B lesse then 10000. men of Armes, (besides the 3000. at *Po-
tidea*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and ac-
compained them in this inuasion, were no fewer then
3000. men of Armes more, besides other great numbers
of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the
greatest part of the Countrey, they went backe to *Athens*.
And afterwards, yeere after yeere, during this Warre, the
Athenians often inuaded *Megara*, sometimes with their
Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Armie, vntill
such time as they had wonne * *Nisaea*.

C Also in the end of this Summer, they fortified *Asalante*,
an Island lying vpon the *Locrians* of *Opus*, desolate till then,
for a Garrison against *Thebes*, which passing ouer from
Opus, and other parts of *Locris*, might annoy *Euboea*. These
were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the
Peloponnesians out of *Attica*.

The Winter following, *Euarchus* of *Acarnania*, desirous
to returne to *Astacus*, praileth with the *Corinthians*,
to goe thither with 40. Gallies, and 1500. men of Armes,
to re-establish him; to which he hired also certaine other

D Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of
this Armie were *Euphanidas* the sonne of *Aristonymus*, *Ti-
moxenes* the sonne of *Timocrates*, and *Eumachus* the sonne of
Chrysis. When they had re-established him, they ende-
uoured to draw to their party some other places on the
the Sea-Coast of *Acarnania*, but missing their purpose, they
set sayle homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Ce-
phalonia*, they disbarked in the Territory of the *Cranij*,
where, vnder colour of Composition, they were decciued,
and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made
E vpon them by the *Cranij*, being unexpected, they got off,
with much adoe, and went home.

* The Territory of Megara:
The Athenians greatest
Armie.

The Athenians duely once
a yeere inuade Megara.

* The Assault of Megara.

The end of the first
Summer.

Euarchus the Tyrant re-
couereth *Astacus*.

The manner of the Athenians, in burying the bones of the first slain in the Warres.

* The custome was when a man dyed, to burne him, and the Buriall after, was onely of his bones, or (the powder of them) his ashes.

* Offering, Incense, and vits of buriall.

* To his owne friends slain.

* The Ceramicum.

* By the first slain in the Warre, is understood either the first enemy yeere in the same Warre, or else the second slain of this great Warre, are counted as severall Warres, and so the first slain in any of them, had the honour of this buriall.

The same Winter the Athenians, according to their ancient custome, solemnized a publike Funerall of the first slaine in this Warre, in this manner: Having set vp a Tent, they put into it the * bones of the dead, three dayes before the Funerall, and euery one bringeth * whatsoeuer he thinkes good to his * owne. When the day comes of carrying them to their buriall, certaine Cypresse Coffins are carried along in Carts, for euery Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of euery Tribe by themselves. There is likewise borne an empty Hearse couered ouer, for such as appeare not, nor were found amongst the rest B when they were taken vp. The Funerall is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger, and the Women of their Kindred are also by at the buriall, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publike Monument, which standeth in the fairest * Suburbs of the Citie, (in which place they haue euer interred all that dyed in the Warres, except those that were slaine in the Fields of Marathon, who, because their vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there right) and when the earth is throwne ouer them, some one, thought to exceede the rest in wisdom and dignity, chosen by the Citie, maketh an Oration, wherein hee giueth them such praises as are fit: which done, the Companie depart. And this is the forme of that Buriall; and for the * whole time of the Warre, whensoeuer there was occasion, they obserued the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was Pericles, the sonne of Xanthippus, who when the time serued, going out of the place of buriall into a high Pulpit, to be heard the further off by the multitude D about him, spake vnto them in this manner:

THE FUNERALL ORATION made by PERICLES.

Though most that haue spoken formerly in this place, haue commended the man that added this Oration to the Law, as honourable for those that dye in the Warres; yet to mee it seemeth sufficient, that they who haue shewed their valour by action, should also by an action haue their honour, as now you see they haue; in this E their sepulture performed by the State; and not to haue the vertue of many

A many hazarded on one, to be beleued as that one shall make a good or bad Cration. For, to speake of men in a iust measure, is a hard matter, and though one do so, yet he shall hardly get the truth firmly beleued. the fauourable hearer, and hee that knowes what was done, will perhaps thinke what is spoken, short of what hee would haue it, and what it was; and hee that is ignorant, will finde somewhat on the other side, which hee will thinke too much extolled; especially if hee heare ought about the pitch of his owne nature. For to heare another man praised, findes patience so long onely, as each man shall thinke he could himselfe haue done somewhat of that hee heares. And if one exceed in their praises, the hearer presently through enuie thinkes it false. B But since our Ancestors haue so thought good, I also, following the same ordinance, must endenour to be answerable to the desires and opinions of euery one of you, as farre forth as I can. I will beginne at our Ancestours, being a thing both iust and honest that to them first hee giuen the honour of remembrance in this kinde: For they hauing beene alwayes the inhabitants of this Region, by their valour haue deliuered the same to succession of posterity, hitherto, in the state of liberty: For which they deserue commendation; but our Fathers deserue yet more; for that besides what descended on them, not C without great labour of their owne, they haue purchased this our present Dominion, and deliuered the same ouer to vs that now are. Which in a great part also, wee our selves, that are yet in the strength of our age here present, haue enlarged; and so furnished the Citie with euery thing, both for peace and warre, as it is now allsufficient in it selfe. The actions of Warre, whereby all this was attained, and the deedes of Armes, both of our selues and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Warres against vs, amongst you that are well acquainted with the summe, to auide prolixity, I will passe ouer. But by what institutions wee arrived at this, by what D forme of government, and by what meanes we haue advanced the State to this greatnesse, when I shall haue laide open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I thinke they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to heare related. Wee haue a forme of government, not fetched by imitation from the Lawes of our neighbouring States, (nay, wee are rather a patterne to others, then they to vs) which, because in the administration, it hath respect, not to a few, but to the multitude, is called a Democracie. Wherein though there be an equality amongst all men in point of Law, for their private controuersies; yet in conferring of dignities, one man is preferred before E another to publike charge, and that according to the reputation, not of

* *παρὸν*. A part. But here he means a part or family in the Common wealth. Creeping secretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the Supreme Office, but the Heraclides.

* *ἑλκεῖται* againe at the Lacedæmonians, because they euer looked sourly on soft and loose behaviour.

The Athenians had Sacrifices and Games, publick or priuate, for euery day of the yeere.

* *τὸν δὲ* is spoken with enuie towards the Lacedæmonians, that prohibited Strangers to dwell amongst them.

of his * House, but of his vertue, and is not put backe through puer-
tie, for the obscurity of his person, as long as hee can doe good seruice
to the Common wealth. And we liue not onely free in the administration
of the State, but also one with another, voyd of ieaousie, touching
each others daily course of life; not offended at any man for following
his owne humour, nor casting on any man * censorious lookes, which
though they bee no punishment, yet they grieve. So that conuersing
one with another for the priuate without offence, wee stand chiefly in
feare to transgresse against the publique; and are obedient alwayes to
those that governe, and to the Lawes, and principally to such Lawes as
are written for protection against iniurie, and such unwritten, as
bring undeniable shame to the transgressours. Wee haue also found
out many wayes to giue our mindes recreation from labour, by publike
institution of Games and Sacrifices for all the dayes of the yeere, with
a decent pompe and furniture of the same by priuate men; by the daily
delight whereof, wee expell sadnesse. Wee haue this further, by the
greatnesse of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are
imported hither; whereby we no lesse familiarly enioy the commodities
of all other Nations, then our owne. Then in the studies of Warre,
wee excell our Enemies in this: wee leaue our Citie open to all men,
nor was it euer seene, that by * banishing of strangers, we denyed them
the learning or sight of any of those things, which if not hidden, an E-
nemie might reape aduantage by, not relying on secret preparation and
deceit; but vpon our owne courage in the action. They in their dis-
cipline hunt after valour, presently from their youth, with laborious
exercise, and yet wee that liue remissely, vndertake as great dangers
as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians inuade not our domi-
nion by themselves alone, but with the ayde of all the rest. But when
wee inuade our neighbours, though wee fight in hostile ground, a-
gainst such as in their owne ground, fight in defence of their
owne substance, yet for the most part wee get the victorie. D
Neuer Enemie yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at
once; both because wee apply our selues much to Navigation, and
by Land also send many of our men into diuers Countries abroad. But
when fighting with a part of it, they chauce to get the better, they boast
they haue beaten the whole; and when they get the worse, they say
they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from ease, rather then
studious labour, and vpon naturall, rather then doctrinall valour, wee
come to vndertake any danger, wee haue this oddes by it, that we shall
not faint before hand with the meditation of future trouble, and in
the action wee shall appeare no lesse confident then they that are euer
tuyling; procuring admiration to our Citie; as well in this, as in
diuers

A diuers other things. For we also giue our selues to brauery, and yet
with thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the
minde. And we vse riches rather for opportunities of action, then
for verball ostentation: And hold it not asbame to confesse puer-
ty, but not to haue auoided it. Moreover there is in the same men,
a care, both of their owne, and of the publique affaires, and a suffi-
cient * knowledge of State matters, euen in those that labour with
their hands. For we onely, thinke one that is vnderly ignorant there-
in, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for
nothing. We likewise, weigh what we vndertake, and apprehend it
B perfectly in our mindes; not accounting words for a hindrance of
action, but that it is rather a hindrance to action, to come to it with-
out instruction of words before. For also in this we excell others;
daring to vndertake as much as any, and yet examining what wee
vndertake; whereas with other men, ignorance makes them dare,
and consideration, daunts; and they are most rightly reputed va-
liant, who though they perfectly apprehend, both what is dangerous,
and what is safe, are neuer the more thereby diuerted from aduen-
turing. Againe, we are contrary to most men in matter of bounty.
For we purchase our friends, not by receiuing, but by bestowing bene-
C fits. And he that bestoweth a good turne, is euer the most constant
friend, because hee will not lose the thanks due vnto him, from him
whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the friendship of him that ow-
eth a benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his benefit not to be taken
for a fauor, but for a debt; So that we onely, doe good to others,
not vpon computation of profit, but freenesse of trust. In summe, it
may be said, both that the City is in generall a Schoole of the Gre-
cians, and that the men here, haue euery one in particular, his per-
son disposed to most diuersity of actions; and yet all with grace and
decency. And that this is not now, rather a brauery of words, vpon
D the occasion, then reall truth, this power of the Citie, which by these
institutions we haue obtained, maketh euident. For it is the onely
power now found greater in prooffe, then fame; and the onely power,
that neither grieueth the invader when he mis-carries, with the qua-
lity of those he was hurt by, nor giueth cause to the subiected States
to murmur, as being in subiection to men unworthy. For both
with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration, for a power,
not without testimony, but made euident by great arguments; and
which needeth not either a Homer to praise it, or any other such,
E whose Poems may indeed for the present, bring delight, but the truth
will after wards confute the opinion conceiued of the actions. For
we haue opened vnto vs by our courage, all Seas; and Lands, and

* In Athens no man so poore
but was a Statesman, so
S. Luke, Act. 17. 2. All
the Athenians spend their
time in nothing but learn-
ing, and telling of newes, the true
character of politicians with-
out employment.

Hee magnifies the Athe-
nian power above that
which the Grecians had
at Troy, which needed Ho-
mer to make it show
great, but this power
would seeme great by
Trophies and reall in-
struments of their ac-
tions.

set vp eternall Monuments on all sides, both of the euill we haue done A
to our enemies, and the good wee haue done to our friends. Such is the
Citie for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly
fighting, haue dyed. And it is fit that euery man of you that bee left,
should bee like-minded, to vndergoe any trauell for the same. And I
haue therefore spoken so much concerning the Citie in generall, as well
to shew you, that the stakes betweene vs and them, whose Citie is not
such; are not equall; as also to make knowne by effects, the worth of
these men I am to speake of; the greatest part of their praises being
therein already deliuered. For what I haue spoken of the Citie, hath
by these and such as these beene atchieued: Neither would praises B
and actions appeare so leuelly concurrent in many other of the Greci-
ans, as they doe in these; the present revolution of these mens liues
seeming vnto mee an argument of their vertues, noted in the first act
thereof, and in the last confirmed. For euen such of them as were
worse then the rest, doe neuerthelesse deserue that for their valour
shewne in the Warres for defence of their Countrey, they should bee
preferred before the rest. For hauing by their good actions abolished
the memory of their euill, they haue profited the State thereby, more
then they haue hurt it by their priuate behauiour. Yet there was none
of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was there- C
by growne cowardly, or that for hope to ouercome his pouerty at length,
and to attaine to riches, did for that cause withdraw himselfe from the
danger. For their principall desire was not wealth, but reuenge on
their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger,
they made account through it, both to accomplish their reuenge, and to
purchase wealth withall; putting the vncertainty of successe, to the
account of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, rely-
ing vpon themselves in the Action; and therein chusing rather to
fight and dye, then to shrink and bee saued. They fled from shame,
but with their bodies, they stood out the Battell; and so in a moment, D
whilest Fortune inclineth neither way, lest their liues not in feare, but
in opinion of victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Countrey;
and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer fortune; but you
ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemy; not
weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying,
may recount, to you that know as well as hee, the many commodities
that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies, but contemplating
the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day per-
formed, and thereby becomming enamoured of it. And when this po-
wer of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same E
was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and
by

A by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and
by such men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee
wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made vnto it a most ho-
nourable contribution. For hauing euery one giuen his body to the
Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an vndecaying commen-
dation, and a most remarkeable Sepulcher; not wherein they are buri-
ed so much, as wherein their glory is laid vp, vpon all occasions, both
of speech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men,
all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues shall bee testified, not
onely by the inscription in stone at home, but by an vnwritten record of
the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with
euery one for euer. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing hap-
pinesse in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the
dangers of Warre. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they
that haue the most reason to bee prodigall of their liues, but rather such
men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whose losses
are greatest, if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit,
Death, which is without sense, arriuing whilest hee is in vigour, and
common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought
into miserie. Wherefore I will not so much bewaile, as comfort you
C the parents, that are present, of these men. For you know that whilest
they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas
whilest you are in griefe, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as
these haue done: and to whom it hath beene granted, not only to liue
in prosperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to dissuade
you from sorrow, for the losse of that, which the* happinesse of others,
wherein you also when time was, reioyced your selues, shall so often
bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a good
neuer tasted, but for the priuation of a good wee haue beene vsed to)
yet such of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the losse
D of these, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on
with some the obliuion of those that are slaine, and also doubly conduce
to the good of the Citie, by population and strength. For it is not like-
ly that they should equally giue good counsell to the State, that haue not
children to bee equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past
hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your
life, to the account of your gaine, and supposing the remainder of it will
bee but short, you shall haue the glory of these for a consolation of the
same. For the loue of honour neuer groweth old, nor doth that vnpro-
fitable part of our life take delight (as some haue said) in gathering of
E wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the
children or brethren of these men, I see you shall haue a difficult taske
P of

* children.

106	The History of THUCYDIDES.	Lib. 2.
	<p>of emulation. For euery man w^osh to praise the dead; so that A with oddes of vertue, you will hardly get an equall reputation, but still be thought a little short. For men enuy their Competitors in glory, while they liue, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honou- red with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say somewhat also of feminine vertue, for you that are now Widdowes: I shall expresse it all in this short admonition. It will bee much for your honour, not to recede from your Sexe, and to giue as little occa- sion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or euill, as you can. Thus also haue I, according to the prescript of the Law, deliuered in word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, haue in B fact beene already honoured; and further, their children shall bee maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the Citie, which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that liue, a profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the re- wards of vertue are greatest, there liue the worthiest men. So now hauiug lamented euery one his owne, you may be gone. Such was the Funerall made this Winter, which ending, ended the first yeere of this Warre.</p> <p>In the very beginning of Summer, the Peloponnesians, and C their Confederates, with two thirds of their forces, as before inualed Attica, vnder the conduct of Archidamus, the sonne of Zeuxidamas, King of Lacedemon, and after they had en- camped themselues, waited the countrey about them.</p> <p>They had not beene many dayes in Attica, when the plague first began amongst the Athenians, said also to haue seazed formerly on diuers other parts, as about Lemnos, and elsewhere; but so great a plague, and mortality of men, was neuer remembered to haue hapned in any place before. For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, D through ignorance of what it was, but dyed fastest them- selues, as being the men that most approached the sicke, nor any other art of man auailed whatsoeuer. All suppli- cations to the Gods, and enquiries of Oracles, and whatsoeuer other meanes they vsed of that kind, proued all vnprofita- ble, insomuch as subdued with the greatnesse of the euill, they gaue them all ouer. It began (by report) first, in that part of Æthiopia that lyeth vpon Egypt, and thence fell downe into Egypt and Afrique, and into the greatest part of the Territories of the * King. It inualed Athens on a E sudden; and touched first vpon those that dwelt in Piræus;</p>	
<p>The children of such as were the first slaine in any Warre, were kept at the charge of the Citie, till they came to mans estate.</p> <p>THE SECOND YEERE. The second inuasion of Attica, by the Lacedemo- nians.</p> <p>The plague at Athens.</p> <p>It began in Æthiopia.</p> <p>* of Persia.</p>		

Lib. 2.	The History of THUCYDIDES.	107
	<p>A Pyreu; insomuch as they reported that the Peloponnesians had cast poyson into their Welles, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the high City, and then they dyed a great deale faster. Now let euery man, Physitian, or other, concerning the ground of this sicknesse, whence it sprung, and what causes hee thinkes able to produce so great an alteration, speake ac- cording to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely such things, as one may take his marke by, to discover the same if it come againe, hauing beene both sicke of it my selfe, and seene others sicke of the same. This yeere, by confessi- on of all men, was of all other, for other diseases, most free and healthfull. If any man were sicke before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly, without any apparant cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were ta- ken first with an extreame ache in their heads, rednesse and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew presently bloody, and their breath noy- some, and vnauory. Vpon this, followed a sneezing and hoarsenesse, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breast. And when once it was settled in the * stomacke, it caused vomit, and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious pur- gation that Physitians euer named. Most of them had also the Hickeyexe, which brought with it a strong con- vulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddish liuid, and be- flowred with little pimples and wheelkes, but so burned in- wardly, as not to endure any the lightest cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere naked- nesse, but rather, most willingly, to haue cast themselues into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ranne vnto the Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, be- ing still, from ease, and power to sleepe, as farre as euer. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wa- sted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, as the most of them either dyed of their inward burning, in nine or seuen dayes, whilst they had yet strength, or if they escaped that, then the disease falling downe</p>	<p>The Peloponnesians suppo- sed to haue poysoned their Welles</p> <p>The Author sicke of this disease.</p> <p>The description of the Disease.</p> <p>Ache of the head.</p> <p>Rednesse of the eyes.</p> <p>Sore throat.</p> <p>Vnauourie breath.</p> <p>Vomitings. * xypsa, here taken for the stomach.</p> <p>Hickeyexe.</p> <p>Extreme heate of their bodies.</p> <p>Liuid puules,</p> <p>Insatiate thirst.</p> <p>Want of sleepe.</p> <p>After 7. or 9. dayes, death.</p>
	P 2	

Disease in the belly.

Loosenesse.

Lesse of the parts where
the diseases brake out.Oblision of all things
done before their sick-
nesse.Birds and Beasts perished
that fed on Carcasses.

Want of attendance.

Dejection of mind.

downe into their bellies, and causing there great exulcera- A
tions, and immoderate loosenesse, they dyed many of them
afterwards through weakenesse. For the disease (which
tooke first the head) began aboue, and came downe, and
passed through the whole body; and he that ouer-
came the worst of it, was yet marked with the losse of his
extreme parts; for breaking out both at their priuy
members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the
losse of these escaped. There were also some that lost
their eyes, and many that presently vpon their recouery,
were taken with such an obliuion of all things B
whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselues, nor their ac-
quaintance. For this was a kind of sicknesse which farre
surmounted all expresseion of words, and both exceeded hu-
mane nature, in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one,
and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases
that are bred amongst vs, and that especially by this. For
all both birds and beasts, that vse to feed on humane flesh,
though many men lay abroad vnburi'd, either came not
at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof as
touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, C
which were not then seene, neither about the Carcasses, or
any where else; But by the dogges, because they are fa-
miliar with men, this effect was seene much cleerer. So
that this disease (to passe ouer many strange particulars, of
the accidents, that some had differently, from others) was
in generall such as I haue showne, and for other vsuall
sickenesses, at that time, no man was troubled with any.
Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some
againe with all the care and Physicke that could be vsed.
Nor was there any, to say, certaine medicine, that applied D
must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did
harme to another; nor any difference of body, for strength
or weakenesse that was able to resist it; but it carried all
away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. But the
greatest misery of all was, the deiection of mind, in such as
found themselues beginning to be sicke (for they grew
presently desperate, and gaue themselues ouer without
making any resistance) as also their dying thus like
sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation, for the greatest
mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to vi- E
sitate them, for feare, then they dyed forlorne, whereby ma-
ny

ny Families became empty, for want of such as should
take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died
themselues, and principally the honestest men. For out of
shame, they would not spare themselues, but went in vnto
their friends, especially after it was come to this passe, that
euen their domestiques, wearied with the lamentations of
them that died, and ouercome with the greatnesse of the
calamity, were no longer moued therewith. But those that
were recouered, had much compassion both on them that
died, and on them that lay sicke, as hauing both knowne
the misery themselues, and now no more subiect to the
danger. For this disease neuer tooke any man the second
time, so as to be mortall. And these men were both by
others counted happy, and they also themselues, through
excesse of present ioy, conceiued a kind of light hope, ne-
uer to die of any other sicknesse hereafter. Besides the pre-
sent affliction, the reception of the countrey people, and of
their substance into the Citie, oppressed both them, and
much more the people themselues that so came in. For ha-
uing no houses, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in
stifling boothes, the mortality was now without all
forme; and dying men lay tumbling one vpon another in
the streetes, and men halfe dead, about euery Conduit
through desire of water. The Temples also where they
dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died with-
in them, for oppressed with the violence of the Calami-
tie, and not knowing what to doe, men grew carelesse both
of holy, and prophane things alike. And the Lawes
which they formerly vsed touching Funerals, were all
now broken; euery one burying where hee could finde
D roome. And many for want of things necessary, after so
many deathes before, were forced to become impudent in
the Funerals of their friends. For when one had made a Fu-
neral *Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his
dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, ano-
ther would come, and hauing cast thereon him whom he
carried, goe his way againe. And the great licentious-
nesse, which also in other kindes was vsed in the Citie, be-
gan at first from this disease. For that which a man before
would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for vo-
luptuousnesse, he durst now doe freely, seeing before his
eyes such quick revolutions of the rich dying, and men
worth

No man sicke of it mor-
tally the second time.

Men dyed in the streets.

Disorder in their Func-
rals.* A pile of wood, which when
they had laid the Corpses on it,
they fired, and afterwards
buried the bones.Licentiousnesse of life
iustified.

Neglect of Religion and Law.

Predictions called to minde.

* λοιμός.

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the event.

* Apollo, to whom the Hea-then attributed the immision of all epidemicks or ordinary diseases.

worth nothing, inheriting their estates; insomuch as they A
iustified a speedy fruition of their goods, euen for their
pleasure; as men that thought they held their liues
but by the day. As for paines, no man was forward in any
action of honour, to take any, because they thought it vn-
certaine whether they should dye or not, before they at-
chieued it. But what any man knew to bee delightfull,
and to bee profitable to pleasure, that was made both pro-
fitable and honourable. Neither the feare of the Gods,
nor Lawes of men, awed any man. Not the former, be-
cause they concluded it was alike to worship or not wor- B
ship, from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the lat-
ter, because no man expected that liues would last, till he
receiued punishment of his crimes by iudgement. But
they thought there was now ouer their heads, some farre
greater Iudgement decreed against them; before which
fell, they thought to enioy some little part of their liues.
Such was the misery into which the Athenians being false,
were much oppressed, hauing not onely their men killed
by the Disease within, but the enemy also laying waste
their Fieldes and Villages without. In this sicknesse also, C
(as it was not vnlikely they would) they called to minde
this Verse, said also of the elder sort to haue beene vttered
of old:

*A Dorique Warre shall fall,
And a great * Plague withall.*

Now were men at variance about the word, some say-
ing it was not λοιμός, (.i. the Plague) that was by the An-
cients, mentioned in that verse, but λιμός, (.i. Famine.) But D
vpon the present occasion the word λοιμός, deseruedly ob-
tained. For as men suffered, so they made the Verse to
say: And I thinke, if after this, there shall euer come an-
other Dorique Warre, and with it a Famine, they are like
to recite the Verse accordingly. There was also reported
by such as knew, a certaine answer giuen by the Oracle to
the Lacedemonians, when they enquired whether they
should make this Warre, or not, That if they warred with all
their power, they should haue the Victorie, and that the * God him-
selfe would take their parts: and thereupon they thought E
the present misery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie.

The

A The Peloponnesians were no sooner entred Attica, but the
sicknesse presently began, and neuer came into Peloponnesus,
to speake of, but raigned principally in Athens, and in such
other places afterwards as were most populous. And thus
much of this Disease.

After the Peloponnesians had wasted the Champaigne
Country, they fell vpon the Territory called * Paralos, * by the Sea coast,
as farre as to the Mountaine Laurius, where the Athenians
had Siluer Mines, and first wasted that part of it which
looketh towards Peloponnesus, and then that also which ly-
eth toward Andros and Eubœa: and Pericles, who was also
then Generall, was still of the same minde hee was of in
the former inuasion, that the Athenians ought not to goe
out against them to battell.

Whilst they were yet in the Plaine, & before they entred
into the Maritime Country, he furnished an hundred Gal-
lies to goe about Peloponnesus, and as soone as they were
ready, put to Sea. In these Gallies hee had foure thou-
sand men of Armes; and in Vessels then purposely first
made to carry Horses, three hundred Horsemen. The Chi-
ans and Lesbians ioyned likewise with him with fiftie Gal-
lies. This Fleet of the Athenians; when it set forth, left
the Peloponnesians still in Paralia, and comming before Epidau-
rus, a Citie of Peloponnesus, they wasted much of the Coun-
try therabout, and assaulting the Citie, had a hope to take it,
though it succeeded not. Leaving Epidaurus, they wasted
the Territories about, of Trezene, Halia, and Hermione, places
all on the Sea-coast of Peloponnesus. Putting off from hence,
they came to Præstia, a small maritime Citie of Laconica, and
both wasted the Territory about it; and tooke and razed
D the Towne it selfe: and hauing done this, came home, and
found the Peloponnesians not now in Attica, but gone backe.

All the while the Peloponnesians were in the Territorie
of the Athenians, and the Athenians abroad with their Fleet,
the sicknesse, both in the Arme and Citie, destroyed ma-
ny, in so much as it was said, that the Peloponnesians, fea-
ring the sicknesse (which they knew to bee in the Citie,
both by fugitiues, and by seeing the Athenians burying their
dead) went the sooner away out of the Country. And
yet they staid there longer in this inuasion, then they
E had done any time before, and wasted euen the whole
Territory: for they continued in Attica almost forty daies.

The

The Peloponnesians depart
out of Attica.

The Athenian Fleet retur-
ned from Peloponnesus, go-
ing to Potidea with ill suc-
cess, by reason of the
sickenesse.

The same Summer, Agnon the sonne of Nicias, and Cleo-
pompus the Sonne of Clinias, who were ioynt Commanders
with Pericles, with that Armie which hee had employed
before, went presently and made Warre vpon the Chalcide-
ans of Thrace, and against Potidea, which was yet besieged.
Arriuing, they presently applyed Engins, and tryed all
meanes possible to take it; but neither the taking of the
Citie, nor any thing else, succeeded worthy so great prepa-
ration. For the sickenesse comming amongst them, affli-
cted them mightily indeed, and euen deuoured the Army.
And the Athenian Souldiers which were there before, and
in health, caught the sickenesse from those that came
with Agnon. As for Phormio, and his 1600. they were
not now amongst the Chalcideans; and Agnon therefore came
backe with his Fleet, hauing of 4000 men in lesse then 40.
dayes, lost 10;0. of the plague. But the Souldiers that
were there before, staid vpon the place, and continued the
siege of Potidea.

The Athenian people
vexed at once both with
the Warre & Pestilence,
grow impatient toward
Pericles.

After the second inuasion of the Peloponnesians, the Atheni-
ans (hauing their fields now the second time wasted, and
both the sickenesse, and warre, falling vpon them at once) C
changed their mindes, and accused Pericles, as if by his
meanes they had been brought into these calamities, and
desired earnestly to compound with the Lacedemonians, to
whom also they sent certaine Ambassadors, but they re-
turned without effect. And being then at their wits
end, they kept a stirre at Pericles. And hee, seeing them
vexed with their present calamity, and doing all those
things which he had before expected, called an Assem-
bly (for he was yet Generall) with intention to put them
againe into heart, and aswaging their passion, to reduce D
their mindes to a more calme, and lesse dismayed temper;
and standing forth, he spake vnto them, in this manner.

THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

Y Our anger towards me, commeth not vnlooked for, (for the
causes of it I know) and I haue called this Assembly therefore,
to remember you, and reprehend you for those things, wherein you
haue either bene angry with me, or giuen way to your aduersity, with-
out reason. For I am of this opinion, that the publike prosperity of the
Citie,

A Citie, is better for priuate men, then if the priuate men themselues
were in prosperity, and the publike wealth in decay. For a priuate
man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of ne-
cessity be ruined with it; whereas hee that mis carrieth, in a flourish-
ing Common-wealth, shall much more easily be preserved. Since then
the Common-wealth is able to beare the calamities of priuate men, and
euery one cannot support the calamities of the Common-wealth, why
should not euery one strine to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished
with domestique misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a
censuring both me that counsell the Warre, and your selues, that de-
creed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry withall, one, as I
thinke my selfe, inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite,
or in expressing what I know, and a louer of my Countrey, and superior
to money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot cleerely expresse
them, were as good to haue thought nothing at all. He that can do both,
and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not giue it faithfull
counsell. And he that will doe that too, yet if he be superable by mony,
will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my ad-
uice in making this Warre, as esteeming these vertues to bee in mee,
somewhat about the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accu-
sed of doing you wrong. For though to such as haue it in their owne ele-
ction (being otherwise in good estate) it were madnesse to make choic e
of Warre; yet when we must of necessity, either giue way, and so with-
out more adoe, be subiect to our Neighbours, or else saue our selues from
it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then
he that standeth to it. For mine owne part, I am the man I was, and
of the minde I was, but you are changed, wonne to the Warre, when you
were entire, but repenting it vpon the damage, and condemning my
counsell, in the weakenesse of your owne iudgement. The reason of this
is, because you feele already euery one in particular, that which afflicts
D you, but the euidence of the profit to accrew to the Citie in generall,
you see not yet. And your mindes deiect with the great and sudden
alteration, cannot constantly maintaine what you haue before resolved.
For that which is sodaine and v unexpected, and contrary to what
one hath deliberated, enslaueth the spirit; which by this disease princi-
pally, in the necke of the other incommodities, is now come to passe in
you. But you that are borne in a great Citie, and with education sute-
able, how great soeuer the affliction be; ought not to shrinke at it, and
eclipse your reputation (for men doe no lesse condemne those that
through cowardize lose the glory they haue, then hate those that
through impudence, arrogate the glory they haue not) but to set aside
E the griefe of your priuate losses, and lay your hands to the common
safety.

afety. As for the toyle of the Warre, that it may perhaps be long, A
and we in the end neuer the nearer to the victory, though that may
 suffice which I haue demonstrated at other times, touching your
 causelesse suspicion that way; yet this I will tell you moreover, tou-
 ching the greatnesse of your meanes for dominion, which neither you
 your selues seeme to haue euer thought on, nor I touched in my for-
 mer Orations; nor would I also haue spoken it now, but that I see
 your mindes deiected more then there is cause for. That though you
 take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I affirme
 that of the two parts of the world of manifest vse, the Land and the
 Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Masters, both of as much of it, B
 as you make vse of, and also of as much more as you shall thinke fit
 your selues. Neither is there any King or Nation whatsoever, of
 those that now are, that can impeach your Nauigation, with the Fleet
 and strength you now goe. So that you must not put the vse of
 Houses, and Lands, (wherein you now thinke your selues deprived
 of a mighty matter) into the ballance with such a power as this, nor
 take the losse of these things heauily in respect of it; but rather (et lit-
 tle by them, as but a light ornament and embellishment of wealth, and
 thinke, that our libertie, as long as we hold fast that, will easily reco-
 uer vnto vs, these things againe; whereas subiected once to others, C
 euen that which we possesse besides will be diminished. Shew not
 your selues both wayes inferiour to your Ancestors, who not onely
 held this (gotten by their owne labours, not left them) but haue also
 preserved, and deliuered the same vnto vs; (For it is more dishonour
 to lose what one possesseth, then to miscarry in the acquisition of it)
 and encounter the enemy not onely with magnanimitie, but also with
 disdain: for a coward may haue a high minde; vpon a prosperous
 ignorance, but he that is confident vpon iudgement to be superiour
 to his enemy, doth also disdain him, which is now our case. And con-
 rage (in equall fortune) is the safer for our disdain of the enemy, D
 where a man knowes what he doth. For he trusteth lesse to hope,
 which is of force onely in vncertainties, and more to iudgement vpon
 certainties, wherein there is a more sure foresight. You haue reason
 besides to maintaine the dignitie the Citie hath gotten for her Domi-
 nion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the paines, or
 not also pursue the honour. And you must not thinke the question
 is now of your liberty, and seruitude onely. Besides the losse of your
 rule ouer others, you must stand the danger you haue contracted, by
 offence giuen in the administration of it. Nor can you now giue it
 ouer (if any fearing at this present, that what may come to passe, en-
 courage himselfe with the intension of not to meddle hereafter) for
 already

A already your government is in the nature of a tyranny, which is both vn-
 iust for you to take vp, and vn safe to lay downe. And such men as these, if
 they could perswade others to it, or liued in a free Citie by themselves,
 would quickly overthrow it. For the quiet life can neuer be preserved,
 if it be not ranged with the active life; nor is it a life conducible to a
 Citie that reigneth but to a subiect Citie, that it may safely serue. Be
 not therefore seduced by this sort of men; nor angry with me, to-
 gether with whom your selues did decree this Warre, because the ene-
 my invading you hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed
 him not. And as for the sicknesse (the onely thing that exceeded
 the imagination of all men) it was vlooked for, and I know you hate
 B me somewhat the more for that, but vniustly; vnlesse when any thing
 falleth out aboue your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate vn-
 to me that. Evils that come from heauen, you must beare necessarily,
 and such as proceed from your enemies valiantly; for so it hath bene
 the custome of this Citie to doe heretofore, which custome let it not bee
 your part to reuerse. Knowing that this Citie hath a great name
 amongst all people, for not yeelding to aduersity, and for the mighty
 power it yet hath, after the expence of so many liues, and so much la-
 bour in the Warre, the memory whereof, though we should now at
 C length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay
 againe) will remaine with posterity for euer. How that being Gre-
 cians, most of the Grecians were our subiects, That we haue abidden
 the greatest Warres against them, both vniustly and singly. And
 haue inhabited the greatest and wealthiest Citie. Now this,
 bee with the quiet life will condemne, the active man will emulate,
 and they that haue not attained to the like, will enuy. But to be hated,
 and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoever hee
 be that hath the command of others; and he does well that vndergoeth
 hatred, for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not,
 D and is recompenced both with a present splendor and an immortall glo-
 ry hereafter. Seeing then you foresee both what is honourable for the fu-
 ture, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one; and
 the other by your courage now. Send no more Heraulds to the Lace-
 daemonians, nor let them know that the euill present does any
 way afflict you; for they whose mindes least feele, and whose actions
 most oppose a calamity both amongst States, and private persons are
 the best. In this speech did Pericles endeavour to appease the an-
 E ger of the Athenians towards himselfe, and withall to with-
 draw their thoughts from the present affliction; But they.

*Pericles fined in a summe
of money.*

*Athen at the greatest in
the time of Pericles.*

*The death of Pericles.
* Plutarch says, he dyed of
the Plague.*

*The commendation of
Pericles.*

they, though for the State in generall, they were won, and A
sent to the *Lacedaemonians* no more, but rather enclined to
the Warre, yet they were every one in particular, grieved
for their severall losses. The poore, because entering the
Warre with little, they lost that little, and the rich, be-
cause they had lost faire possessions, together with good-
ly houses, and costly furniture in them, in the Countrey;
but the greatest matter of all was, that they had Warre
in stead of Peace. And altogether, they deposed not their
anger, till they had first fined him in a summe of money.
Neuerthelesse, not long after, (as is the fashion of the B
multitude) they made him Generall againe, and commit-
ted the whole State to his administration. For the sense
of their domestique losses was now dulled, and for the need
of the Common-wealth, they prized him more then any
other whatsoever. For as long as he was in authority
in the Citie, in time of Peace, he governed the same with
moderation, and was a faithfull watchman of it, and in his
time it was at the greatest. And after the Warre was on
foot, it is manifest that he therein also fore-saw what it
could doe. Hee lived after the Warre began, two yeeres C
and sixe moneths. And his foresight in the Warre was
best knowne after his * death. For he told them, that if
they would be quiet, and looke to their Nauy, and during
this Warre, seeke no further dominion, nor hazzard the
Citie it selfe, they should then haue the vpper hand. But
they did contrary in all, and in such other things besides,
as seemed not to concerne the Warre, managed the State,
according to their priuate ambition and couetousnesse, per-
nitiously both for themselves, and their Confederates.
What succeeded well, the honour and profit of it, came D
most to priuate men; and what miscarried, was to the
Cities detriment in the Warre. The reason whereof was
this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity
and wisdom, & for bribes, manifestly the most incorrupt,
he freely controuled the multitude, and was not so much
led by them, as he led them. Because (having gotten his
power by no euill Artes) he would not humour them in
his speeches, but out of his authority, durst anger them
with contradiction. Therefore whensoever he saw them
out of season insolently bold, he would with his Orations E
put them into a feare, and againe when they were afraid
without

A without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and
imbolden them. It was in name a State Democratically, but
in fact, A government of the principall Man. But they that
came after, being more equall amongst themselves, and af-
fecting every one to be the chiefe, applied themselves to
the people, and let goe the care of the Common-wealth.
From whence, amongst many other errors, as was like-
ly in a great and dominant Citie, proceeded also the voyage
into *Sicily*, which was not so much vpon mistaking those
whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the
B senders, of what was necessary for those that went the
voyage. For through priuate quarrels about, who should
beare the greatest sway with the people, they both abated
the vigour of the Armie, and then also first troubled the
State at home with diuision. Being ouerthrowne in *Sici-
ly*, and having lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest
part of their Nauy, and the Citie being then in sedition, yet
they held out 3 yeeres, both against their first enemies,
and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their reuol-
ted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus*
C the Kings sonne, who tooke part with, and sent money to
the *Peloponnesians*, to maintaine their Fleet; and neuer
shrunke till they had ouerthrowne themselves with pri-
uate diffentions. So much was in *Pericles* about other
men at that time, that he could foresee by what meanes the
Citie might easily haue out-lasted the *Peloponnesians* in this
Warre.

The *Lacedaemonians* and their Confederates, made Warre
the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an
Iland lying ouer against *Elis*. The Inhabitants whereof
D were a Colony of the *Acheans* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confede-
rates of the people of *Athens*. There went in this Fleet,
1000 men of Armes, and *Cnemus* a *Spartan* for Admirall,
who landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory.
But they of the Iland not yeelding, they put off againe, and
went home.

In the end of the same Summer, *Ariston* of *Corinth*, and
Anaristus, *Nicolaus*, *Pratodemus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegen*, Am-
bassadors of the *Lacedaemonians*, and *Pala* of *Argos*, a pri-
uate man, as they were travelling into *Asia* to the King, to
E get money of him, and to draw him into their league, tooke
Thrace in their way, and came vnto *Sinus*, the sonne of
Teres.

*The Lacedaemonians Warre
against Zacynthus.
Zante.*

*The Lacedaemonian Amba-
sadors taken by the Athe-
nian Ambassadors in
Thrace and went to
Athens.*

Teres, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with Athens; and to send his forces to Potidea, which the Athenian Army now besieged, and not to aide the Athenians any longer; and withall to get leave to passe through his Countrey to the other side of Hellespont, to goe, as they intended, to Pharnabazus, the sonne of Pharnaces, who would conuoy them to the King. But the Ambassadors of Athens, Learchus, the sonne of Callimachus, and Ameinades the sonne of Philemon, then resident with Sitalces, perswaded Sadocus the sonne of Sitalces, who was now a Citizen of Athens, to put them into their hands, that they might not goe to the King, and doe hurt to the Citie, whereof hee himselfe was now a member. Whereunto condescending, as they journeyed thorow Thrace, to take ship to crosse the Hellespont, he apprehended them before they got to the ship, by such others as he sent along with Learchus and Ameinades, with command to deliuer them into their hands; And they, when they had them, sent them away to Athens. When they came thither, the Athenians fearing Aristau, lest escaping, he should doe them further mischief, (for he was manifestly the authour of all the businesse of Potidaea, and about Thrace) the same day put them all to death, vniudged, and desirous to haue spoken and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but iust, to take reuenge of the Lacedaemonians that began it, and had slaine and throwne into Pits, the Merchants of the Athenians, and their Confederates, whom they tooke sayling in Merchants ships, about the Coast of Peloponnesus. For in the beginning of the Warre, the Lacedaemonians flew, as enemies, whomsoever they tooke at Sea, whether Confederates of the Athenians, or neutrall, alike.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the Ambraciotes, both they themselves, and diuers Barbarian Nations by them raised, made Warre against Argos, and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrell betweene them and the Argiues, arose first from hence: This Argos, and the rest of Amphilochia, was planted by Amphilocheus the sonne of Amphirau, after the Trojan Warre, who at his returne, mistaking the then State of Argos, built this Citie in the Gulfe of Ambracia, and called it Argos, after the name of his owne Countrey. And it was the greatest Citie, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all Amphilochia.

* A vile all of Sadocus, to gratifie the Athenians, because they had made him free of their Citie.

The Athenians put them to death.

* Sadocus ships of the round forme of building, for the use of Merchants, not for the use of Warre, as were Gallies, and other Vessels of the long forme of building.

The Ambraciotes warre on Acarnania.

A philochia. But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their Citie with the Ambraciotes, bordering vpon Amphilochia. And then they first learned the Greeke language now vsed, from the Ambraciotes, that liued among them. For the rest of the Amphilochiens, were Barbarians. Now the Ambraciotes in proceesse of time, drewe out the Argiues, and held the Citie by themselves. Whereupon the Amphilochiens submitted themselves to the Acarnanians, and both together called in the Athenians, who sent 30 Gallies to their aide, and Phormio for Generall.

B Phormio being arriued, tooke Argos by assault, and making slaues of the Ambraciotes, put the Towne into the ioynt possessions of the Amphilochiens and Acarnanians; and this was the beginning of the League betweene the Athenians and Acarnanians. The Ambraciotes therefore deriuing their hatred to the Argiues from this their captiuitie, came in with an Armie partly of their owne, and partly raised amongst the Chaonians, and other neighbouring Barbarians now in this Warre. And comming to Argos, were masters of the field; but when they could not take the Citie by assault, they returned, and disbanding, went euery Nation to his owne. These were the Acts of the Summer.

In the beginning of Winter, the Athenians sent 20 Gallies about Peloponnesus, vnder the command of Phormio, who comming to lie at Naupactus, guarded the passage, that none might goe in, or out; from Corinth, and the Cisseian Gulfe. And other 6 Gallies, vnder the Conduct of Melesander, they sent into Caria, and Lycia, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the Peloponnesian Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Navigation of such Merchant-ships as they expected to come to them from Phaselis, Phoenicia, and that part of the Continent. But Melesander landing in Lycia, with such forces of the Athenians and their Confederates, as he had aboard, was overcome in battaile, and slaine, with the losse of a part of his Army.

The same Winter, the Potidaeans viable any longer to endure the siege, seeing the inuasion of Attica by the Peloponnesians, could not make them rise, and seeing their victuall failed, and that they were forced, amongst diuers other things done by them, for necessity of food, to eate one another, propounded at length to Xenophon the sonne of Eurypides

The end of the second Summer.

* Lepanto.

* Argos.

Potidea rendred to the Athenians.

375000. pound sterling.

THE THIRD
YEERE.
The siege of Plataea.The Plataean speech to
Archidamus.

Enripedes, Hestiodorus, the sonne of Aristoclidus, and Theno-
machus, the sonne of Callimachus, the Athenian Commanders
that lay before the Citie, to giue the same into their hands.
And they, seeing both that the Armie was already afflic-
ted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had
already spent * 2000. Talents vpon the Siege, accepted of
it. The conditions agreed on, were these: To depart, they
and their Wives and Children, and their auxiliar Souldiers, every man
with one sute of cloathes, and every woman with two; and to take
with them every one a certaine summe of money for his charges by the
way. Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart; and
they went, some to the Chalcideans, and others to other places,
as they could get to. But the people of Athens called
the Commanders in question, for compounding without
them; conceiuing that they might haue gotten the Citie
to discretion. And sent afterwards a Colonie to Totidea
of their owne Citizens. These were the things done in
this Winter. And so ended the second yeere of this War,
written by Thucydides.

The next Summer, the Peloponnesians and their Confe-
derates came into Attica, but turned their Armes a-
gainst Plataea, led by Archidamus the sonne of Zeuxidamus,
King of the Lacedaemonians, who hauing pitched his Campe
was about to waste the Territory thereof. But the Pla-
taeans sent Ambassadors presently vnto him, with words
to this effect: Archidamus, and you Lacedaemonians,
you doe neither iustly, nor worthily your selues and Ancestours, in ma-
king Warre vpon Plataea. For Pausanias of Lacedaemon, the
sonne of Cleombrotus, hauing (together with such Grecians as
were content to vndergoe the danger of the battell that was fought in
this our Territory) deliuered all Greece from the slavery of the
Persians, when hee offered Sacrifice in the Market place of Plataea,
to Iupiter the deliuerer, called together all the Confederates, and
granted to the Plataeans this priuiledge; That their Citie and
Territory should bee free: That none should make any
vniust Warre against them, nor goe about to subiect
them; and if any did, the Confederates then present, should
to their vtmost ability, reuenge their quarell. These
priuiledges your Fathers granted vs for our valour, and zeale in those
dangers. But now doe you the cleane contrary: for you ioyne with our
greatest enemies, the Thebans, to bring vs into subiection. There-
fore calling to witnesse the Gods then sworne by, and the Gods
your

A your and our Countrey, we require you, that you doe no damage to the
Territory of Plataea, nor violate those Oathes; but that you suffer vs
to enjoy our libertie in such sort as was allowed vs by Pausanias.

The Plataeans hauing thus said, Archidamus replied, and
said thus. Men of Plataea, If you would doe as ye say, you say what
is iust. For as Pausanias hath granted to you, so also bee you free;
and helpe to set free the rest, who hauing beene partakers of the same
dangers, then, and being comprized in the same oath with your selues,
are now brought into subiection by the Athenians. And this so great
preparation and Warre is only for the deliuerance of them, and others:

B of which if you will especially participate, keepe your oathes, at least (as
we haue also aduised you formerly) be quiet, and enjoy your owne, in
neutrality, receiuing both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in
the way of faction. Thus said Archidamus. And the Ambassa-
dours of Plataea, when they had heard him returned to the
Citie, and hauing communicated his answer to the peo-
ple, brought word againe to Archidamus, That what hee had
aduised, was impossible for them to performe, without leaue of the
Athenians, in whose keeping were their wives and children; and
that they feared also, for the whole Citie, lest when the Lacedaemo-
nians were gone, the Athenians should come and take the custody
of it out of their hands; or that the Thebans comprehended in the
oath of receiuing both sides, should againe attempt to surprize it. But
Archidamus to encourage them, made this answer: Deliuer
you vnto vs Lacedaemonians, your Citie and your houses, shew vs
the bounds of your Territory, giue vs your trees by tale, and whatso-
euer else can be numbred, and depart your selues whither you shall thinke
good, as long as the Warre lasteth; and when it shall be ended, we will
deliuer it all vnto you againe: in the meane time, we will keepe them
as deposited, and will cultivate your ground, and pay you rent for it,
D as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.

Hereupon the Ambassadors went againe into the Ci-
ty, and hauing consulted with the people, made answer,
That they would first acquaint the Athenians with it, and if they
would consent, they would accept the conditions: till then, they desired
a suspension of armes, and not to haue their Territory wasted. Vpon
this he granted them so many dayes truce: as was requisite
for their returne, and for so long, forbore to waste their
Territory. When the Plataean Ambassadors were arri-
ued at Athens, and had aduised on the matter with the Athe-
nians, they returned to the City with this answer: The A-
thenians say thus: That neither in former times, since we were
their

The Answer of Archi-
damus to the Plataeans.

The reply of the Plataeans.

The answer of Archi-
damus to their reply.The Plataeans reply again,
and desire to know the
pleasure of the people of
Athens.The Athenians message to
the Plataeans.

their Confederates, did they enurbandon vs to the injuries of any, A nor will they now neglect vs, but give vs their utmost assistance. And they coniure vs by the oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the league.

When the Ambassadors had made this report, the Plateans resolved in their councils, not to betray the Athenians, but rather to endure, if it must bee, the waiking of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer what better misery could befall them, and no more to goe forth, but from the Wallles to make this Answer: That it was impossible for them to doe as the Lacedemonians had required. B When they had answered so, Archidamus the King, first made a protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: All ye Gods and Heroes, protectors of Plateis, bee witnesses, that wee neither invade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their vovues vnto you, ouercame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, vnusly now in the beginning, because they haue first broken the League they had sworne: nor what wee shall further doe will bee any injury, because, though we haue offered many and reasonable conditions, they haue yet beene all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of injury, C and to the reuenge of those that beare lawfull armes.

Hauiug made this protestation to the Gods, hee made ready his Armie for the Warre. And first hauiug felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Towne, that none might goe out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Armie all at worke at once, to haue quickly taken it. And hauiug cut downe Wood in the Hill Chabron, they built a Frame of Timber, and watted it about on either side, to serue in stead of Wallles, to keepe the Earth from falling too much D away, and cast into it stones, and earth, and whatsoeuer else would serue to fill it vp. 70. dayes and nights continually they powred on, diuiding the worke betweene them for rest in such manner, as some might bee carrying, whilest others took their sleepe and foode. And they were iuged to labour, by the Lacedemonians that commanded the Mercenaries of the several Cities, and had the charge of the worke. The Plateans seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which hauiug placed on the Wall of the Citie, in the place where the Mount touched, they built it within full of Bricks, taken

The Plateans last answer to Archidamus from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

A mount raised against Plateas.

The Plateans raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Bricks.

A taken from the adioyning Houses, for that purpose demolished, the Timber seruing to binde them together, that the building might not bee weakened by the height. The same was also couered with Hides and Quilts, both to keepe the Timber from shot of wilde-fire, and those that wrought, from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one side, and the Mount went vp as fast on the other. The Plateans vsed also this deuice; they brake a hole in their owne Wall, where the Mount ioyned, and drew the earth from it into the Citie. But the Peloponne-

B sians, when they found it out, tooke clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, cast the same into the chinke, which mouldring not, as did the earth, they could not draw it away. The Plateans excluded heere, gaue ouer that Plot, and digging a secret mine, which they carried vnder the mount from within the Citie by coniecture, fetched away the earth againe, and were a long time vndiscovered, so that still casting on, the Mount grew still lesse, the earth being drawne away below, and settling ouer the part where it was voyded. The Plateans neuerthelesse, fearing

C that they should not be able euen thus to hold out, beeing few against many, deuised this further: they gaue ouer working at the high Wall, against the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in forme of a Crescent, inward to the Citie, that if the great Wall were taken, this might resist, and put the Enemy to make another Mount, and by comming further in, to bee at double paines, and withall, more encompassable with shot. The Peloponnesians, together with the raising of their Mount, brought to the Citie their Engines of battery: one of which, by helpe of the Mount, they applied to the high Wall, wherewith they much shooke it, and put the Plateans into great feare; and others to other parts of the Wall, which the Plateans partly turned aside, by casting Ropes about them, and partly with great beames, which being hung in long iron chaines, by either end vpon two other great beames, ietting ouer, and enclining from aboue the Wall, like two hornes, they drew vp to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, slacking the chaines, and letting their hands

D goe, they let fall with violence, to breake the beake of it. After this, the Peloponnesians seeing their Engines a-

R 2

uailed

The Plateans deuice to draw the earth from the Mount thorow the Wall. The Peloponnesians remedy that euill.

The Plateans fetch the earth away from vnder the Mount by a Mine.

The Plateans make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The Peloponnesians assault the Wall with Engines.

The Plateans defence against the Engines.

The Peloponnesians throw
Faggots and fire into the
Towne, from the Mount.

A great Fire.

* In the beginning of Sep-
tember.
The Siege laid to Plataea.

uailed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any A
present violence, prepared themselves to besiege it. But
first they thought fit to attempt it by fire, being no great
Citie, and when the Wind should rise, if they could, to
burne it. For there was no way they did not thinke on, to
have gained it without expence and long siege. Having
therefore brought Faggots, they cast them from the
Mount, into the space betwene it, and their new Wall,
which by so many hands was quickly filled; and then in-
to as much of the rest of the Citie, as at that distance they
could reach: and throwing amongst them fire, together B
with Brimstone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raised
such a flame, as the like was neuer seene before, made by the
hand of man. For as for the woods in the Mountaines, the
trees haue indeed taken fire, but it hath bin by mutuall at-
trition, and haue flamed out of their own accord. But this
fire was a great one, and the *Plataeans* that had escaped o-
ther mischiefs, wanted little of being consumed by this.
For neere the Wall they could not get by a great way:
and if the Wind had beene with it (as the enemy hoped
it might) they could neuer haue escaped. It is also repor- C
ted, that there fell much raine then, with great Thunder,
and that the flame was extinguished, and the danger cea-
sed by that. The *Peloponnesians*, when they failed like-
wise of this, retayning a part of their Armie, and dismis-
sing the rest, enclosed the Citie about with a Wall; diui-
ding the circumference thereof to the charge of the seue-
rall Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without
it, out of which they made their Bricks; and after it was
finished, which was about the * rising of *Arcturius*, they
left a gward for one halfe of the Wall, (for the other was D
guarded by the *Boeotians*) and departed with the rest of
their Armie, and were dissolved according to their Cities.
The *Plataeans* had before this, sent their Wiues and Chil-
dren, and all their vnseruiceable men to *Athens*. The rest
were besieged, beeing in number, of the *Plataeans* them-
selues, 400. of *Athenians*, 80. and 100 Women to dresse
their meate. These were all when the Siege was first
laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the Citie.
In this manner was the Citie besieged.

The same Summer, at the same time that this Journey E
was made against *Plataea*, the *Athenians* with 2000. men of
Armes

A Armies of their owne Citie, and 200. Horsemen, made
Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Boeotians*,
when the Corne was at the highest, vnder the conduct of
Xenophon the sonne of *Eurypides*, and two others. These
comming before *Spartolus* in *Boetia*, destroyed the Corne,
& expected that the Town should haue bin rendred by the
practice of some within. But such as would not haue it
so having sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the
Citie for safeguard thereof a supply both of men of Armes,
and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth
B of *Spartolus*, the *Athenians* put themselves into order of Bat-
tell vnder the Towne it selfe. The men of Armes of the
Chalcideans, and certaine auxiliaries with them, were ouer-
come by the *Athenians*, and retired within *Spartolus*. And
the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed
Souldiers, ouercame the Horsemen, and light-armed of
the *Athenians*; but they had some few Targettiers besides,
of the Territory called *Chrusis*. When the Battell was
now begun, came a supply of other Targettiers from *O-
lynthus*; which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* per-
ceiuing, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and
also as hauing had the better before, with the *Chalcidean*
Horse, and this new supply, charged the *Athenians* afresh.
The *Athenians* heereupon retired to two companies they
had left with the Carriages; and as oft as the *Athenians*
charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the *Athenians*
retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. E-
specially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode vp; and charging
them where they thought fit, forced the *Athenians* in ex-
treme affright, to turne their backs, and chased them a
great way. The *Athenians* fled to *Potidea*, and hauing af-
terwards fetched away the bodies of their dead vpon truce,
returned with the remainder of their Armie, to *Athens*.
Foure hundred and thirty men they lost, and their chiefe
Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Boeotians*,
when they had set vp a Trophie, and taken vp their dead
bodies, disbanded and went euery one to his Citie.

Not long after this, the same Summer, the *Ambraciotes*
and *Chaonians*, desiring to subdue all *Acarnania*, and to make
it reuolt from the *Athenians*, perswaded the *Lacedaemonians*
E to make ready a Fleet out of the Confederate Cities, and
to send 1000. men of Armes into *Acarnania*; saying, that
if

The Athenians send an
Armie against the *Chalci-
deans*.

The Athenians foughten
with by the *Chalcideans* at
Spartolus.

And ouerthrowne, with
the losse of 3. Comman-
ders.

The *Ambraciotes* invade
Acarnania, together with
the *Lacedaemonians*.

The Peloponnesians and
Athenians retire without
effect.

Phormio with 20 Gallies
of Athens, overcometh
47 of the Peloponnesian
Gallies.

The order of the Pe-
loponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Athe-
nian Gallies, and the Stra-
tegey of Phormio.

Riuer *Anapui*, from *Stratus* 80. Furlongs, and fetched off A the dead bodies vpon truce, the next day. And, whereas the Citie *Oeniades* was come in of it selfe, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnanians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went euery one home. And the *Stratians* set vp a Trophie of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*.

In the meane time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissian* Gulfe, and to ioyne with *Cnemus*, to hinder the lower *Acarnanians* from ayding the vpper, came not at all; but were B compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, about the same time that the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sayled along the shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the streight, intending to set vpon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land-seruice in *Acarnania*; and neuer thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs, that were seuen and forty. Neuerthelesse, when they saw that the *Athenians*, as themselves, sayled by one shore, kept C ouer against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patra* in *Achaia*, to goe ouer to *Acarnania* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chelou*, and the Riuer *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Straight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it forth, had severally appointed; but of the *Corinthians*, these; *Macbon*, *Isocrates*, D and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle, as great as, without leauing the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to passe through, they were possibly able; with the stemmes of their Gallies outward, and sternes inward, and into the midst thereof, receiued such small Vessels as came with them; and also five of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in what- soeuer part the Enemy should charge.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after E one in file, went round them, and smooke them vp toge-
ther,

A ther, by wiping them euer as they past, and putting them in expectation of present fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himselfe had given them the signall. For he hoped that this order of theirs would not last long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foule of one another, and be troubled also with the smaller vessels in the midst. And if the wind should also blow out of the Gulfe, in expectation whereof he so went round them; and which * visually blew there euery morning, hee made account they would then instantly be B disordered. As for giuing the onser, because his Gallies were more agile then the Gallies of the enemy, he thought it was in his owne election, and would bee most opportune on that occasion. When this wind was vp, and the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* being already contracted into a narrow compasse, were both waies troubled by the wind, and withall by their owne lesser vessels that encumbered them; and when one Gallie fell foule of another, and the Mariners laboured to set them cleere with their poles, and through the noyse they made, keeping off, and reuiling C each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and through want of skill, vnable to keepe vp their Oares in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gallie vntractable to him that fate at the Helme. Then, and with this opportunity he gaue the signall. And the *Athenians* charging, drowned first one of the Admirall Gallies, and diuers others after it, in the seuerall parts they assaul- red; and brought them to that passe at length, that not one applying himselfe to the fight, they fled all towards *Patra* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they D had chased them, and taken twelue Gallies, and slain most of the men that were in them, fell off, and went to *Molychrum*; and when they had there set vp a Trophie; and consecrated one Gallie to *Neptune*, they returned with the rest to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went presently along the Coast of *Cyllene*, the Arsenall of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battell at *Stratus*, came also *Cnemus*, from *Leucas*, and with him those Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet should haue bene ioyned.

E After this, the *Lacedemonians* sent vnto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Brasidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Coun-
cell,

* A set wind which blew e-
uery morning there from the
East, caused, as it seemed, by
the approach of the Sunne.

The Peloponnesians fly.

Preparation for another
fight.

cell, with command to prepare for another better fight, A and not to suffer a few Gallies to deprive them of the use of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially being their first proove by sea) very much against reason; and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of their courage: neuer comparing the long practice of the Athenians; with their own short study in these businesses. And therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who being arrived with Cnemus, intimated to the Cities about, to provide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to be repayed. Phormio likewise sent to Athens, to make B knowne both the Enemies preparation, and his owne former victory; and withall to will them to send speedily vnto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; because they were euery day in expectation of a new fight. Heereupon they sent him twenty Gallies, but commanded him that had the charge of them, to goe first into Crete.

Twenty saile of Athenians, sent to ayde Phormio, stay in Crete.

For Nicias a Cretan of Gortys, the publike Host of the Athenians, had perswaded them to a voyage against Cydonia, telling them they might take it in, being now their Enemy. Which he did to gratifie the Polichnite, that C ordered vpon the Cydonians. Therefore with these Gallies hee sayled into Crete, and together with the Polichnite, wasted the Territory of the Cydonians; where also, by reason of the Winds, and weather vnfit to take Sea in, hee wasted not a little of his time.

The Peloponnesians saile by the Coast of Panormus.

In the meane time, whilst these Athenians were Wind-bound in Crete, the Peloponnesians that were in Cyllene, in order of Battell sayled along the Coast to Panormus of Achaia, to which also were their Land-forces come to ayde them. D Phormio likewise sayled by the shore to Rhium Molybrium, and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same hee had used in the former Battell. Now this Rhium was of the Athenians side, and the other Rhium in Peloponnesus, lyes on the opposite shore, distant from it at the most but seuen furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of the Crissian Gulfe. The Peloponnesians therefore came to an anchor at Rhium of Achaia, with 77. Gallies, not farre from Panormus, where they left their Land Forces. After they saw the Athenians, and had lyen fixe or seuen daies one against the other, meditating and providing for the Battell, E the

A the Peloponnesians not intending to put off without Rhium into the wide Sea, for feare of what they had suffered by it before; nor the other to enter the Streight, because to fight within, they thought to be the Enemies aduantage. At last, Cnemus, Brasidas, and the other Commanders of the Peloponnesians, desiring to fight speedily, before a new supply should arrive from Athens, called the Soldiers together, and seeing the most of them to be fearefull through their former defeat, and not forward to fight againe, encouraged them first with words to this effect.

B

THE ORATION OF CNEMVS.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If any of you be afraid of the Battell at hand, for the successe of the Battell past, his feare is without ground. For you know, wee were inferiour to them then in preparation, and set not forth as to a fight at Sea, but rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewise crossed vs in many things; and somewhat wee miscarried by unskilfulnesse: so C as the losse can no way be ascribed to cowardise. Nor is it iust, so long as we were not overcome by meere force, but haue somewhat to alledge in our excuse, that the mind should bee deiected for the calamity of the event. But we must thinke, that though Fortune may faile men, yet the courage of a valiant man can neuer faile, and not that we may iustifie cowardise in any thing, by pretending want of skill, and yet bee truly valiant. And yet you are not so much short of their skill, as you exceede them in valour. And though this knowledge of theirs, which you so much feare, ioyned with courage, will not bee without a memory also, to put what they D know in execution, yet without courage, no act in the world is of any force in the time of danger. For feare confoundeth the memory, and skill without courage, auaieth nothing. To their oddes therefore of skill, oppose your oddes of valour; and to the feare caused by your overthrow, oppose your being then vnprovided. You haue further now, a greater Fleet, and to fight on your owne shore; with your aydes at hand, of men of armes; and for the most part, the greatest number, and best provided, get the victory. So that we can neither see any one cause in particular, why wee should miscarry; and whatsoever were our wants in the former Battell, E supplied in this, will now turne to our instruction. With courage therefore, both Masters and Mariners, follow euery man in his

The Peloponnesians give
the onset.

134
mio, thinking them going to *Naupactus*, should for safeguard A
of the Towne, sayle along his owne Coast likewise, with-
in the Straight, the *Athenians* might not be able to get be-
yond that wing of theirs, and auoyd the impression, but
be enclosed by their Gallies on both sides. *Phormio*, fear-
ing (as they expected) what might become of the
Towne now without guard, as soone as he saw them from
Anchor, against his will, and in extreme haste, went a-
boord, and sayled along the Shoare, with the Land forces
of the *Messenians*, marching by to ayde him. The *Pelo-*
ponnesians, when they saw them sayle in one long File, B
Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulfe,
and by the Shoare, (which they most desired) vpon one
signe giuen, turned suddenly, euery one as fast as he could
vpon the *Athenians*, hoping to haue intercepted them eu-
ery Gallie. But of those, the eleuen formost, auoyding that
wing, and the turne made by the *Peloponnesians*, got out in-
to the open Sea. The rest they intercepted, and driuing
them to the Shoare, sunke them.

The men, as many as swamme not out, they slew, and
the Gallies, some they tyed to their owne, and towed C
them away empty, and one with the men and all in her
they had already taken. But the *Messenian* succours on
Land, entring the Sea with their Armes, got aboard of
some of them, and fighting from the Deckes, recovered
them againe, after they were already towing away. And
in this part, the *Peloponnesians* had the victory, and ouer-
came the Gallies of the *Athenians*. Now the 20 Gallies
that were their right wing, gaue chase to those eleuen
Athenian Gallies, which had auoyded them when they
turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. These flying D
toward *Naupactus*, arriued there before the enemies, all saue
one, and when they came vnder the Temple of *Apollo*,
turned their beake heads, and put themselves in readinesse
for defence, in case the enemy should follow them to the
Land. But the *Peloponnesians* as they came after, were
* *Panayizing*, as if they had already had the victory; and
one Gallie which was of *Leucas*, being farre before the rest,
gaue chase to one *Athenian* Gallie, that was behind the rest
of the *Athenians*. Now it chanced that there lay out into
the Sea, a certaine Ship at Anchor, to which the *Athenian* E
Gally first comming, fetcht a compasse about her, and
came

* Singing the hymne of vi-
ctory.

A came backe full butt against the *Leucadian* Gallie that
gaue her chase, and sunke her. Vpon this vnexpected and
vnlikely accident they began to feare, and hauing also fol-
lowed the chase, as being victors, disorderly, some of them
let downe their Oares into the water, and hindred the way
of their Gallies (a matter of very ill consequence, seeing
the enemy was so neere) and staid for more company.
And some of them through ignorance of the Coast, ranne
vpon the Shelues. The *Athenians* seeing this, tooke heart
again, and together with one clamour, set vpon them;
B who resisted not long, because of their present errours
committed, and their disarray, but turned, and fled to *Pa-*
normus, from whence at first they set forth. The *Atheni-*
ans followed, and tooke from them sixe Gallies, that were
hindmost, and recovered their own which the *Peloponnesi-*
ans had sunke by the Shoare; and tyed a sterne of theirs.
Of the men, some they slew, and some also they tooke
aliue. In the *Leucadian* Gallie that was sunke neere the
ship, was *Timocrates*, a *Lacedaemonian*, who, when the Gally
was lost, runne himselfe thorow with his sword, and his
C body draue into the Hauen of *Naupactus*. The *Athenians*
falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence
they set forth to this victory, & took vp their dead, and the
wracke, as much as was on their own shore, and gaue truce
to the enemy to doe the like. The *Peloponnesians* also set
vp a Trophy, as if they also had had the victory, in re-
spect of the flight of those Gallies which they sunke by
the Shoare; and the Gally which they had taken, they
consecrated to *Neptune*, in *Rhium* of *Achaia*, hard by their
Trophy. After this, fearing the supply which was ex-
D pected from *Athens*, they sayled by night into the *Crissean*
Gulfe, and to *Corinth*, all but the *Leucadians*. And those
Athenians, with twenty Gallies out of *Crete*, that should
haue bene with *Phormio* before the battaile, not long af-
ter the going away of the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, arriued at
Naupactus; And the Summer ended.

before, But the Fleet gone into the *Crissean Gulfe*, and to
Corinth, was dispersed. *Cnemus* and *Brasidas*, and the rest of
the Commanders of the *Peloponnesians*, in the beginning of
Winter, instructed by the *Megareans*, thought good to
E make an attempt vpon *Piræus*, the Hauē of the *Atheni-*
ans. Now it was without guard, or barre, and that vpon
very

The Athenians haue the
victory.

Timocrates a *Lacedaemonian*
Commander slayeth
himselfe.

The end of the third
Summer.

The *Peloponnesians* resolve
to attempt the surprize
of *Piræus*.

* It may be hence gathered, that in the Gallies of old, there was but one man to one Oare.
* ὁμοίαν, a piece of Lea- they wherein their Oare turned.

The Peloponnesians dare not execute their designe, but turne to Salamis.

* Fires lifted up, if they were still, signified friends coming, if waied, enemies. Scholiastes.

very good cause, considering how much they exceeded others in the power of their Nauy. And it was resolved, that euery Mariner with *his Oare, his Cushion, and * one Thong for his Oare to turne in, should take his way by Land from *Corinth*, to the other Sea, that lyeth to *Athens*, and going with all speed to *Megara*, lanch forty Gallies out of *Nisæa*, the Arsenall of the *Megareans*, which then were there, and sayle presently into *Piræus*. For at that time, there neither stood any Gallies for a watch before it, nor was there any imagination, that the enemies would on such a sudden come vpon them. For they durst not haue attempted it openly, though with leasure, nor if they had had any such intention, could it but haue been discovered. As soone as it was resolved on; they set presently forward, and arriuing by night, lanch the said Gallies of *Nisæa*, and set Sayle, not now towards *Piræus*, as they intended, fearing the danger, and a wind was also said to haue risen, that hindred them, but toward a Promontory of *Salamis*, lying out towards *Megara*.

Now, there was in it, a little Fort, and vnderneath in the Sea, lay three Gallies that kept watch, to hinder the importation and exportation of any thing, to or from the *Megareans*. This Fort they assaulted, and the Gallies they towed empty away after them. And being come vpon the *Salaminiens* vnawares, wasted also other parts of the Island.

By this time the fires * signifying the comming of enemies, were lifted vp towards *Athens*, and affrighted them more then any thing that had happened in all this Warre. For they in the Citie thought the enemies had been already in *Piræus*. And they in *Piræus* thought the Citie of the *Salaminiens* had been already taken, and that the enemy would instantly come into *Piræus*. Which, had they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the wind, they might also easily haue done. But the *Athenians*, as soone as it was day, came with the whole strength of the Citie, into *Piræus*, and lanch their Gallies, and imbarcking in haste, and tumult, set sayle toward *Salamis*, leauing for the guard of *Piræus*, an Army of Foot. The *Peloponnesians* vpon notice of those succours, hauing now ouer-runne most of *Salamis*, and taken many prisoners, and much other booty, besides the three Gallies from the Fort of *Budorus*,
went

A went backe in all haste to *Nisæa*. And somewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lyen long in the water, and were subiect to leaking. And when they came to *Megara*, they went thence to *Corinth* againe by Land. The *Athenians* likewise, when they found not the Enemy at *Salamis*, went home; and from that time forward, looked better to *Piræus*, both for the shutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwaies.

About the same time, in the beginning of the same Winter, *Sitalces* an *Odrysian*, the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, and vpon the *Chalcideans* bordering on *Thrace*; vpon two promises; one of which hee required to be performed to him, and the other hee was to performe himselfe. For *Perdiccas* had promised somewhat vnto him, for reconciling him to the *Athenians*, who had formerly oppressed him with Warre; and for not restoring his Brother *Philip* to the Kingdome, that was his Enemy, which hee neuer paid him. And *Sitalces* himselfe had couenanted with the *Athenians*, when he made League with them, that he would end the Warre which they had against the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*. For these causes therefore hee made this Expedition; and tooke with him both *Amyntas*, the sonne of *Philip*, (with purpose to make him King of *Macedonia*); and also the *Athenian* Ambassadors then with him for that businesse, and *Agnon* the *Athenian* Commander. For the *Athenians* ought also to haue ioyned with him against the *Chalcideans*, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land-forces as they could provide.

D Beginning therefore with the *Odrysians*, he leuied first those *Thracians* that inhabite on this side the Mountaines *Æmus* and *Rhodope*, as many as were of his owne dominion, downe to the shore of the *Euxine* Sea, and the *Hellepont*. Then beyond *Æmus* he leuied the *Getes*; and all the Nations betweene *Ister* and the *Euxine* Sea. The *Getes*, and people of those parts, are borderers vpon the *Scythians*, and furnished as the *Scythians* are, all Archers on Horsebacke. He also drew forth many of those *Scythians* that inhabite the Mountaines, and are free-States, all Sword-men, and
E are called *Dij*, the greatest part of which are on the Mountaine *Rhodope*; whereof some he hyred, and some went as
T Volun-

The King of *Thrace* maketh Warre on the King of *Macedon*.

The description of
Thrace.

* A Ship that vsith onely
Sails, of the round forme of
building, and serving for bur-
den, in distinction to Gallies,
and all other vessels of the
long forme of building, ser-
uing for the warres.

* 75000. pound sterling.

Voluntaries. He leuied also the *Agrianes* and *Leuans*, and all other the Nations of *Peonia*, in his owne Dominion. These are the utmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Greans* and *Leuans*, Nations of *Peonia*, and to the *Riu-er Strymon*, which rising out of the Mountaine *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Greans* and *Leuans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdome toward *Peonia*, and are subiect onely to their owne Lawes. But on the part that lyeth to the *Triballins*, who are also a free people, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataens*. These dwell on the North side of the Mountaine *Scomius*, and reach Westward, as farre as to the *Riu-er Osciui*, which commeth out of the same Hill *Nessus* and *Hebru*: doth a great and desart Hill adioyning to *Rhodope*.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odrysiens* by the Sea side, is from the Citie of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the *Euxine* Sea, and is, the neereft way, foure dayes; and as many nightes Sayle for a * round Ship; with a continuall soue wind. By Land likewise, the neereft way, it is from the Citie *Abdera*, to the mouth of *Ister*, eleven dayes journey for an expedite Footman. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

Now for the Continent, from *Byzantium* to the *Leuans*, and to the *Riu-er Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the maine Land) it is for the like Footman, thirteene dayes journey. The Tributes they receiued from all the *Barbarian* Nations, and from the Citie of *Greece*, in the reigne of *Senthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in gold and siluer, by estimation, * 400. Talents by yere. And Presents of gold and siluer came to as much more. Besides Vestures, both wrought and plaine, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of authority, and *Odrysiens* Nobility about him. For they had a custome, which also was general to all *Thrace*, contrary to that of the Kingdome of *Persia*, to receiue rather then to giue: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, then to aske and goe without. Neuertheless they held this custome long, by reason of their power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this Kingdome arrived thereby to great power: for of all the Na-
tions

A. tions of *Europe*, that lye betweenthe * *Ionian* Gulfe, and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for reuenue of money, and other wealth, the mightiest; though indeed for strength of an Army, and multitudes of Souldiers, the same be farre short of the *Scythians*: For there is no Nation, not to say of *Europe*, but neither of *Asia*, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able, one Nation to one, to stand against the *Scythians*: and yet in matter of counsell and wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men.

B. *Sitalces* therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Armie, and when all was ready, set forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. First, through his owne Dominion; then ouer *Cercine*, a desart Mountaine diuiding the *Sintians* from the *Peonians*, ouer which he marched the same way himselfe had formerly made with Timber, when he made Warre against the *Peonians*. Passing this Mountaine, out of the Countrey of the *Odrysiens*, they had on their right hand the *Peonians*, and on the left, the *Sintians* and *Mades*, and beyond it, they came to the Citie of *Doberus* in *Peonia*. His Army, as hee marched, diminished not any way, except by sicknesse, but encreased, by the accession of many free Nations of *Thrace*, that came in vncalled, in hope of Booty. In so much as the whole number is said to haue amounted to no lesse then 150000. men. Whereof the most were foot, the Horse being a third part, or thereabouts. And of the Horse, the greatest part were the *Odrysiens* themselues, and the next most, the *Getes*. And of the Foot, those Sword-men, a free Nation, that came downe to him out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*, were most

C. warlike. The rest of the promiscuous multitude, were formidable onely for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in, from the Hilles side, into the lower *Macedonia*, the dominion of *Perdiccas*. For there are in *Macedonia*, the *Lyncestians*, and the *Helimontes*, and other High-land Nations, who though they bee Confederates, and in subiection to the other, yet haue their seuerall Kingdomes by themselues. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lyeth toward the Sea, *Alexander*, the Father of this *Perdiccas*, and his Ancestors, the *Temenides*, who came out of *Argos*, were the first possessors, and raigned in the same; hauing first driuen out of *Pieria* the *Pieri-*

* The Adriatique Sea.
Mar Maggiore.

The great power of the
Scythians.

The beginning of the
Kingdome of *Macedonia*.
The *Macedonian* Kings
descended of the *Temeni-*
des, a Family in *Argos*, of
the *Peloponnesians*.

ans, (which afterwards seated themselves in *Phagres*; and other Townes beyond *Strymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; From which cause, that Countrey is called the *Gulfe* of *Pieria* to this day, which lyeth at the foot of *Pangeum*, and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottians*, that now border vpon the *Chalcideans*. They possessed besides a certaine narrow portion of *Peonia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Axiu*, reaching from aboute downe to *Pella*, and to the Sea. Beyond *Axiu* they possessed the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as farre as to *Strymon*, from whence they haue driuen out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they draue the *Eordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greatest part perished, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Physca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The same *Macedonians* subdued also other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*, and a great part of the *Macedonians* themselves. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdome of *Perdiccas* the sonne of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to inuade it. The *Macedonians* vnable to stand in the Field against so huge an Armie, retired all within their strong Holds, and walled Townes, as many as the Countrey afforded; which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the sonne of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the kingdome, who then also laid out the high wayes straight, and tooke order both for matter of Warre, as Horses and Armes, and for other prouision, better then all the other 8. Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army arising from *Doberus*, invaded that Territory first, which had bene the Principality of *Philip*, and tooke *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Atalanta*, and some other Townes he had yeelded to him, for the loue of *Amyntas* the sonne of *Philip*, who was then in the Armie. They also assaulted *Europus*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lyes on the right hand of *Pella*, and *Cyrrhus*; but within these, into *Bottia* and *Pieria* they entred not, but wasted *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the *Macedonians* had neuer any intention to make head against them with their Foot, but sending out their Horsemen, which they had procured from their Allyes of the higher *Macedonia*, they assaulted the *Thracian* Armie, in such places, where few against many,

The *Macedonians* retire into their walled townes.

Archelaus the sonne of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temenide*.

A many, they thought they might doe it with most conuenience; and where they charged; none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Breastplates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold oddes of number: so that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming themselves too weake to hazard Battell against so many.

After this, *Sitalces* gaue way to a conference with *Perdiccas*, touching the motiues of this Warre. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arriued with their Fleet, (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would haue made the Journey) but had sent Ambassadors to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, wherewith hauing compelled them within their walled Townes, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he stayed in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magreians*, and the rest of the Nations subiect to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopyla*, were afraid he would haue turned his Forces vpon them, and stood vpon their guard. And Northward those *Thracians* that inhabite the *Champaigne* Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Paneans*, *Odontians*, *Droans*, and *Dersians*, all of them free States, were afraid of the same. He gaue occasion also to a rumour, that hee meant to leade his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by vertue of their League. But whilest hee stayed, hee wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottian*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when hee could not effect what he came for, and his Army both wanted victuall, and was afflicted with the coldnesse of the season; *Seuthes* the sonne of *Spardocus*, his cousin German, and of greatest authority next himselfe, perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him, after the stay of full thirty dayes, wherof he spent eight in *Chalcidea*, retyred with his Army, with all speed, into his owne Kingdome. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gaue to *Seuthes* his Sister *Siratonica* in marriage, as hee had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Sitalces*.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* was

Sitalces and *Perdiccas* come to a conference about the motiues of the Warre.

The *Grecians*, at the coming of this Army, stand vpon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

Seuthes, corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswaded *Sitalces* to returne.

Phormio putteth suspected persons out of *Stratua* and *Coronea*.

The course of the Riuer
Achelous.

The Fable of Alcmaon.

was dissolued, the *Athenians* that were at *Naupactus*, vnder A the conduct of *Phormio*, sayled along the Coast to *Asacus*, and disembarking, marched into the inner parts of *Acarnania*. Hee had in his Army, 400. men of Armes that hee brought with him in his Gallies, and 400. more *Messeni-ans*. With these he put out of *Siratus*, *Coronta*, and other places, all those whose fidelity hee thought doubtfull. And when he had restored *Cynes* the sonne of *Theolytus* to *Coronta*, they returned againe to their Gallies. For they thought they should not be able to make Warre against the *Oeniades*, (who onely of all *Acarnania* are the *A-thenians* Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the Riuer *Achelous*, springing out of the Mountaine *Pindus*, and running through *Dolopia*, and through the Territories of the *Agraeans*, and the *Amphilochians*, and through most part of the Champaigne of *Acarnania*, passing about by the City of *Siratus*, and falling into the Sea by the Citie of the *Oeniades*, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Ilands *Echinades* lye iust ouer against *Oenia*, hard by the mouth of *Achelous*. And the Riuer being a great one, continually C heapeth together the grauell, insomuch that some of those Ilands are become Continent already, and the like in short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the streame of the Riuer is swift, broad, and turbidous, but also the Ilands themselues stand thicke, and because the Grauell cannot passe, are ioyned one to another, lying in and out, not in a direct line, nor so much as to giue the Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These I-lands are all Desart, and but small ones. It is reported, that *Apollo* by his Oracle did assigne this place for an habitation to *Alcmaon* the sonne of *Amphiraus*, at such time as D he wandred vp and downe for the killing of his Mother; telling him, That he should neuer be free from the terrours that haunted him, till he had found out, and seated himselfe in such a Land, as when he slew his Mother, the Sunne had neuer seene, nor was then Land, because all other Lands were polluted by him. Hereupon being at a *Non-plus*, as they say, with much adoe hee obserued this ground congested by the Riuer *Achelous*, and thought there was enough cast vp to E serue his turne, already, since the time of the slaughter of his

A his Mother, after which it was now a long time that hee had bene a Wanderer. Therefore seating himselfe in the places about the *Oeniades*, hee reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his sonne *Acarnas*. Thus goes the report, as we haue heard it concerning *Alcmaon*. But *Phormio* and the *Athenians* leauing *Acarnania*, and returning to *Naupactus*, in the very beginning of the Spring, came backe to *Athens*, and brought with them such Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Prisoners, in their fights at Sea, who were againe set at liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter, and the third Yeere of the Warre

written by THUCYDIDES.

(**)

Acarnania whence so cal-
led.

The end of the third
yeere of the Warre.





THE
THIRD BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians. The Mitylenians re-
uolt, and are receiued by the Peloponnesians at Olympia,
into their league. The Athenians send Paches to Mity-
lene to besiege it. Part of the besieged Plataeans escape
through the fortifications of the enemy. The Commons of
Mitylene, armed by the Nobility for a sally on the enemy, deli-
uer the towne to the Athenians. The residue of the Platae-
ans yeeld to the besiegers, and are put to the sword. The proce-
dings upon the Mitylenians, and their punishment. The se-
dition in Corcyra. Laches is sent by the Athenians in-
to Sicily. And Nicias into Melos. Demosthenes fighteth
against the Ecolians unfortunately, and after wards against
the Ambraciotes fortunately. Pythadorus is sent into Si-
cily, to receive the Fleet from Laches. This in other three
yeeres of this Warre.



The Summer following, the Pe-
loponnesians, and their Confederates at
the time when Come was at the
highest, entred with their Army
into Attica, vnder the Conduct of
Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus,
King of the Lacedaemonians; & there
set them downe, and wasted the
Territory about. And the Athenian
horsemen, as they were wont, fell upon the enemy where
they

THE FOURTH
YEERE
The Peloponnesians invade
Attica.

they thought fit, and kept backe the multitude of A light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Armes, and infesting the places neere the Citie. And when they had stayed as long as their victuall lasted, they returned, and were dissolued according to their Cities.

The Revolt of Lesbos.

After the Peloponnesians were entred Attica, Lesbos immediately, all but Methymne, revolted from the Athenians; which though they would haue done before the Warre, and the Lacedemonians would not then receiue them, yet euen now they were forced to reuolt sooner then they had intended to doe. For they stayed to haue first straightened the mouth of their Hauens with Dammes of Earth, to haue finished their Walles, and their Gallies then in building, and to haue gotten in all that was to come out of Pontus, as Archers, and Victuall, and whatsoeuer else they had sent for.

The intention of the Lesbians to reuolt, discovered to the Athenians.

But the Tenedians, with whom they were at oddes, and the Methymnians, and of the Mitylenians themselves, certaine particular men, vpon Faction, being Hostes to the Athenians, made knowne vnto them, that the Lesbians were forced to goe all into Mitylene; that by the helpe of the Lacedemonians, and their Kindred the Boeotians, they hastned all manner of prouision necessary for a Reuolt, and that vnlesse it were presently prevented, all Lesbos would be lost.

The Athenians (afflicted with the Disease, and with the Warre now on foot, and at the hottest) thought it a dangerous matter, that Lesbos, which had a Nauie, and was of strength entire, should thus be added to the rest of their Enemies; and at first receiued not the accusations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, because they would not haue had them true.

The Athenians send 40. Gallies to Lesbos.

But after, when they had sent Ambassadors to Mitylene, and could not perswade them to dissolue themselves, and vndo their preparation, they then feared the worst, and would haue prevented them. And to that purpose, suddenly sent out the 40. Gallies made ready for Peloponnesus with Cleippedes and 2. other Commanders. For they had bin aduertised, that there was a Holiday of Apollo Malotis to be kept

A kept without the Citie, and that to the celebration thereof the Mitylenians were accustomed to come all out of the Towne; and they hoped, making haste, to take them there vnawares. And if the attempt succeeded, it was well; if not, they might command the Mitylenians to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to demolish their Walles; or they might make Warre against them, if they refused. So these Gallies went their way. And tenne Gallies of Mitylene which then chanced to be at Athens, by vertue of their League to ayde them, the Athenians stayed, and cast B into prison the men that were in them. In the meane time a certaine man went from Athens into Euboea by Sea, and then by Land to Gerestus, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, hauing the Wind fauourable, arriued in Mitylene, three dayes after he set forth from Athens, and gaue them notice of the comming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to Malotis, as was expected, but also stopped the gappes of their Walles and Ports, where they were left vnfinished, and placed guards to defend them.

The Athenians imprisson such of Mitylene as were at Athens, and stay their Gallies.

C When the Athenians, not long after, arriued, and saw this, the Commanders of the Fleet deliuered to the Mitylenians what they had in charge, which they not harkened vnto, they presently fell to the Warre. The Mitylenians vnprovided, and compelled to a Warre on such a sudden, put out some few Gallies before the Hauens to fight: but being driuen in againe by the Gallies of Athens, they called to the Athenian Commanders to parly; desiring, if they could, vpon reasonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the present sent away.

D And the Athenian Commander allowed the Conditions, hee also fearing they should be too weake to make Warre against the whole Island.

The Athenians giue the Mitylenian time to purge themselves at Athens.

When a cessation of Armes was granted, the Mitylenians amongst others, sent to Athens one of those that had giuen intelligence there of their Designe, and had repented him after of the same, to try if they could perswade them to withdrawe their Fleet from them, as not intending any innouation. Withall they sent Ambassadors at the same time to Lacedemon, vndiscovered of the Fleete of the Athenians, which was riding at Anchor in Malotis, to the North of the Citie, being

The Mitylenians sent to Lacedemon for ayde. * The Malotis is not to be the Promontory of Malota, according to the Schooll, which lieth to the South of Mitylene, but some other nearer place, on the North side of the Citie.

The Mitylen Ambassadors speed not at Athens.

They fall out vpon the Athenians, but without successe.

They lye still, expecting helpe from Peloponnesus.

The Athenians send for the aydes of their Confederates.

The Athenians send Asopius the sonne of Phormio, with 20. Gallies about Peloponnesus.

being without any confidence of their successe at Athens. A And these men after an ill voyage, through the wide Sea, arriuing at Lacedæmon, negotiated the sending of aide from thence. But when their Ambassadors were come backe from Athens, without effect, the Mitylenians, and the rest of Lesbos, saue only Methymne, (for these, together with the Imbrians, Lemniqs, and some few other their Confederates, ayded the Athenians) prepared themselves for the Warre. And the Mitylenians with the whole strength of the City, made a sally vpon the Athenian Campe, and came to a Battell; wherein though the Mitylenians had not the worse, yet B they lay not that night without the Walles, nor durst trust to their strength, but retyring into the Towne, lay quiet there, expecting to try their fortune, with the accession of such forces, as (if any came) they were to haue from Peloponnesus. For there were now come into the Citie, one Melcas a Laconian, and Hermiondas a Theban, who hauing bin sent out before the reuolt, but vnable to arriue before the comming of the Athenian Fleet, secretly, after the end of the Battell, entred the Hauen in a Gally, and perswaded them to send another Gally along with them, with other Ambassadors to Sparta; which they did. But the Athenians much confirmed by this the Mitylenians cessation, called in their Confederates, who because they saw no assurance on the part of the Lesbians, came much sooner in then it was thought they would haue done, & riding at Anchor to the South of the Citie, fortified two Camps, on either side, one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports, and so quite excluded the Mitylenians from the vse of the Sea. As for the Land, the Athenians held so much onely as lay neere their Campes, which was not much; And the Mitylenians and other Lesbians, that were now come to ayde them, were Masters of the rest. For Malea serued the Athenians for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keepe their Market in. And thus proceeded the Warre before Mitylene.

About the same time of the same Summer, the Athenians sent likewise thirty Gallies into Peloponnesus, vnder the conduct of Asopius the sonne of Phormio. For the Acarnanians had desired them to send some sonne or kinsman of Phormio for Generall into those parts. These, as they sayled by, wasted the maritime Countrey of Laconia; and then sending

A ding backe the greatest part of his Fleet to Athens. Asopius himselve with twelue Gallies went on to Naupactus. And afterwards hauing raised the whole power of Acarnania, he made Warre vpon the Oeniades, and both entred with his Gallies into the Riuer of Achelous, and with his Land-forces wasted the Territory. But when the Oeniades would not yeeld, hee disbanded his Land-forces, and sayled with his Gallies to Loucas, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of Neritum; but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by B some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himselve and part of his Company slaine. And hauing vpon truce receiued from the Leucadians their dead bodies, they went their wayes.

Now the Ambassadors of the Mitylenians, that went out in the first Gally, hauing beene referred by the Lacedæmonians to the generall meeting of the Grecians at Olympia, to the end they might determine of them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to Olympia accordingly. It was that * Olympiade wherein Darius of Rhodes was the second time Victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Councell, the Ambassadors spake vnto them in this manner.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadors of MITYLENE.

MEN of Lacedæmon, and Confederates, We know the receiued custome of the Grecians: For they that take into League such as reuolt in the Warres, and relinquish a D former League, though they like them as long as they haue profit by them, yet accounting them but Traitors to their former Friends, they esteeme the worse of them in their iudgement. And to say the truth, this iudgement is not without good reason, when they that reuolt, and they from whom the reuolt is made, are mutually like-minded and affected, and equal in prouision and strength, and no iust cause of their reuolt giuen. But now betwixt vs and the Athenians it is not so. Nor let any man thinke the worse of vs, for that hauing beene honoured by them in time of peace, we haue now reuolted in time of danger. For the first point of our speech, especially now we seeke to come into League with you, shall bee to make good the iustice and honesty of our reuolt. For we know there can bee

* Lepanto.

Asopius slaine.

The Mitylenian Ambassadors sent to Lacedæmon, are appointed to attend the generall Assembly of the Grecians at Olympia.

* Olympiade 89.

bee neither firme friendship betweene man and man, nor any communion betweene Citie and Citie to any purpose whatsoeuer, without a mutuall opinion of each others honesty, and also a similitude of customes otherwayes. For in the difference of mindes is grounded the diuersity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it was first made, when you gaue ouer the Median Warre, and they remained to prosecute the reliques of that businesse: Yet wee entred not such a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into the seruitude of the Athenians, but to set free the Grecians from the seruitude of the Medes. And as long as they led vs as equals, wee followed them with much zeale; but when wee saw they remitted their enmity against the Medes, and led vs to the subiugation of the Confederates, we could not then but bee afraid. And the Confederates through the multitude of distinct Councils, vnable to vnite themselves for resistance, fell all but our selues and the Chians into their subiection; and wee hauing still our owne Lawes, and being in name a free State, followed them to the Warres; but so, as by the examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for faithfull Leaders. For it was not probable, when they had subdued those, whom together with vs they tooke into league, but that, when they should bee able, they would doe the like also by the rest. It is true that if we were now in liberty all, wee might bee the better assured, that they would forbear to innouate; but since they haue vnder them the greatest part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill, to deale on equall termes with vs alone; and the rest yeelding, to let vs onely stand vp as their equals. Especially when by how much they are become stronger by the subiection of their Confederates, by so much the more are wee become desolate. But the equality of mutuall feare, is the onely band of faith in Leagues. For hee that hath the will to transgresse, yet when he hath not the oddes of strength, will abstaine from comming on. Now the reason why they haue left vs yet free, is no other, but that they may haue a faire colour to lay vpon their domination ouer the rest; and because it hath seemed vnto them more expedient to take vs in by policy, then by force. For therein they made vse of vs, for an argument, that hauing equall voote with them, wee would neuer haue followed them to the Warres, if those against whom they led vs, had not done the iniury. And thereby also they brought the stronger against the weaker, and reseruing the strongest to the last, made them the weaker, by removing the rest. Whereas if they had begunne with vs, when the Confederates had had both their owne strength, and a side to adhere to, they had neuer subdued them so easily. Likewise our Navy kept them in some feare, lest vnited and

added

A added to yours, or to any other, it might haue created them some danger. Partly also we escaped by our obseruance toward their Commons and most eminent men, from time to time. But yet we still thought we could not doe so long, considering the examples they haue shewed vs in the rest, if this Warre should not haue fallen out. What friendship then or assurance of liberty was this, when we retained each other with alienated affections? When whilst they had Warres, they for feare courted vs, and when they had Peace, we for feare courted them? and whereas in others good will affureth loyalty, in vs it was the effect of feare? So it was more for feare then loue, that we remained their Confederates; and whomsoeuer security should first embolden, he was first likely by one meanes or other to breake the league. Now if any man thinke we did vniustly, to reuolt vpon the expectation of euill intended, without staying to be certaine, whether they would doe it or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to contriue euill against them, and againe to deferre it, as they can against vs, being thus equall, what needed vs to be at their discretion? But seeing it is in their hands to innuade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to anticipate. Vpon these pretentions therefore, and causes, Men of Lacedæmon & Confederates, we haue reuolted, the which are both cleare enough for the hearers to iudge vpon, that we had reason for it, and weighty enough to affright, and compell vs to take some course for our owne safety, which we would haue done before, when before the Warre, we sent Ambassadors to you about our reuolt, but could not, because you would not then admit vs into your league. And now when the Boeotians inuited vs to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein wee thought we made a double reuolt, one from the Grecians, in ceasing to doe them mischief with the Athenians, and helping to set them free; and another from the Athenians, in breaking first, and not staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this reuolt of ours hath bene sooner then was fit, and before we were prouided for it. For which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit vs into the league, and send vs the speedier aide, thereby the better, at once, both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your enemies. Whereof there was neuer better opportunity then at this present. For the Athenians being kept with the likeness, and their great expences consumed, and their Navy divided, part vpon your own Coasts, and part vpon ours, it is not likely they should haue many Gallies spare, in case you againe this Summer innuade them, both by Sea and Land; but that they shall rather be vnable to resist the inuasion of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coastes. And let not any man conceiue that you shall herein, at your owne danger defend

The Athenians send Paches with 1000 men of Armes to Mitylene.

The end of the fourth Summ. er.
* 37500 pound Sterling.

The escape of 212 men out of Plataea, thorow the workes of the enemy.

They make the length of their Ladders by continue vpon counting the Layes of Bricke.

affaires of those places, and made strong their wals, returned A speedly home. When these were gone, the Mityleneans likewise made War vpon Antissa, but beaten by the Antissians, and some auxiliaries that were with them, they made haste againe to Mitylene, with the losse of many of their Souldiers. But the Athenians being advertized hereof, and understanding that the Mitylenians were masters of the Land, and that their own Soldiers there were not enough to keep them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumne, Paches, the sonne of Epicurus, with 1000 men of Armes, of their owne Citie, who supplying the place of Rowers B themselves, arrived at Mitylene, and ingirt it with a single wall. Saue that in some places, stronger by Nature then the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed guards in them. So that the Citie was every way strongly besieged, both by Sea and Land: And the Winter began.

The Athenians standing in need of mony for the Siege, both contributed themselves, and sent thither * 200 Talents of this their first contribution, & also dispatched Lysicles, and 4 others, with 42 Gallies, to leuie money amongst the Confederates. But Lysicles, after he had bene to and C fro, and gathered money in diuers places, as he was going vp from Myus, thorow the Plaines of Meander in Caria, as farre as to the hill Sandius, was set vpon there by the Carians and Anatians, and himselfe with a great part of his Souldiers, slaine.

The same Winter the Plataeans (for they were yet besieged by the Peloponnesians, and Boeotians) pressed now with want of Victuall, and hopelesse of reliefe from Athens, and no other meanes of safety appearing, rooke Counsell, both they, and the Athenians that were besieged with D them, at first all to goe out, and if they could, to passe ouer the wall of the enemy by force. The Authors of this attempt, were Theanetus the sonne of Timidas, a Soothsayer, and Eupolpidas the sonne of Demachus, one of their Commanders. But halfe of them afterwards, by one meanes or other, for the greatnesse of the danger, shrunke from it againe. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted, to goe out, in this manner. They made them Ladders, fit for the height of the enemies wall, the wall they measured by the Layes of Bricke, on the part toward the Towne. E where it was not Plaistered ouer, and diuers men at once



A. the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall built inwards by the Plataeans to frustrate the effect of the mount. C. The worke of the Peloponnesians. D. The place wher the Plataeans go ouer. E. The ditch wth out, full of water.

A once numbred the layes of Bricke, whereof though some missed, yet the greatest part tooke the reckoning iust; especially, numbring them often, and at no great distance, but where they might easily see the part, to which their Ladders were to bee applyed; and so by guesse of the thicknesse of one Bricke, tooke the measure of their Ladders.

As for the Wall of the *Peloponnesians*, it was thus built. It consisted of a double Circle, one towards *Plataea*, and another outward, in case of an assault from *Athens*.

B These two Walles were distant one from the other about sixteene foot, and that sixteene foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which were so ioyned and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thicke Wall, with Battlements on either side. At euery tenne Battlements, stood a great Tower of a iust breadth, to comprehend both Walles, and reach from the outmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Towre, but through the middest of it. And

C such nights as there happened any storme of Raine, they vsed to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch vnder the Towres, as being not farre asunder, and couered beside ouer-head. Such was the forme of the Wall wherein the *Peloponnesians* kept their Watch. The *Platians*, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Moonelesse, went out of the Citie, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Towne, and then came vp close to the

D Wall of the Enemy, who, because it was darke, could not see them comming; and the noyse they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not bee betrayed by the clashing of their Armes; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more steddinesse in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements, in one of the spaces betweene Towre and Towre, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that carried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then 12. lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Brestplate, went

X 2

vp.

The description of the fortification of the *Peloponnesians* about *Plataea*.

The description of the *Platians* going over the Enemies Wall.

vp, led by *Ammeas*, the sonne of *Corabus*, who was the A
first that mounted; and they that followed him, went vp
into either Towre 6. To these succeeded others lightly-
armed, that carried the Darts, for whom they that came
after, carried Targets at their backes, that they might bee
the more expedite to get vp, which Targets they were to
deliuer to them, when they came to the Enemy. At
length, when most of them were ascended, they were
heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towres, for one
of the *Plateans* taking hold of the Battlements, threw
downe a Tyle, which made a noyse in the fall; and pre- B
sently there was an Alarme. And the Armie ran to the
Wall; for in the darke and stormie night, they knew not
what the danger was. And the *Plateans* that were left in
the Citie, came forth withall, and assaulted the Wall of
the *Peloponnesians*, on the opposite part to that where their
men went ouer. So that though they were all in a tumult
in their seuerall places, yet not any of them that watched,
durst stirre to the ayde of the rest, nor were able to conie-
cture what had happened. But * those three hundred that
were appointed to assit the Watch vpon all occasions of C
neede, went without the Wall, and made towards the
place of the clamor. They also held vp the fires, by which
they vsed to make knowne the approach of Enemies, to-
wards *Thebes*. But then the *Plateans* likewise, held out
many other fires from the Wall of the Citie, which for
that purpose they had before prepared, to render the fires
of the Enemy insignificant, and that the *Thebans* appre-
hending the matter otherwise then it was, might forbear
to send help, till their men were ouer, and had recouered
some place of safety.

In the meane time, those *Plateans*, which hauing scaled
the Wall first, and slaine the Watch, were now masters
of both the Towres, not onely guarded the passages,
by standing themselves in the entries, but also applying
Ladders from the Wall to the Towres, and conueying
many men to the toppe, kept the enemies off with shot,
both from aboue and below. In the meane space, the
greatest number of them hauing reared to the Wall many
Ladders at once, and beaten downe the Battlements, pas-
sed quite ouer betwene the Towres, and euer as any of E
them got to the other side, they stood still vpon the brinke
of

* There is no mention of these
300. where the Author relateth
the laying of the siege:
But it must be understood.

A of the Ditch without, and with Arrowes and Darts, kept
off those that came by the outside of the Wall to hinder
their passage. And when the rest were ouer, then last of
all, and with much adoe, came they also downe to the
Ditch, which were in the two Towres. And by this
time, the three hundred that were to assit the Watch,
came and set vpon them, and had lights with them; by
which meanes the *Plateans* that were on the further brinke
of the Ditch, discerned them the better from out of the
darke, and aimed their Arrowes and Darts at their most
B disarmed parts. For, standing in the darke, the lights of
the Enemy made the *Plateans* the lesse discernable. Inso-
much as these last passed the Ditch, though with diffi-
culty and force. For the Water in it was frozen ouer,
though not so hard as to beare, but watrie, and such as
when the Wind is at East, rather then at North: and the
Snow which fell that night, together with so great a
Wind as that was, had very much increased the Water,
which they waded thorow, with scarce their heads aboue.
But yet the greatnesse of the storme was the principall
C meanes of their escape.

From the Ditch, the *Plateans*, in troope, tooke the way
towards *Thebes*, leauing on the left hand the Temple of *Iuno*,
built by *Androcrates*, both for that they supposed, they
would least suspect the way that led to their Enemies,
and also because they saw the *Peloponnesians* with their
lights pursue that way, which by Mount *Citharon*, and the
Oake-heads, led to *Athens*. The *Plateans*, when they had
gone 6. or 7. Furlongs, forooke the *Theban* way, and tur-
ned into that which led towards the Mountaine, to *Ery-*
D *thrae*, and *Hylæ*, and hauing gotten the Hilles, escaped
through to *Athens*, being 212. persons of a greater num-
ber: for some of them returned into the Citie, before the
rest went ouer; and one of their Archers was taken vpon
the Ditch without. And so the *Peloponnesians* gaue ouer
the pursuite, and returned to their places. But the *Plate-*
ans that were within the City, knowing nothing of the e-
uent, and those that turned backe hauing told them, that
not a man escaped, as soone as it was day, sent a Herald to
entreat a Truce, for the taking vp of their dead bodies;
E but when they knew the truth, they gaue it ouer.
And thus these men of *Platea* passed through the
Forti-

their land Souldiers are disperſed, ſome in one houſe, and ſome in another, careleſſy as victors. Therefore if we fall vpon them ſuddenly, and by night, I thinke, with the helpe of thoſe within (if any bee left there that will take our part) we may be able to poſſeſſe our ſelues of the Citie. And we ſhall neuer feare the danger, if we but thinke this, that all Stratagems of Warre whatſoever, are no more, but ſuch occaſions as this, which if a Commander auoid in himſelfe, and take the aduantage of them, in the enemy, he ſhall for the moſt part haue good ſucceſſe. Thus ſaid he, but preuailed not with Alcidas. And ſome others, Fugitiues of Ionia, and thoſe Lesbians that were with him in the Fleet, gaue him counſell, That ſeeing he feared the danger of this, he ſhould ſeake ſome Citie of Ionia, or Cume in Aiolia, that hauing ſome Towne for the ſeat of the Warre, they might from thence, force Ionia to reuolt, whereof there was hope, becauſe the Ionians would not be unwilling to ſee him there. And if they could withdraw from the Athenians this their great reuenue, and withall put them to maintaine a Fleet againſt them, it would be a great exhauſting of their treaſure. They ſaid beſides, that they thought they ſhould be able to get Piſſuthnes, to ioyne with them in the Warre.

But Alcidas reiected this aduice likewise, inclining rather to this opinion, that ſince they were come too late to Mitylene, they were beſt to returne ſpeedily into Peloponneſus. Whereupon putting off from Embatus, he ſayled by the Shoare to Myonneſus of the Teians, and there ſlew moſt of the priſoners he had taken by the way. After this hee put in at Epheſus, and thither came Ambaſſadours to him from the Samians of Anea, and told him, that it was but an ill manner of ſetting the Grecians at liberty, to kill ſuch as had not liſt vp their hands againſt him, nor were indeed enemies to the Peloponneſians, but Confederates to the Athenians by constraint. And that vnleſſe he gaue ouer that courſe, he would make ſew of the enemies, his friends; but many now friends, to become his enemies. Wherefore vpon theſe words of the Ambaſſadours, he ſet the Chians, and ſome others, all that he had left aliue, at liberty. For when men ſaw their Fleet, they neuer fled from it, but came vnto them as to Athenians; little imagining that the Athenians being maſters of the Sea, the Peloponneſians durſt haue put ouer to Ionia.

From Epheſus, Alcidas went away in haſte, indeed fled; E for he had bin deſcried by the * Salaminia, and the * Paralus, (which

The aduice of certaine Outlawes of Ionia and Lesbos.

The cowardly reſolution of Alcidas.

He killeth his priſoners.

The Samians ſharply re-
proch him.

Alcidas maketh haſt from
Epheſus homeward.
* The names of two Gallies
of Athens.

A (which by chance were then in their courſe for Athens,) whileſt he lay at Anchor about Claros, and fearing to bee chaſed, kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will, to touch no Land, till hee came into Peloponneſus. But the newes of them came to Pachas from diuers places, eſpecially from Erythrea: for the Citie of Ionia being vnwalled, were afraid extremely, leſt the Peloponneſians ſayling by, without intention to ſtay, ſhould haue pillaged them as they paſſed. But the Salaminia and the Paralus hauing ſeene him at Claros, brought the newes themſelues. And B Pachas thereupon made great haſte after, and followed him as farre as Latmos * the Iland: but when he ſaw hee could not reach him, he came backe againe; and thought he had a good turne, ſeeing hee could not ouertake thoſe Gallies vpon the wide Sea, that the ſame were not compelled, by being taken in ſome place neere Land, to fortifie themſelues, and ſo to giue him occaſion with guards and Gallies, to attend them.

As hee came by, in his returne, hee put in at Notium, a City of the Colophonians, into which the Colophonians came and inhabited, after the * Towne aboue, through their owne ſedition, was taken by Itamanes and the Barbarians. (This Towne was taken at the time when Attica was the ſecond time inuaded by the Peloponneſians.) They then that came downe, and dwelt in Notium, falling againe into ſedition, the one part hauing procured ſome forces, Arcadians and Barbarians of Piſſuthnes, kept them in a part of the Towne, which they had ſeuered from the reſt with a Wall, and there, with ſuch of the Colophonians of the high Towne, as being of the Medan faction, entred with them, D they gouerned the Citie at their pleaſure: and the other part which went out from theſe, and were the Fugitiues, brought in Pachas. He, when he had called out Hippas, Captaine of the Arcadians that were within the ſaid wall, with promiſe, if they ſhould not agree, to ſet him ſafe and ſound within the Wall againe; and Hippas was there vpon come to him; committed him to cuſtody, but without bonds; and withall aſſaulting the Wall on a ſudden, when they expected not, tooke it, and ſlew as many of the Arcadians and Barbarians E as were within. And when hee had done, brought Hippas in againe, according as hee had promiſed.

Pachas purſueth the Peloponneſians, and is glad he ouertaketh them not.
* A diſtinction to Latmos the Mountain. But I can finde no mention of this Latmos the Iland in any of the Geographers.

Pachas reſtoreth Notium to the Colophonians, driven out by ſedition.
* The City of Colophon, 2. miles higher into the Land.

Pachas parlieth with Hippas.

Y

But

His equivocation with
Hippias whom he put to
death contrary to pro-
mise.

Paches taketh Pyrrhus, and
Erechius.
He apprehendeth Sala-
thius in Mitylene.

The Athenians slay Sala-
thius, though he offer to
withdraw the Peloponne-
sians from the siege of
Plataea.

The cruell decree of the
Athenians in their passion
against the Mityleans.

The Athenians repent of
their decree, and consult
anew.

But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and caused A him to be shot to death; and restored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely such as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* sent *Gouvernours* to *Notium* of their owne, and having gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities whatsoeuer, seated them there vnder the Law of the *Athenians*.

Paches, when he came backe to *Mitylene*, tooke in *Pyrrhus* and *Erechius*; and having found *Salathius* the *Lacedemonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and sent him, together with those men he had put in custody at *Tenedos*, B and whomsoeuer else he thought Author of the Reuolt, to *Athens*. Hee likewise sent away the greatest part of his Armie, and with the rest stayed, and settled the State of *Mitylene*, and the rest of *Lesbos* as he thought conuenient.

These men, and *Salathius* with them, being arriued at *Athens*, the *Athenians* slew *Salathius* presently, though hee made them many offers, and amongst other, to get the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* to rise from before *Plataea*, (for it was yet besieged) but vpon the rest they went to Councell; and in their passion decreed to put them to death, C not onely those men there present, but also all the men of *Mitylene* that were of age, and to make slaues of the Women and children: laying to their charge the Reuolt it selfe, in that they reuolted not, being in subiection as others were: And withall the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which durst enter into *Ionia* to their ayde, had not a little aggravated that Commotion. For by that, it seemed that the Reuolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore sent a Gally to enforce *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* presently to death. D But the next day they felt a kind of repentance in themselves, and began to consider what a great and cruell Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole Citie should be destroyed. Which when the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians*, that were there present, & such *Athenians* as fauoured them vnderstood, they wrought with those that bare office, to bring the matter again into debate, wherein they easily preuailed, forasmuch as to them also it was well knowne, that the most of the Citie were desirous to haue meanes to consult of the same anew. The Assembly beeing presently met, amongst the opinions of diuers E others,

A others, *Cleon* also, the sonne of *Cleometus*, who in the former Assembly had won to haue them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time farre the most powerfull, stood forth, and said in this manner.

THE ORATION OF

CLEON.

I HAVE often on other occasions thought a Democratice repub-
B licke of dominion over others, but most of all now, for this your
repentance concerning the *Mitylenians*. For through your
owne mutuall security and opennesse, you imagine the same also in
your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their perswasion
you commit an error, or relent vpon compassion, you are softned
thui, to the danger of the Common-wealth, not to the winning of the
affections of your Confederates. Nor doe you consider, that your
gouernment is a Tyranny, and those that be subiect to it, are against
their willes so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey
you not for any good turne, which to your owne Remittment you shall
C doo them, but onely for that you exceede them in strength, and for
no good will. But the worst mischiefe of all is this, that nothing wee
decree shall stand firme, and that we will not know, what a Citie with
the worse Lawes, is immouable, is better then one with good
Lawes, when they be not binding; and that a plaine wit accompa-
nied with modesty, is more profitable to the State, then dexterity
with arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men, doe for
the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are
wiser. For these doe to appeare wiser then the Lawes, and in all
publike debates to carry the victory, as the worthiest things
D wherein to shew their wisdom; from whence most commonly pro-
ceedeth the ruine of the States they liue in. Whereas the other
sort, mistrusting their owne wit, are content to be esteemed not so
wise as the Lawes, and not able to carpe at what is well spoken by
another; and so making themselves equall Iudges, rather then con-
tenders for mastery, gouerne a State for the most part well. Wee
therefore should doe the like, and not be carried away with combates
of eloquence and wit, to giue such counsell to your multitude, as in
our owne iudgements wee thinke not good. For my owne part, I
am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men, that
E haue brought this matter of the *Mitylenians* in question againe,
and thereby cause delay, which is the aduantage onely of them that
doe

doe the iniury. For the sufferer by this means comes upon the doer. A
 with his anger dalled, whereas revenge, the opposit of iniurie, is
 then greatest, when it follows presently. I doe wonder also, what
 he is that shall stand up now to contradict me, and shall thinke to
 proue, that the iniuries done vs by the Mitylenians, are good for us,
 or that our calamities are any damage to our Confederates. For
 certainly he must either distrust his eloquence, or take you beleene,
 that that which was decreed, was not decreed, or moued with lucre,
 must with some elaborate speech endeuour to seduce you. Now of such
 matches [of eloquence] as these, the Citie giueth the prizes to o-
 thers, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her selfe sustineth. B
 And of all this, you your selues are the cause, by the euill institution of
 these matches, in that you use to bee spectators of words, and hea-
 rers of actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that
 speake well, as possible to come to passe; and actions already past, in
 the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such as-
 surance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certaine,
 then what you heare related. You are excellent men for one to deceiue
 with a speech of a new straine, but backward to follow any tried ad-
 uice: slauers to strange things, contempters of things vsuall. You would
 euery one chiefly giue the best aduice, but if you cannot, then you will
 contradict those that doe. You would not be thought to come after with
 your opinion; but rather if any thing bee acutely spoken, to ap-
 plaud it first, and to appeare ready apprehenders of what is spoken,
 euen before it be out, but slow to preconceine the sequell of the same.
 You would heare; as one may say, somewhat else then what our life is
 conuersant in; and yet you sufficiently vnderstand not that, that is be-
 fore your eyes. And to speake plainly, ouercome with the delight of
 the eare, you are rather like vnto spectators, sitting to heare the con-
 tentions of Sophisters, then to men that deliberate of the state of a
 Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say vnto you, that
 the Mitylenians haue done vs more iniury, then euer did any one
 Citie. For those that haue reuolted through the ouer-hard preffure of
 our gouernment, or that haue bene compelled to it by the enemy, I par-
 don them; but they that were vnderstanders, and had their Citie walled,
 so as they needed not feare our Enemies, but onely by Sea; in which
 case also they were armed for them with sufficient provision of Gallies;
 and they that were permitted to haue their owne Lawes, and whom
 wee principally honoured, and yet haue done thus; what haue they
 done but conspired against vs, and rather warred vpon vs, then re-
 uolted from vs. (for a reuolt is wily of such as suffer violence) and
 ioyned with our bitterest Enemies to destroy vs. This is farre worse
 then

The nature of the mul-
 titude in counsell, liuely
 set forth.

Aggravation of the Re-
 uolt of the Mitylenians.

A then if they had warred against vs for encreasing of their owne
 power. But these men would rather take example by their
 neighbours calamity, who are, all that reuolted already subdued
 by vs, not could their owne present felicity, make them afraid
 of changing it into misery. But being bold against future euents,
 and aiming at matters about their strength, though they stop their
 desires, haue taken Armes against vs, and prefixed force before
 iustice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory,
 but immediately, though without injury done them, they rose a-
 gainst vs. But with Cities that come to great and unexpected
 prosperity, it is vsuall to turne insolent. Whereas most common-
 ly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of
 reason, is more firme then that which commeth vnexpected for.
 And such Cities, as one may say, doe more easily keepe off an
 aduerse, then maintaine a happy fortune. Indeed we should not
 formerly haue done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to
 the rest of our Confederates; for then they had neuer come to
 this degree of insolence. For it is naturall to men to contemne
 those that obserue them, and to haue in admiration such as will
 not giue them way. Now therefore let them be punished, accor-
 ding to their wicked dealing; and let not the fault be laid vpon
 a few, and the people bee absolued; for they haue all alike
 taken Armes against vs. And the Commons, if they had bene
 constrained to it, might haue fled hither, and haue recovered
 their Citie afterwards againe. But they, esteeming it the safer
 aduenture, to ioyne with the Few, are alike with them cul-
 pable of the Reuolt. Haue also in consideration, your Confede-
 rates; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that
 reuolt vpon compulsion of the Enemy, that you doe on them that
 reuolt of their owne accord, who thinke you will not reuolt, though
 on light pretence; seeing that speeding they winne their liber-
 ty, and failing their case is not incurable? Besides that against
 euery City wee must bee at a new hazard both of our persons
 and fortunes. Wherein with the best successe, wee recouer but
 an exhausted Citie, and lose that, wherein our strength lyeth,
 the reueneue of it; but miscarrying, wee adde these Enemies to
 our former; and must spend that time in warring against our
 owne Confederates, which wee needed to employ against the
 Enemies, we haue already. Wee must not therefore giue our
 Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or
 purchasable by money, as if their errors were but such as are
 commonly incident to humanity. For these did vs not an iniury
 vnwil-

that can be giuen, yet through enuy, for this vncertaine opinion of his A
 gaine, we lose a certaine benefit to the Common-wealth. And our
 custome is to hold good counsell giuen suddenly, no lesse suspect, then
 bad. By which meanes, as he that giues the most dangerous counsell,
 must get the same received, by fraud; so also he that giues the most
 sound aduice, is forced by lying to get himselfe beleueed. So that, the
 Common-wealth is it alone, which by reason of these suspitious imagi-
 nations, no man can possibly benefit by the plaine and open way, with-
 out artifice. For if any man shall doe a manifest good vnto the Com-
 mon-wealth, he shall presently be suspected of some secret gaine vnto B
 himselfe in particular. We therefore, that in the most important af-
 faires, and amidst these iealousies doe giue our aduice, haue need to
 foresee farther then you, that looke not farre, and the rather, because
 we stand accountable for our counsell, and you are to render no account
 of your hearing it. For if the perswader, and the perswaded, had e-
 quall harme you would be the more moderate Iudges. But now, accord-
 ing to the passion that takes you, when at any time your affaires mis-
 cary, you punish the sentence of that one onely that gaue the counsell,
 not the many sentences of your owne, that were in fault as well as his.
 For my owne part, I stood not forth with any purpose of contradiction, in
 the businesse of the Mitylenians, nor to accuse any man. For wee C
 contend not now, if we be wise, about the iniury done by them, but
 about the wisest counsell for our selues. For how great soeuer be their
 fault, yet I would neuer aduise to haue them put to death, vnlesse it bee
 for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardon-
 able, vnlesse it be good for the Common-wealth. And in my opinion,
 our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the present. And
 whereas Cleon contendeth, that it will be profitable for the future,
 to put them to death, in that it will keepe the rest from rebelling, I, con-
 tending likewise for the future, affirme the contrary. And I desire D
 you not to reiect the profit of my aduice, for the faire pretexts of his,
 which agreeing more with your present anger against the Mityleni-
 ans, may quickly perhaps win your consent. We pleade not iudicially
 with the Mitylenians, so as to need arguments of equity, but we con-
 sult of them, which way we may serue our selues of them to our most
 aduantage hereafter. I say therefore, that death hath been in States,
 ordained for a punishment of many offences, and those not so great, but
 farre lesse then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazzard themselves.
 Nor did any man euer yet enter into a practice, which he knew he could
 not goe through with. And a Citie when it reuolteth, supposeth it selfe E
 to be better furnished, either of themselves, or by their Confederates,
 then it is, or else it would neuer take the enterprize in hand. They haue
 it

A it by nature, both men and Cities, to commit offences; nor is there any
 Law that can prevent it. For men haue gone ouer all degrees of pu-
 nishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be lesse annoyed by Male-
 factors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old,
 euen vpon the most heinous crimes; but that, in tract of time, men
 continuing to transgresse, they were extended afterwards, to the ta-
 king away of life; and yet they still transgresse. And therefore either
 some greater terror then death must be deuised, or death will not bee
 enough for coercion. For powerty with all wayes adde boldnesse to neces-
 sity; and wealth, conetousnesse to pride and contempt. And the other.
 B [middle] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as
 they are generally subiect to some insuperable one or other, impell men
 to danger. But Hope and Desires worke this effect in all estates.
 And this as the Leader, that as the companion; this contriuing the
 enterprize, that suggesting the successe, are the cause of most crimes
 that are committed. And being least discerned, are more mischieuous,
 then euils seene. Besides these two, Fortune also puts men forward as
 much as any thing else. For presenting her selfe sometimes vnlookt
 for, she prouoketh some to aduventure, though not provided, as they
 ought for the purpose; and specially Cities; because they venture
 C for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion ouer others; and
 amongst a generality, euery one, though without reason, somewhat the
 more magnifies himselfe in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossi-
 ble, and of great simplicitie to beleue, when humane nature is earnest-
 ly bent to doe a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can
 be diuerted. We must not therefore, relying on the security of capitall
 punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate,
 as if there were no place to repent, and as soone as they can, to cancell
 their offence. For obserue; if a Citie reuolted, should know it could
 not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able, both to pay
 D vs our charges for the present; and our tribute for the time to
 come. But the way that Cleon prescribeth, what Citie, thinke you,
 would not provide it selfe better, then this did; and endure the siege
 to the very last, if to compound late, and soone be all one? And how
 can it be but detriment to vs, to be at charge of long sieges, through
 their obstinacy, and when we haue taken a Citie, to finde it exhau-
 sted, and to lose the reuenue of it for the future? And this reuenue
 is the onely strength we haue against our enemies. Wee are not then
 to be exact Iudges in the punition of offenders, but to looke rather
 how by their moderate punishment we may haue our Confederate Ci-
 ties, such as they may be able to pay vs tribute; and not thinke to
 E keepe them in awe by the rigour of Lawes, but by the prouidence of
 Z
 our

our owne actions. But wee to the contrary, when wee recover a Citie, which hauing bene free, and held vnder our obedience by force, hath reuolted iustly, thinke now, that we ought to inflict some cruell punishment vpon them; whereas we ought rather, not mightily to punish a free Citie reuolted; but mightily to looke to it before it reuolt; and to prevent the intention of it; but when we haue ouercome them; to lay the fault vpon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the aduice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your friends, and either reuolt not with the few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turne enemies to them that caused the reuolt; whereby when you goe to Warre, you haue the Commons of the aduerse Citie on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians; which did neither partake of the reuolt, and as soone as they were armed, presently deliuered the Citie into your hands; you shall first doe vnjustly, to kill such as haue done you seruice; and you shall effect a worke besides, which the great men doe every where most desire. For when they haue made a Citie to reuolt, they shall haue the people presently on their side; you hauing foreshewne them by this example, that both the guilty and not guilty must undergoe the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet wee ought to dissemble it, to the end that the onely party, now our friend, may not become our enemy. And for the assuring of our dominion; I thinke it farre more profitable, voluntarily to put vp an iniurie, then iustly to destroy such as wee should not. And that same, both iustice and profit of reuenge, alledged by Cleon, can neuer possibly bee found together in the same thing.

You therefore, vpon knowledge that this is the best course, not vpon Compassion, or Lenitie (for neither would I, haue you wonne by that) but vpon consideration of what hath bene aduised, bee ruled by mee, and proceede to iudgement at your owne leasure, against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enioy their Citie. For that will bee both good for the future, and also of present terror to the enemy. For hee that consulteth wisely, is a sorer enemy; then hee that assaulteth with the strength of action vnaduisedly.

Thus spake Diodotus.

After

A After these two opinions were deliuered, the one most opposite to the other, the Athenians were at contention which they should decree; and at the holding vp of hands, they were both sides almost equall: but yet the sentence of Diodotus preuailed. Whereupon they presently in haste sent away another Gallie, lest not arriuing before the former they should finde the Citie already destroyed. The first Gallie set forth before the second, a day and a night. But the Mitylenian Ambassadors hauing furnished this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised them great rewards, if they ouertooke the other Gallie, they rowed diligently, at one and the same time both plying their Oares, and taking their refection of the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyle; and by turnes part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It happened also that there blew no Winde against them; And the former Gallie making no great halte, as going in so sad an errand; whereas the former proceeded in the manner before mentioned, arriued indeed first, but onely so much, as Paches had read the Sentence, and prepared to execute what they had decreed. But presently after came in the other Gallie, and saued the Citie from being destroyed. So neere were the Mitylenians to the danger.

But those whom Paches had sent home, as most culpable of the Reuolt, the Athenians, as Cleon had aduised, put to death; beeing in number somewhat aboute a thousand.

D They also razed the Walles of Mitylene, and tooke from them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on the Lesbians no more Tribute, but hauing diuided their land, (all but that of the Methymnians) into 3000 parts, 300 of those parts, of the choicest Land, they consecrated to the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out of their owne Citie to possesse it, of whom the Lesbians at the rent of two Minae of Silver yeerely, vpon a Lot, had the Land againe to bee husbanded by themselves. The Athenians tooke in all such Townes also, as the Mitylenians were Masters of in the Continent; which were afterwards made Subiects to the People of Athens. Thus ended the businesse touching Lesbos.

The same Summer, after the recouery of Lesbos, the Athenians

The Sentence of Diodotus taketh place. A Gallie sent out after the former, with a Sentence of mercy.

The speed of this latter Gallie to ouertake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of Mitylene very neere destruction.

Aboute a thousand principall authors of the Reuolt executed.

* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Nicias taketh Minas, an Island adjacent to Megara.

Athenians, under the conduct of *Nicias*, the sonne of *Niceratus*, made Warre on *Minoa*, an Iland adjacent to *Megara*. For the *Megaraes* had built a Tower in it, and serued themselves of the Iland for a place of Garrison. But *Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keepe their Watch vpon *Megara*, in that Iland, as beeing neerer, and no more at *Budorus* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians* might not goe out thence with their Gallies, vndiscryed, nor send out Pirates, as they had formerly done, and to prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megaraes* by Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towres that stood out from *Nisaea*, with Engines applyed from the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies, betweene the Iland and the firme Land, he tooke it in with a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it might receiue ayde by a bridge ouer the *Marathes*; for it was not farre distant from the maine Land. And, that being in few dayes finished, hee built a Fort in the Iland it selfe, and leauing there a Garrison, carried the rest of his Armie backe.

The Plateans yeeld the City.

The Lacedemonians refuse to take Platea by force, but will haue it by voluntary surrender.

It happened also about the same time of this Summer, that the *Plateans* hauing spent their Victuall, and beeing vnable longer to hold out, yeelded their Citie in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walles, but they within were vnable to fight. Wherevpon the *Lacedemonian* Commander, perceiuing their weaknesse, would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedemon*, to the end that if they should euer make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutuall restitution of such Cities as on either side had beene taken by Warre, *Platea*, as hauing come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recouerable;) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded whether or no they would giue vp their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*, and take them for their Iudges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without forme of Iustice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakest) deliuered vp the Citie accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gaue the *Plateans* food for certaine dayes, till the Iudges, which were foure, should arriue from *Lacedemon*. And when they were come, no accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they

Vniust proceeding of the Lacedemonians.

A they asked of euery one, onely this question: *Whether they had done to the Lacedemonians, and their Confederates in this Warre, any good service?* But the *Plateans* hauing sued to make their answer more at large, and hauing appointed *Astymachus* the sonne of *Asopolau*, and *Dacon* the sonne of *Adimnestus* (who had been heretofore the Hoste of the *Lacedemonians*) for their Speakers, said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF THE PLATEANS.

B *Men of Lacedemon*, relying vpon you, we yeelded vpon our Citie, not expecting to undergoe this, but some more Legall manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the iudgement of others, (as now we doe) but of our selues onely; conceiuing we should so obtaine the better iustice. But now we feare we haue beene deceived in both. For we haue reason to suspect, both that the tryall is capitall, and you the Iudges partiall. Gathering so much, both from that, that there hath not been presented any accusation, to which we might answer, and also from this, that the C interrogatory is short, and such, as if we answer to it with truth, we shall speake against our selues; and be easily conuincied, if we lie. But since we are on all hands, in a straight; we are forced (and it seemes our safest way) to try what we can obtaine by pleading. For, for men in our case, the speech not spoken, may giue occasion to some to thinke, that spoken, it had preserved vs. But besides other inconueniences, the meanes also of perswasion, goe ill on our side. For if we had not knowne one another, we might haue helped our selues by producing testimony in things you knew not. Whereas now, all that we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we D feare, not that you meane, because you know vs inferiour in vertue to your selues, to make that a crime, but lest you bring vs to a iudgement already iudged, to gratifie some body else. Nevertheless, we will produce our reasons of equity, against the quarrell of the *Thebans*, and withall make mention of our seruices done, both to you, and to the rest of Greece, and make tryall, if by any meanes we can perswade you. As to that short interrogatory, Whether we haue any way done good in this present Warre to the *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, or not? If you aske us as enemies; wee say, that if we haue done them no good, we haue also done them no wrong. E If you aske vs as friends, then we say, that they rather haue done vs the injury, in that they made Warre vpon vs. But in the time of the Peace,

Peace, and in the Warre against the Medes, we behaved our selves A well; for the one, we brake not first, and in the other, we were the onely Boeotians that ioynd with you for the deliery of Greece. For though we dwell vp in the land, yet we fought by Sea at Artemisium, and in the battell, fought in this our own territory we were with you; and whatsoeuer dangers the Grecians in those times underwent, we were partakers of all, euen beyond our strength. And vnto you Lacedaemonians, in particular, when Sparta was in greatest affright, after the Earthquake, upon the Rebellion of the Helotes, and seazing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assist you, which you haue no reason to forget. Such then wee shewed our selves in those ancient and most important affaires. It is true, we have bene your enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selves. For when oppressed by the Thebans, we sought league of you, you refused vs, and bade vs goe to the Athenians that were neerer hand, your selves being farre off. Neuerthelesse, you neither haue in this Warre, nor were to haue suffered at our hands any thing that misbecame vs. And if we denyed to reuolt from the Athenians, when you bade vs; we did you no iniury in it. For they both ayded vs against the Thebans, when you shrunke from vs; and it was now no more any honesty to betray them. Especially hauing bene well vsed by them, and we our selves hauing sought their league, and been made denizens also of their Citie. Nay, we ought rather to haue followed them in all their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians haue the leading of the Confederates, if euill be done, not they that follow are culpable, but you that lead to the euill. The Thebans haue done vs many other iniuries; but this last, which is the cause of what wee now suffer, you your selves know what it was. For we auenged vs but iustly of those that in time of Peace, and vpon the day of our Nouiluniall Sacrifice, had surprized our Citie; and by the Law of all Nations it is lawfull to repell an assailing enemy; and therefore D there is no reason you should punish vs now for them. For if you shall measure Iustice by your, and their present benefit in the Warre, it will manifestly appeare, that you are not Iudges of the Truth, but respecters onely of your profit. And yet if the Thebans seeme profitable to you now, we, and the rest of the Grecians were more profitable to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the Thebans are now on your side, when you inuade others; yet at that time when the Barbarian came in to impose seruitude on all, they were on his. It is but Iustice, that with our present offence (if wee haue committed any) you compare our forwardnesse then, which you will finde both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the circumstance

A circumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power; and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his inuasion, but that aduentured to doe what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now, a cause of our destruction, as hauing chosen rather to follow the Athenians iustly, then you profitably. But you should euer haue the same opinion, in the same case, and thinke this onely to be profitable, that doing what is usefull for the present occasion, you reserve withall a constant acknowledgement of the vertue of your good Confederates. Consider also, that you are an example of * honest dealing, to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise, then is iust, for this Iudgement of yours is conspicuous, you that be praised against vs, that be not blamed, take heed that they doe not dislike that good men should undergoe an iust sentence, though at the hands of better men; or that the spoyle of vs, that haue done the Grecians service, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter, that Plataea should be destroyed by Lacedaemonians, and that you, whereas your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our Citie, on the Tripode at Delphi, should blot it out of all Greece, to gratifie the Thebans. For we haue proceeded to such a degree of zealant; that if the Medes had preuailed, we must haue perished then, and now the Thebans haue overcome vs againe in you, who were before our greatest friends; and haue put vs to two great hazards, one before, of famishing; if we yeelded not; and another now, of a Capitall sentence. And we Plataeans, who euen beyond our strength haue been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned, and left vnrelieued by them all. But we beseech you for those gods, sakes, in whose names once we made mutuall league, and for our valour sake, we vndeare in the behalfe of the Grecians, to be moued toward vs, and if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you haue determined ought against vs, to change your mindes, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans, this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, they should be contented not to kill, and so receiue an honest benefite, in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure vpon others, and receiue wickednesse vpon your selves in exchange. For though to take away our liues be a matter quickly done, yet to make the infamy of it, paye, will be worke enough. For being none of your enemies, but meddlers, and such as haue entred into the Warre vpon constraint, you cannot put vs to death with Iustice. Therefore if you will iudge vncorruptly, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember, that you rescued vs by

* It doth not appeare by any thing in the course of this War, that the Lacedaemonians detested any reputation for Iustice, but continually they appear by this and other other actions, not to haue a feeling of Iustice at all, when it would their owne interest or passion.

inuated the rest of the Grecians, in the same kinde then A
of all the Boeotians, they onely Atticized. But take now into your
consideration withall, what forme of gouernment we were in both the
one and the other, when wee did this. For then had wee our Citie
gouerned, neither by an Oligarchy, with Lawes common to all, nor by
a Democratie, but the State was mannaged by a Few with authority
absolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Lawes, and mo-
deration, nor more approaching vnto Tyranny. And these Few, ho-
ping yet further, if the Medes preuailed, to increase their owne
power, kept the people vnder, and furthered the comming in of the B
Barbarian. And so did the whole Citie; but it was not then Master
of it self; nor doth it deserue to bee vpbraided with what it did
when they had no Lawes, [but were at the will of others.]
But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Lawes, consider
now, when the Athenians attempted to subdue all Greece, and
this Territory of ours with the rest, wherein through sedition they had
gotten many places already, whether by giuing them Battell at Coro-
nea, and defeating them, we deliuered not Boeotia from seruitude
then, and doe not also now with much zeale assist you in the asserting
of the rest, and finde not more Horses, and more prouision of Warre,
then any of the Confederates besides. And so much bee spoken by C
way of Apologie to our Medizing. And wee will endeavour to proue
now, that the Grecians haue bene rather wronged by you, and that
you are more worthy of all manner of punishment. You became, you
say, Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to bee ri-
ghted against vs; against vs then onely the Athenians should
haue come with you, and not you with them haue gone to the inuasion
of the rest; especially, when if the Athenians would haue led you
whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedæmoni-
ans, made with you against the Medes, which you so often obiect,
to haue resorted vnto; which was sufficient not onely to haue prote-
cted you from vs, but which is the maine matter, to haue secured you D
to take what course you had pleased. But voluntarily, and without
constraint, you rather chose to follow the Athenians. And you say
it had bene a dishonest thing, to haue betrayed your benefactors. But
it is more dishonest, and more vniust by farre, to betray the Grecians
vniuersally, to whom you haue sworne, then to betray the Atheni-
ans alone; especially when these goe about to deliuer Greece
from subiection, and the other to subdue it. Besides, the requi-
tall you make the Athenians is not proportionable, nor free from
dishonesty; for you, as you say your selues brought in the Athenians E
to right you against iniuries, and you cooperate with them in iniurying
others.

A others. And howsoeuer, it is not so dishonest to leaue a benefite
vnrrequited, as to make such a requitall, as though iustly due,
cannot be iustly done. But you haue made it apparent, that euen
then, it was not for the Grecians sake, that you alone of all the Boe-
otians, medized not, but because the Athenians did not; yet now,
you that would do as the Athenians did, and contrary to what the
Grecians did, claime fauour of these, for what you did for the
others sake. But there is no reason for that; But as you haue
chosen the Athenians, so let them helpe you in this tryall. And
produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that should saue
B you now; for you haue relinquisht it, and contrary to the same,
haue rather helped the Athenians to subdue the Eginetæ, and
others, then hindred them from it. And this you not onely did
voluntarily, and hauing Lawes, the same you haue now, and
none forcing you to it, as there did vs, but also reiected our last
inuitation, (a little before the shutting vp of your Citie) to quiet-
nesse and neutrality. Who can therefore more deseruedly bee
hated of the Grecians in generall, then you, that pretend honesty
to their ruine? And those acts wherein formerly, as you say, you
haue bene beneficiall to the Grecians, you haue now made appa-
rent to be none of yours, and made true prooffe of what your owne
nature inclines you to. For with Athenians you haue walked in
the way of iniustice. And thus much wee haue laid open touch-
ing our inuoluntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing.
And for this last iniury you charge vs with, namely the vnlawfull
inuading of your City in time of peace, and of your New-moone
Sacrifice, we doe not thinke, no not in this action, that wee haue
offended so much as you your selues. For though wee had done
vniustly, if wee had assaulted your Citie, or wasted your Terri-
tory as enemies, of our owne accord, yet when the prime men of
D your owne Citie, both for wealth and Nobility, willing to dis-
charge you of forraigne League, and conforme you to the com-
mon institutions of all Boeotia, did of their owne accord call
vs in, wherein seeth the iniurie then? For they that leade
transgressors, rather than they that follow. But as wee conceiue,
neither they nor wee haue transgressed at all. But being Citi-
zens, as well as you, and hauing more to hazzard, they
opened their owne Gates, and took vs into the Citie as
Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keepe the
ill-affected from being worse, and to doe right to the good.
E Taking vpon them to bee moderators of your Councils, and
not to deprivate the Citie of your persons: but to reduce
you

you into one body with the rest of your kindred; and not to engage you in hostility with any, but to settle you in peace with all. And for an argument, that we did not thus as enemies, we did harme to no man, but proclaimed, that if any man were willing to haue the City gouerned after the common forme of all Boeotia, he should come to vs. And you came willingly at first, and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but few, (though we might seeme to haue done somewhat more then was fit to doe, without the consent of your multitude) you did not by vs, as we did by you, first innouate nothing in fact, and then with words perswade vs to goe forth againe, but contrary to the composition, assaulted vs. And for those men you slew in the affray, we grieve not so much (for they suffered by a kinde of Law) but to kill those that held vp their hands for mercie, whom taken alive, you afterwards had promised to spare, was not this a horrible cruelty? you committed in this business three crimes, one in the necke of another. First the breach of the composition, then the death that followed, of our men, and thirdly, the falsifying of your promise, to saue them, if we did no hurt to any thing of yours in the Fields. And yet you say that we are the transgressors, and that you for your parts deserue not to vndergo a iudgement. But it is otherwise. And if these men iudge aright, you shall be punished now for all your crimes at once. We haue herein men of Lacedæmon, beene thus large, both for your sakes, and ours. For yours, to let you see, that if you condemne them, it will bee no iniustice; for ours, that the equity of our reuenge may the better appeare. Be not moued with the recitall of their vertues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to helpe the wronged, should double the punishment of such as commit wickednesse, because their offense doth not become them. Nor let them fare euer the better for their lamentation, or your compassion, when they cry out vpon your Fathers Sepulchers, and their owne want of friends. For we on the other side affirme, that the Youth of our Citie suffered harder measure from them, and their Fathers, partly slaine at Coronea, in bringing Boeotia to your Confederation, and partly alive and now old, and deprived of their children, make farre vnlower supplication to you for reuenge. And pittie belongeth to such as suffer vnder necessity, but on the contrary, when men are worthily punished, (as these are) it is to bee reioyced at. And for their present want of friends, they may thanke themselves. For as their owne accord they rejected the better Confederates. And the Law hath bene broken by

A by them, without precedent wrong from vs, in that they condemned our men spitefully, rather then iudicially; in which point we shall not come short of requiting them, for they shall suffer Legally, and not, as they say they doe, with hands withheld from battell, but as men that haue put themselves vpon triall by consent.

Maintaine therefore (ye Lacedæmonians) the Law of the Grecians, against these men that haue transgressed it, and giue vnto vs, that haue suffered contrary to the Law, the iust recompence of our alacrity in your seruice. And let not the words of these, giue vs a repulse from you. But set vp an example to the Grecians, by presenting vnto these men, a triall, not of words, but of facts; which if they be good, a short narration of them will serue the turne; if ill, comple Orations doe but reueyle them. But if such as haue the authority, as you haue now, would collect the matter to a head, and according as any man should make answer thereto, so proceed to sentence, men would be lesse in the search of faire speeches, wherewith to excuse the foulness of their actions. Thus spake the Thebans.

And the Lacedæmonian Iudges, conceauing their Interrogatory to stand well, Namely, whether they had received any benefit by them or not, in this present War, (For they had indeed intreated the both at other times, according to the ancient league of *Paulanias*, after the *Median* Warre, to stand neuter, and also a little before the Siege, the *Platæans* had rejected their proposition of being common friend to both sides, according to the same league) taking themselves in respect of these their iust offers, to be now discharged of the league, and to haue receiued euill at their hands, caused them one by one to be brought forth, and hauing asked them againe the same question, whether they had any way benefited the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this present Warre, or not, as they answered, No, left them aside and slew them, not atempting any. Of the *Platæans* themselves they slew no lesse then 200. Of *Athenians*, who were besieged with them, of the Women they made Slaves, and the *Thebans* assigned the City for 2 years, or thereabouts, for an habitation to *Isidore Megarians*, as in sedition had beene driven from their owne, and to all those *Platæans*, which nothing were of the *Theban* faction. But afterwards they pulled the Temple downe, to the very foundation; they burnt the *Isidore* in the place, near the Temple

The Lacedæmonians proceed with their question.

The *Platæans* are put to death, as *Athenians* slaine with them.

Platæa pulled downe.

Temple of *Iuno*, of 200 foot diameter, with chambers on A
every side in circle, both above and below; vising therein
the roofes, and doores of the *Plateans* buildings. And of
the rest of the stufte, that was in the Citie wall, as *Brasie*
and *Iron*, they made Bedsteds, and dedicated them to *Iuno*,
to whom also they built a stone Chappell of 100 foore
ouer. The Land they confiscated, and set it to farme af-
terwards for ten yeeres to the *Thebans*. So farre were the
Lacedamonians alienated from the *Plateans*, especially, or ra-
ther altogether for the *Thebans* sake, whom they thought
vsefull to them in the Warre now on foot. So ended the B
businessse at *Platan*, in the fourscore and thirteenth yeere af-
ter their league made with the *Athenians*.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which hauing been sent
to ayde the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath beene related, through
the wide Sea, chased by the *Athenians*, and tossed by stormes
on the Coast of *Crete*, came thence dispersed, into *Pelopon-*
nesus, and found thirteene Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraci-*
otes, in the Hauen of *Cyllene*, with *Brasidas* the sonne of *Tellis*,
come thither to be of counsell with *Alcidas*. For the *La-*
cedamonians, seeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with C
their Fleet augmented to sayle to *Corcyra*, which was in se-
dition, (there being but twelue *Athenian* Gallies about
Naupactus) to the end they might be there before, the sup-
ply of a greater Fleet should come from *Athens*. So *Brasi-*
das and *Alcidas* employed themselves in that.

The sedition in *Corcyra*, began vpon the comming home
of those Captiues, which were taken in the battels by Sea,
at *Epidamnus*, and released afterwards by the *Corinthians*, at
the ranfome, as was voyced, of eighty talents; for which
they had giuen security to their Hostes; but in fact, for D
that they had perswaded the *Corinthians*, that they would
put *Corcyra* into their power. These men going from man
to man, solicited the Citie to reuolt from the *Athenians*.
And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, ano-
ther of *Corinth*, with Ambassadors from both those States,
the *Corcyreans* vpon audience of them both, decreed to hold
the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed
on, but withall to remaine friends to the *Peloponnesians*, as
they had formerly been. There was one *Pithias*, volunta-
ry Hoste of the *Athenians*, and that had bin principall Ma- E
gistrasse of the people. Him, these men called into iudge-
ment,

A ment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the Citie
into the seruitude of the *Athenians*. He againe, being ac-
quit, called in question, fise of the wealthiest of the same
men, saying, they had cut * certaine Stakes in the ground,
belonging to the Temples both of *Iupiter*, and of *Alcimus*,
vpon euery of which, there lay a penalty of a * Stater.
And the cause going against them, they tooke Sanctuary
in the Temples, to the end, the summe being great, they
might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But
Pithias (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the
B Law should proceed. These fise being by the Law ex-
cluded the Senate, and vnderstanding that *Pithias*, as long
as he was a Senator, would cause the people to hold for
friends and foes, the same that were so to the *Athenians*,
conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, sudden-
ly brake into the Senate house, and slew both *Pithias* and
others, as well priuate men as Senators, to the number of
about sixty persons; onely a few of those of *Pithias* his
faction, escaped into the *Athenian* Gallie that lay yet in
the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the
C *Corcyreans* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they
had done, was for the best, and that they should not be
now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future
they aduised them to be in quiet, and to receiue neither
party, with more then one Gallie at once; and to take
them for enemies, if they were more. And when they had
spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also
presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that
it was fit for them to doe what they had done, and also to
diswade such *Corcyreans* as were fled thither of the other
D faction from doing any thing to their preiudice, for feare
the matter should fall into a relapse.

When these arrived, the *Athenians* apprehended both
the Ambassadors themselves, as seditious persons, and also
all those *Corcyreans* whom they had there preuailed with;
and sent them to custody in *Argina*. In the meane time,
vpon the comming in of a Gallie of *Corinth*, with Amba-
sadours from *Lacedemon*, those that managed the State,
assayed the Commons, and ouercame them in fight. And
night comming on, the Commons fled into the Citadell,
and the higher parts of the Citie, where they rallied
E themselves, and encamped, and made themselves Masters
of

Pithias, one of the *Athe-*
man faction, accused, and
absolved, acculeth some
of the other faction.

* *Statera* was a Staker, either
for *Vine* profits, which are
particularly called *Statera*
or for other profane vices.
Of one many about 15
sellings 7 pence halfe penny.

Pithias and others slaine
in the Senate.

The *Lacedemonian* faction
assaye the Commons.

The *Lacedemonians* in
their sentence vpon the
Plateans, haue more re-
spect to their owne pro-
fit, then to the merit of
the cause.

The 40 Gallies, with *Al-*
cidas, come weather-bea-
ten home.

The sedition of *Corcyra*
occasioned by the Cap-
tiues that came from
Corinth.

Who perswade there-
nouncing of their league
with *Athens*.

of the Hauen called the *Hillaque* Hauen. But the Nobility seized on the Market place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Hauen on the side toward the Continent.

* Arrows, Darts, Stones,
and the like missile weapons.

The next day they skirmished a little with * shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to sollicite the slaues with promise of liberty; to take their parts. And the greatest part of the slaues tooke part with the Commons; and the other side had an aide of 800 men, from the Continent.

The Commons overcome
the Oligarchicalls.

The next day but one they fought againe; and the people had the Victory, hauing the oddes, both in strength of places, and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tyles from the houses, and enduring the tumult, euen beyond the condition of their Sexe. The *Few* began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the people should euen with their shout take the Arsenall, and so come on and put them to the sword, to stoppe their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market place, and upon others neerer it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby buint, and the whole City, if the wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to haue been destroyed. When the people had gotten the Victory, the *Corimbian* Gallie stole away, and most of the auxiliaries, gat ouer priuily into the Continent.

The next day *Nicostratus*, the sonne of *Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies, and 500. *Messenian* men of Armes, from *Naupactus*, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemne ten of the principall authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both betweene themselves, and with the *Athenians*, to esteeme friends and enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would haue been gone, but the people perswaded him before he went, to leaue behind him five of his Gallies, the better to keepe their aduantage, from stirring, and to take as many of theirs, which they would man with *Corcyraeans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarke, consisting altogether of their enemies. But these, fearing to be sent to *Athens*, tooke

Sanctuary

A Sanctuary in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; But *Nicostratus* endeauoured to raise them, and spake to them, to put them into courage: but when hee could not preuaile, the people (arming themselves on pretence, that their diffidence to goe along with *Nicostratus* proceeded from some euill intention) tooke away their Armes out of their houses, and would also haue killed some of them, such as they chanced on, if *Nicostratus* had not hindred them.

Others also when they saw this, tooke Sanctuary in the Temple of *Iuno*, and they were in all about foure hundred. But the people fearing some innouation, got them by perswasion to rise, and conueying them into the Iland that lyeth ouer against the Temple of *Iuno*, sent them their necessaries thither.

The Sedition standing in these termes, the fourth or fifth day after the putting ouer of these men into the Iland, arriued the *Peloponnesian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where, since their voyage of *Ionia*, they had lyen at Anchor, to the number of three and fiftie saile. *Alcidas* had the command of these, as before, and *Brasidas* came with him as a Counsellour. And hauing first put in at *Sybota*, 2 Hauen of the Continent, they came on the next morning by breake of day toward *Corcyra*.

Alcidas and the *Peloponnesians* arrive and fight at Sea against the *Corcyraeans*.

The *Corcyraeans* being in great tumult and feare, both of the Seditious within, and of the inuasion without, made ready threescore Gallies, and still as any of them were manned, sent them out against the Enemy; whereas the *Athenians* had aduised them to giue leaue to them to goe forth first, and then the *Corcyraeans* to follow after with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thinne, two of them presently turned to the Enemy, and in others, they that were aboard, were together by the eares amongst themselves, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponnesians* seeing their confusion, opposed themselves to the *Corcyraeans* with twenty Gallies onely, the rest they set in array against the twelue Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salamina* and the *Paralus* were two.

The *Corcyraeans* hauing come disorderly vp, and by few at once, were on their part, in much distresse; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and

B b

doubting

doubting to bee invironed, would neuer come vp to A charge the Enemie where they stood thicke, nor would set vpon the Gallies that were placed in the middest, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the *Peloponnesians* afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular figure, they then went about and about it, endeououring to put them into disorder, which they that were fighting against the *Corcyraens* perceiuing, and fearing such another chance as befell them formerly at *Naupactus*, went to their ayde, and vniting themselves, came vpon the *Athenians* all together. B

But they retyring, rowed a sterne, intending that the *Corcyraens* should take that time to escape in; they themselves in the meane time going as leasurely backe as was possible, and keeping the enemie still a head. Such was this Battell, and it ended about Sun-set.

The *Corcyraens* fearing lest the Enemie in pursuit of their Victorie, should haue come directly against the Citie, or take aboard the men which they had put ouer into the Iland, or doe them some other mischief, fetcht backe the men into the Temple of *Iuno* againe, and guarded the City: C

But the *Peloponnesians*, though they had wonne the Battell, yet durst not invade the Citie, but hauing taken thirteene of the *Corcyraan* Gallies, went backe into the Continent from whence they had set forth. The next day they came not vnto the Citie, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though also *Brafidas* (as it is reported) aduised *Alcidas* to it, but had not equall authority; but onely landed Souldiers at the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and wasted their Territory. D

In the mean time the people of *Corcyra*, fearing extremely, lest those Gallies should come against the Citie, not onely conferred with those in Sanctuary, and with the rest, about how the Citie might be preferred, but also induced some of them to goe aboard. For notwithstanding the sedition, they manned 50. Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the enemy should haue entred. But the *Peloponnesians* hauing beene wasting of their Fieldes, till E it was about noone, went their wayes againe. Within night,

A night, the *Corcyraens* had notice by fires of threescore *Athenian* Gallies comming toward them from *Leucas*, which the *Athenians*, vpon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to goe to *Corcyra* vnder *Alcidas*, had sent to ayde them, vnder the conduct of *Eurymedon*, the Sonne of *Thucles*.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore, as soone as night came, sayled speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to bee carried ouer at the Isthmus of *Leucas*, that they might not come in sight, as they went about.

B But the People of *Corcyra* hearing of the *Attique* Gallies, comming in, and the going off of the *Peloponnesians*, brought into the Citie those * *Messenians*, which before were with-out, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the *Hillaque* Hauen, whilest accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on; and also afterwards threw ouer-board, out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And comming to the Temple of *Iuno*, they perswaded 50. of C those that had taken Sanctuary, to referre themselves to a legall tryall; all which they condemned to dye. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to tryall by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple, some hanged themselves on Trees, euery one as he had means, made himselfe away. And for 7. daies together that *Eurymedon* stayed there with his 60. Gallies, the *Corcyraens* did nothing but kill such of their City as they tooke to bee their Enemies, laying to their charge a pra-D ctice to haue eueried the popular gouernment.

Amongst whom, some were slaine vpon priuate hatred, and some by their debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All formes of death were then seene, and (as in such cases it vsually fallies out) whatsoever had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Sonne; men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slaine hard by; and some immured in the Temple of *Bacchus*, dyed within it. So cruell was this Sedition; and seemed so the more, because it was of these E the first. For afterwards, all Greece, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose euery where be-

B b 1

twene

Threescore saille of *Athenians* come to ayde the *Corcyraan* Commons.

The *Peloponnesians* depart with their Fleet.

* these came with *Nicostratus*.

The people, vpon the comming in of the *Athenians*, most cruelly put to death whomsoever they can of the contrary Faction.

Description of the behaviour of the people in this sedition.

Alcidas a coward.

between the Patrons of the Commons; that sought to bring in the *Libertines*, and the *Pop*, that desired to bring in the *Landed Gentlemen*. Now in time of peace, they could have had no pretence, nor would have been so forward to call them in; but being Warre, and Confederates to bee had for eyther party, both to hurt their Enemies, and strengthen themselves, such as desired alteration, easily got them to come in. And many and many things happened in the Cities through this Sedition, which though they have bene before, and shall be ever, as long as humane nature is the same, yet they are more extreme, and of different kinds, according to the several conjunctures. For in peace and prosperity, as well Cities as private men, are better minded, because they bee not plunged into necessity of doing any thing against their will, but Wartaking away the affluence of daily necessities, is a most violent Master, & conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion. The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that fell into it later, having heard what had bene done in the former, they farre exceeded the same in newnesse of conceit, both for the art of assailing, and for the strangeness of their reuenges. The received value of names imposed for signification of things, was changed into arbitrary. For inconsiderate boldnesse, was counted true hearted manlinesse; prouident deliberation, a handsome feare; modesty, the cloake of cowardice, to be wise in every thing, to be lazie in every thing. A furious suddenness was reputed a point of valour. To re-aduise for the better security, was held for a faire pretext of tergiversation. Hee that was fierce, was alwayes trusty, and hee that contraried such a one, was suspected. Hee that did insidiate, if it tooke, was a wise man; but hee that could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then hee. But hee that had bene so prouident, as not to neede to doe the one or the other, was said to bee a dissoluer of society, and one that stood in feare of his aduersary. In briefe, he that could outstrip another in the doing of an euill act, or that could perswade another thereto, that neuer meant it, was commended. To bee kinne to another, was not to be so neere as to be of his society, because these were ready to vndertake any thing, and not to dispute it. For these * Societies were not made vpon prescribed Lawes

And the cause of the
changes of the state of things.

The manners of the
seditions.

* The uniting of Companies
under certain Lawes, for
the more profitable man-
aging of their Trades and art,
becometh to have bene in use
before, as now.

A Lawes of profit, but for rapine, contrary to the Lawes established. And as for mutual rule amongst them, it was committied not to much by private Lawes, by the common niceties of equity, but all that was well aduised betwixt aduersaries, they received with due eyes to their actions, to see whether they were too strong for them, or not, and not ingenuously. To be reuenged was a more frequent then need to haue received iniurie. And for Oathes, which any were of reconciliation, being admitted in the present for necessity, were of force to men as had otherwise no power, but vpon opportunity, he that first did it, though his reuenge sweeter by the fruit, then if he had taken the open way. For they did not only put to account the safety of that course, but having circumuincied their Aduersary by fraud, assumed to themselves withall, a mastery in point of wit. And dishonest men for the most part are sooner called able, then simple men honest. And men are ashamed of this title but take a pride in the other. The cause of all this is *desire of rule*, *desire of a party*, and *Ambition*, and the zeale of contention from those two proceeding. For such as were of authority in the Cities, both of the one and the other Faction, preferring vnder decent titles, one the *political equality of the multitude*, the other the moderate *Aristocratie*, though in words they seemed to be seruants of the Publique, they made it in effect but the Prize of their contention. And striving by whatsoever means to overcome, both ventured on most horrible outrages, and prosecuted their reuenges still farther, without any regard of iustice, or the publike good, but limiting them, each Faction, by their owne appetite, and stood ready, whether by vnjust sentence, or with their owne hands, when they should get power, to satisfie their present spight. So that neither side made account to haue any thing the sooner done for Religion [of an Oath], but hee was most commended, that could passe a businesse against the haire with a faire Oration. The neutrals of the City were destroyed by both Factions, partly because they would not side with them, and partly for ennie that they should so escape.

Thus was wickednesse on foot in every kind, throughout all Greece, by the occasion of their sedition. Sincerity (wherof there is much in a generous nature) was laugh-

* By oath.

And the cause of the
changes of the state of things.

* Ambition properly that
spight which reigneth in two
aduersaries whilst they con-
tend, or enmity in striving.

And
yet.

ed down. And it was farre the best course, to stand dif- A
fidently against each other, with their thoughts in battell
array, which no speech was so powerfull, nor Oath terri-
ble enough to disband. And being all of them, the more
they considered, the more desperate of assurance, they ra-
ther contrived how to avoid a mischiefe, then were able
to rely on any mans faith. And for the most part, such
as had the least wit, had the best successe, for both, their
owne defect, and the subtilty of their aduersaries, putting
them into a great feare to be ouercome in words, or at least
in pre-insidiation, by their enemies great craft, they there- B
fore went roundly to worke with them, with deedes.
Whereas the other, not caring though they were percei-
ued, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what
they might doe by plot, were thereby vnprovided, and so
the more easily slaine.

In *Coryra* then were these euils for the most part com-
mitted first; and so were all other, which either such men
as haue bene gouerned with pride, rather then modesty,
by those on whom they take reuenge, were like to commit
in taking it, or which such men as stand vpon their deliery C
fro long pouerty, out of couctousnes (chiefly to haue their
neighbour's goods) would contrary to iustice giue their voi-
ces to: or which men, not for couctousnes, but assailing each
other on equall termes, carried away with the vnrulinesse
of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common course of life being at that time con-
founded in the Citie, the nature of man, which is wont
euen against Law to doe euill, gotten now about the Law,
shewed it selfe with delight, to be too weake for passion,
too strong for iustice, and enemie to all superiority. Else D
they would neuer haue preferred reuenge before inno-
cence, nor lucre (whensoever the enuie of it was without
power to doe them hurt) before iustice. And for the
Lawes common to all men in such cases, (which, as long
as they be in force, giue hope to all that suffer iniury) men
desire not to leaue them standing, against the neede a man
in danger may haue of the, but by their reuenges on others,
to be beforehand in subuerting them. Such were the passi-
ons of the *Coryraens* first of all other *Grecians*, towards
one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Athenians* E
departed with their Gallies.

After-

In seditions and confu-
sion, they that distrust
their wits, suddenly vse
their hands, and defeat
the Stratagems of the
more subtille sort.

The Athenian Fleet goes
away.

A Afterwards, such of the *Coryraens* as had fled (for
there escaped about 300. of them) hauing seized on the
Forts in the Continent, impatronized themselves of their
owne Territory on the other side, and from thence came
ouer and robbed the Ilanders, and did them much hurt;
and there grew a great Famine in the Citie. They like-
wise sent Ambassadors to *Lacedaemon* and *Corinth*, concer-
ning their reduction; and when they could get nothing
done, hauing gotten boates, and some auxiliary souldiers;
they passed, a while after, to the number of about 600.
B into the Island. Where when they had set fire on their
Boates, that they might trust to nothing, but to make
themselves masters of the Field, they went vp into the
Hill *Istone*, and hauing there fortified themselves with a
Wall, infested those within, and were masters of the Ter-
ritory.

In the end of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent twen-
ty Gallies into *Sicily*, vnder the command of *Laches* the
sonne of *Melanopus*; and *Chariadas* the sonne of *Euphiletus*.
For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring a-
C gainst each other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians*
were all the *Dorique* Cities (except the *Camarinaens*) which
also in the beginning of this Warre were reckoned in the
League of the *Lacedaemonians*; but had not yet ayded them
in the Warre. The Confederates of the *Leontines*, were
the *Chalcidique* Cities, together with *Camarina*. And in *Ita-*
ly, the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhe-*
gians; according to their consanguinity, tooke part with
the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in
respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as al-
D so for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians*, to
send them Gallies; for that the *Leontines* were deprived
by the *Syracusians* of the vse both of the Land and Sea. And
so the People of *Athens* sent ayde vnto them, pretending
propinquity, but intending, both to hinder the transporta-
tion of Corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to tast
the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own
hands. These arriuing at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, ioyned with the
Confederates, and beganne the Warre; and so ended this
Summer.

E The next winter, the Sicknesse fell vpon the *Athenians*
again (hauing in deed neuer totally left the Citie, though
there

son, of the Nobility
that escaped, leate on
such places as belong-
d to the *Coryraens* in the
Continent.

They come ouer & for-
tify themselves in the
Isle.

The Athenians send 20.
Gallies into *Sicily*, in pre-
tence to ayde the *Leontines*,
but with intention
to hinder the coming
of corne from thence
into *Peloponnesus*, and to
spy out the possibility of
subduing that Island.

The end of the fifth
Summer.

The Plague againe at
Athens.

there was some intermission, and continued about a yeere after. But the former lasted two yeeres: insomuch as nothing afflicted the *Athenians*, or empaired their strength more then it. For the number that dyed of it, of men of Armes enrolled, were no lesse then 4400. and Horsemen, 300. of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened also at the same time many Earthquakes, both in *Athens*, and in *Eubœa*, and also amongst the *Bœotians*; and in *Bœotia*, chiefly at *Orchomene*.

The *Athenians* and *Rhegians* that were now in *Sicily*, made Warre the same Winter on the Ilands called the 1-*B* lands of *Æolus*, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impossible to Warre vpon them for the shallownesse of the Water. These Ilands are inhabited by the *Lipareans*, who are a Colonie of the *Cnidians*, and dwell in one of the same Ilands, no great one, called *Lipara*, and thence they goe forth, and husband the rest, which are *Dydime*, *Siron-gyle*, and *Hiera*. The Inhabitants of those places haue an opinion, that in *Hiera*, *Vulcan* exerciseth the craft of a Smith. For it is seene to send forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of Smoake in the night. These Ilands *C* are adjacent to the Territorie of the * *Siculi*, and *Messanians*, but were Confederates of the *Syracusians*. When the *Athenians* had wasted their Fields, and saw they would not come in, they put off againe and went to *Rhegium*. And so ended this Winter, and the fifth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came as farre as the *Isthmus*, vnder the conduct of *Agis* the Sonne of *Archidamus*, intending to haue invaded *Attica*; but by reason of the many Earthquakes that then *D* happened, they turned backe, and the inuasion proceeded not.

About the same time, (*Eubœa* being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at *Orebia*, on the part which then was Land, and being imperuous withall, ouerflowed most part of the Citie, whereof part it couered, and part it washed downe, and made lower in the returne; so that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not preuent it by running vp into the higher ground, perished. Another inundation like vnto *E* this, hapned in the Ile of *Atalanta*, on the Coast of *Locris* of

The *Athenians* invade the *Lipareans*, and landed called the Iles of *Æolus*.

* *Thucyd.* There are in *Thucydides* mentioned *Siculus* and *Æolus*, whereof the latter is the name of the inhabitants of *Sicily* in general, the former, are only those that were of that name anciently in *Italy*, and coming over into *Sicily*, gave that name to the Iland.

THE SIXTH YEARE.

Earthquakes about *Eubœa*, and inundations.

A of the *Opuntians*, and carried away part of the *Athenians* Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Also there happened at *Peparethus* a certaine rising of the water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the * Towne-house, and some few houses besides, were overthrowne by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this, that the Earthquake, where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to come on with greater violence. And it seemeth vnto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could neuer happen.

The same Summer, diuers others, as they had severall occasions, made Warre in *Sicily*. So also did the * *Sicilians* amongst themselves, and the *Athenians* with their Confederates. But I will make mention, otely of such most memorable things, as were done either by the Confederates there with the *Athenians*, or against the *Athenians* by the Enemye.

C *Charades* the *Athenian* Generall being slain by the *Syracusians*, *Laches*, who was now sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made Warre on *Myla*, a Towne belonging to *Messana*. There were in *Myla* two companies of *Messanians* in Garrison, the which also laid a certaine Ambush for those that came vp from the Fleet. But the *Athenians* and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of the most of them, and also assaulting their Fortification, forced them on composition, both to render the *D* Citadell, and to goe along with them against *Messana*. After this, vpon the approach of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, the *Messanians* compounded likewise, and gaue them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* sent thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Demosthenes* the sonne of *Amisthenes*, and *Proclus* the sonne of *Theodorus*; and 60 Gallies more, with 2000. men of Armes, commanded by *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, into *Melos*. For the *Athenians*, in respect that the * *Melians* were Ilanders, and yet would neither bee their

Cc

Sub-

* *Thucyd.*
The naturall cause of Inundation given by the Author.

* *Thucyd.*

The *Athenians* win *Myla*.

And *Messana*.

The *Athenians* send *Demosthenes* with 30. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

And *Nicias* with 60. Gallies into the Iland of *Melos*.

* *Melios*. The *Melians* mentioned a little after this, are not Ilanders, nor termed *Melians*, but *Melians*.

Subjects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. A But when upon the waiting of their Fields, they still stood out, they departed from Melos, and sailed to Oropus, in the opposite Continent.

Being there arrived within night, the men of Armes left the Gallies, and marched presently by Land to Tanagra in Boetia. To which place, upon a signe giuen, the Athenians that were in the Citie of Athens, came also forth with their whole Forces, led by Hippomachus the sonne of Callias, and Eurymedon the sonne of Thales, and ioyned with them; and pitching their Campe, spent the day in waisting the Territory of Tanagra, and lay there the night following.

The next day, they defeated in Battell, such of the Tanagrians as came out against them, and also certaine succours sent them from Thebes; and when they had taken vp the Armes of those that were slaine, and erected a Trophie, they returned backe, the one part to Athens, the other to their Fleet. And Nicias with his 60. Gallies, hauing first sailed along the Coast of Locris, and wasted it, came home likewise.

About the same time, the Peloponnesians erected the Colonie of Heraclia in Trachin; with this intention: The Melians in the whole containe these three parts: Paralians, Hierans, and Trachinians. Of these the Trachinians being afflicted with Warre from the Oeteans their borderers, thought at first to haue ioyned themselves to the Athenians; but fearing that they would not bee faithfull vnto them, they sent to Lacedemon, choosling for their Ambassadour Timanias. And the Dorians, who are the Mother Nation to the Lacedemonians, sent their Ambassadours likewise with him, with the same requests. For they also were infested with Warre from the same Oeteans.

Vpon audience of these Ambassadours, the Lacedemonians concluded to send out a Colonie, both intending the reparation of the iniuries done to the Trachinians and to the Dorians; and conceiuing withall, that the Towne would stand very commodiously, for their Warre with the Athenians, inasmuch as they might thereby haue a Naue ready, where the passage was but short, against Eubaea; and it would much further their

The Army of Nicias, and another Armie from the Citie of Athens, meete vpon a signe giuen, at Tanagra in Boetia.

They ouercome the Tanagrians in battell.

The Lacedemonians build the City Heraclia.

* Melians, a people of Thessaly, were the Melian Griefe.

The commodious seate of this new City for the Warre.

A their conuoyance of Souldiers into Thrace. And they had their minde wholly bent to the building of the place.

First therefore they asked counsell of the Oracle in Delphi; and the Oracle hauing bidden them doe it, they sent Inhabitants thither, both of their owne people, and of the neighbours about them, and gaue leaue also to any that would, to goe thither, out of the rest of Greece, saue onely to the Ionians, Achaians, and some few other Nations.

B The Conductors of the Colonie were three Lacedemonians, Leon, Alcidas, and Damagon: who taking in it hand, built the Citie which is now called Heraclia, from the very Foundation; being distant from Thermopyle fortie furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. Also they made houses for Gallies to lye vnder, beginning close to Thermopyle, against the very streight, to the end to haue them the more defensible.

The Athenians, when this Citie was peopled, were at first afraid, and thought it to bee set vp especially against Eubaea; because from thence to Ceneum, a Promontory of Eubaea, the passage is but short. But it fell out afterwards otherwise then they imagined; for they had no great harme by it. The reason whereof was this: That the Thesalians who had the Townes of those parts in their power, and vpon whose ground it was built, afflicted these new planters with a continuall Warre, till they had worne them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the foundation of the Lacedemonians, euery one went thither boldly, conceiuing the Citie to bee an assured one) and chiefly the Gouvernours themselves, sent thither from Lacedemon, vndid the businesse, and dispeopled the City by frightening most men away, for that they gouerned feuerely, and sometimes also vniustly, by which meanes their neighbours more easily preuailed against them.

The same Summer, and about the same time that the Athenians stayed in Melos, those other Athenians that were in the thirtie Gallies about Peloponnesus, slew first certaine Garrison Souldiers in Ellomenus, a place of Leucadia, by Ambushment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the

C c 2

Acarna.

The Thesalians infest the new Citie with continuall Warre, for feare they should be too great.

The feuerity of the Lacedemonians gouernment dispeopled the Citie of Heraclia, and frighted men from it. The Lacedemonians alwayes seuer, not alwaies iust.

Demosthenes warreth on Leucas.

Acarnanians (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oenias*) that could beare Armes) and with the *Zacynthians*, and *Cephalonians*, and fiftene Gallies of the *Corcyraens*, made Warre against the City it selfe of *Leucas*. The *Leucadians*, though they saw their Territorie wasted by them, both without the *Isthmus*, and within, (where the Citie of *Leucas* standeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet they durst not stirre, because the number of the Enemie was so great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* Generall to Wall them vp, conceauing that they might easily be expugned by a Siege, and desiring to be rid of a Citie their continuall Enemy. But *Demosthenes* was perswaded at the same time by the *Messenians*, that seeing so great an Armie was together, it would bee honourable for him to inuade the *Ætolians*, principally, as being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if these were subdued, the rest of the Continent thereabouts would easily bee added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged, that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages vnwalled, and those at great distances; and were but light-armed, and might therefore with no great difficulty bee all subdued, before they could vnite themselues for defence. And they aduised him to take in hand first the *Appodians*, next, the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytians*, which are the greatest part of *Ætolia*, of a most strange language, and that are reported to eat raw flesh; for these beeing subdued, the rest would easily follow.

But hee, induced by the *Messenians*, whom he fauoured, but especially because hee thought, without the Forces of the People of *Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to inuade *Boeotia* by Land, going first through the *Locri Ozole*, and so to *Cytinium* of *Doria*, hauing *Pernassus* on the right hand, till the descent thereof into the Territory of the *Phocæans*, (which people, for the friendship they euer bore to the *Athenians*, would, he thought, be willing to follow his Armie, and if not, might be forced) and vpon the *Phocæans* bordereth *Boeotia*. Putting off therefore with his whole Armie, against the minds of the *Acarnanians*, from *Leucas*, he sailed vnto *Solium* by the shoare, and there hauing communicated his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not

Demosthenes inuadeth *Ætolia* at the perswasion of the *Messenians*.

The ambition of *Demosthenes*, the chiefe cause of his vnifortunate Enterprize in *Ætolia*.

A approue of it, because of his refusall to besiege *Leucas*, he himselfe with the rest of his Armie, *Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300. *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fiftene Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, hauing *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, for the seate of his Warre. Now these *Locrians* called *Ozole*, were Confederates of the *Athenians*, and were to meete them with their whole power in the heart of the Countrey. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and vsing the same manner of arming, it was thought it would bee a matter of great vtility in the Warre, to haue them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Country. Hauing lyen the night with his whole Armie in the Temple of *Iupiter Nemeus*, (wherein the Poet *Hesiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to haue dyed, foretold by an Oracle, that hee should dye in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he dislodged, and marched into *Ætolia*.

The first day hee tooke *Potidania*, the second day, *Crocylum*, the third, *Tichium*. There he stayed, and sent the booty hee had gotten, to *Eupolium* in *Locris*. For he purposed, when hee had subdued the rest, to inuade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they submitted not) in his returne to *Naupactus*.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was first resolved on; and afterwards, when the Armie was entred, they were vnited into a mighty Armie to make head. Inſomuch as that the furthest off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian* Gulfe, the *Romians* and *Callians* came in with their aydes.

The *Messenians* gaue the same aduice to *Demosthenes* that they had done before; and alleadging that the Conquest of the *Ætolians* would bee but easie, willed him to march with all speed against them, Village after Village, and not to stay till they were all vnited, and in order of Battell against him, but to attempt alwayes the place which was next to hand. Hee, perswaded by them, and confident of his fortune, because nothing had crossed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that should haue come in with their aides, (for his greatest want was of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægittum*, which approaching, hee wonne by force, the men hauing fled secretly

* *Tegea*. The whole consecrated ground wherein the Temple stood, not the Church only. *Hesiod* the Poet said to haue dyed in this Temple of *Iupiter Nemeus*.

Potidania.
Crocylum.
Tichium.

Ophionians.

The *Ætolians* vnite against the inuasion of *Demosthenes*.

Romians.
Callians.

Ægittum.

The *Ætoli*ans give *Demo-*
sthenes a great overthrow.

cretly out, and encamped themselves on the Hilles about A
it: for it stood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty
Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætoli*ans, (for by this time
they were come with their Forces to *Ægittum*) charged
the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running downe
vpon them, some one way, some another, from the Hilles,
plyed them with their Darts. And when the Armie of
the *Athenians* assaulted them, they retired; and when it
retired, they assaulted. So that the Fight for a good
while, was nothing but alternate chase and recreate; and
the *Athenians* had the worst in both.

Neuerthelesse, as long as their Archers had Arrowes, B
and were able to vse them, (for the *Ætoli*ans, by reason they
were not armed, were put backe still with the shot) they
held out. But when vpon the death of their Captaine, the
Archers were dispersed, and the rest were also wearied,
hauing a long time continued the said labour of pursuing
and retyring, and the *Ætoli*ans continually afflicting them
with their Darts, they were forced at length to fly; and
lighting into Hollowes without issue, and into places
they were not acquainted withall, were destroyed. For C
Chromon a *Messenian*, who was their Guide for the wayes,
was slaine. And the *Ætoli*ans pursuing them still with
Darts, slew many of them quickly, whilest they fled, be-
ing swift of foot, and without Armour. But the most of
them missing their way, and entring into a Wood, which
had no passage through, the *Ætoli*ans set it on fire, and
burnt it about them.

All kinds of shifts to fly, and all kindes of destruction
were that day in the Armie of the *Athenians*. Such as re-
mained, with much adoe, got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, D
a Citie of *Locris*, from whence they first set forth.

There dyed very many of the Confederates, and a hun-
dred and twenty men of Armes of the *Athenians*; that
was their number, and all of them able men. These men
of the very best dyed in this Warre: *Procles* also was there
slaine, one of the Generals. When they had receiued
the bodies of their dead from the *Ætoli*ans vnder truce, and
were gotten againe to *Naupactus*, they returned with the
Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demoisthenes* about *Naupactus*,
and those parts, because hee was afraid of the *Athenian* E
People, for the losse that had happened.

About

Demoisthenes afraid to
come home.

A About the same time, the *Athenians* that were on the
Coast of *Sicily*, sayled vnto *Locris*, and landing, ouergame
such as made head; and tooke in *Perippulum*, situate on the
Riuer *Halex*.

The same Summer, the *Ætoli*ans hauing sent their Am-
bassadours, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Beryides*, an *Eurytarian*,
and *Tisander* an *Apodorian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, per-
swaded them to send an Armie against *Naupactus*, for that
it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lace-*
demonians, towards the end of Autumne, sent them three
B thousand men of Armes, of their Confederates, of which
five hundred were of *Heraclia*, the new-built Citie of *Trä-*
chinia. The Generall of the Armie was *Eurylochus* a
Spartan, with whom * *Massariu* and *Menedaiu* went also a-
long, Spartans likewise.

When the Armie was assembled at *Delpi*, *Eurylochus*
sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozola*, both because their
way lay through them to *Naupactus*, and also because hee
desired to make them revolt from the *Athenians*. Of all
the *Locrians*, the *Amphissians* cooperated with him most, C
as standing most in feare for the enemies of the *Phocians*.
And they first giuing Hostages, induced others, (who
likewise were afraid of the comming in of the Armie) to
doe the like: the *Myonians* first, beeing their neighbours,
(for this way is *Liberis* of most difficult access) then the
Ipnæans, *Messapians*, *Triteans*, *Chalcæans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hesians*,
and the *Ozanthæans*. All these went with them to the
Warre. The *Olpeans* gaue them Hostages, but followed
not the Armie. But the *Hyeans* would giue them no Ho-
stages, till they had taken a Village of theirs called
D *Polu*.

When euery thing was ready, and hee had sent the Ho-
stages away to *Cytinium* in *Doris*, hee marched with his
Armie towards *Naupactus*, through the Territorie of the
Locrians. And as hee marched, hee tooke *Oeneon*, a Towne
of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yeeld vnto
him.

When they were come into the Territorie of *Naupactus*,
the *Ætoli*ans being there already to ioine with them, they
wasted the Fields about, and tooke the Suburbs of the
E Citie, being vnfortified. Then they went to *Molychrium*,
a Colonie of the *Corinthians*, but subiect to the People of
Athens.

The *Athenian* Fleet in Si-
ly sayle to *Locris*, and
take *Perippulum*.

The *Ætoli*ans and *Pelopon-*
nesians make a journey
against *Naupactus*.

* These are afterwards called
Massariu & *Menedaius*.

Demosthenes relieueth Naupactus.

Athens, and tooke that. Now Demosthenes the Athenian, A
(for euer since the *Æolian* businesse, heabode about *Naupactus*) hauing beene praaduertised of this Army, and being afraid to lose the Citie, went amongst the *Acarnanians*, and with much adoe, because of his departure from before *Leucas*, perswaded them to relieue *Naupactus*, and they sent along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Armes, which entring were the preservation of the Citie; for there was danger, the walles being of a great compasse, and the defendants few, that else they should not haue been able to make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with B him, when they perceyued that those forces were entred, and that it was impossible to take the Citie by assault, departed thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Æolis*, now called *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and other places thereabouts, and also to *Proscion* in *Æolia*. For the *Ambraciotes* coming to them, perswaded them to vndertake, together with themselves, the enterprize against *Argos*, and the rest of *Amphilochia*, and *Acarnania*, saying withall, that if they could overcome these, the rest of that Continent would enter into the league, of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eurylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Æolians*, lay quiet in those parts with his Armie, till such time, as the *Ambraciotes* being come with their forces before *Argos*, he should haue need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the first Summer.

The Athenians in Sicily assault *Nessa*.

* *Nessa*.

* *Nessa* rather *Imessa*. The Inhabitants be called *Imessæ*.

The Athenians that were in *Sicily*, in the beginning of Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their league, and as many of the * *Siculi*, as hauing obeyed the *Syracusians* by force, or being their Confederates before, had now reuolted, warred ioyntly against * *Nessa*, a town of *Sicily*, the Citadell whereof, was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they assaulted the same; but when they could not winne it, they retyred. In the retreat, the *Syracusians* that were in the Citadell, sallied out vpon the Confederates, that retired later then the Athenians; and charging, put a part of the Army to flight, and killed, not a few.

After this, *Laches*, and the Athenians, Landed sometime at *Locri*; and ouercame in battell, by the Riuer *Cæcinus*, about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the sonne of *Capiton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had stripped them of their Armes, departed.

It is hallowed.

The same Winter also, the Athenians hallowed the Ile of

A of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certain Oracle. For *Pisistratus* also the Tyrant, hallowed the same before, not all, but onely so much as was within the prospect of the Temple. But now they hallowed it all ouer in this manner. They tooke away all Sepulchers whatsoever, of such as had dyed there before; and for the future, made an Edict, that none should bee suffered to dye, nor any Woman to bring forth child in the Island; but when they were neere the time, either of the one or the other, they should bee carried ouer into *Rhenea*.

An Edict, that none should be suffered to be borne or dye in *Delos*.

B This *Rhenea* is so little a way distant from *Delos*, that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who was once of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other Islands, when hee wonne *Rhenea*, dedicated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it vnto *Delos* with a Chaine. And now after the hallowing of it, the Athenians instituted the keeping, euery fifth yeere, of the *Delian* Games.

Rhenea an Island, tyed to *Delos* with a chaine, and dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The Athenians institute the quinquenniall Games at *Delos*.

There had also in old time beene great concourse in *Delos*, both of *Ionians*, and of the Islanders round about. C For they then came to see the Games, with their Wiues and Children, as the *Ionians* doe now the Games at *Ephesus*.

There were likewise Matches set of bodily exercise, and of Musicke; and the Citties did seuerally set forth Dances. Which things to haue beene so, is principally declared by *Homer*, in these Verses of his Hymne to *Apollo*.

D But thou, *Apollo*, takest most delight
In *Delos*. There assemble in thy sight,
The long coate *Ions*, with their Children deare,
And venerable Bedfellows; and there,
In Matches set, of Buffets, Song, and Dance,
Both shew thee pastime, and thy Name advance.

Hom. Hymn. ad Apollo. vers. 146.

That there were also Matches of Musique, and that men resorted thither to contend therein, hee againe maketh manifest in these Verses of the same Hymnie. For after hee hath spoken of the *Delian* Dance of the Women, hee endeth their praise with these Verses, wherein also he maketh mention of himselfe.

DD

But

A

Hom Hymn. ad Apoll. ver.
65.

But well: let Phoebus and Diana bee
Propitious; and farewell you each one;
But yet remember me when I am gone:
And if of earthly men you chance to see
Any toyl'd Pilgrim, that shall aske you, Who,
O Damsels, is the man that liuing here,
Was sweet 'st in Song, and that most had your eare?
Then all, with a ioynt murmur, thereunto
Make answer thus; A man depriu'd of seeing,
In th' Ile of Sandie Chios is his beeing.

B

So much hath Homer witnessed touching the great meeting, and solemnity celebrated of old, in the Ile of Delos. And the Islanders, and the Athenians, since that time, haue continued still to send Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games, and things of that kind were worne out, as is likely, by aduersity. Till now that the Athenians restored the Games, and added the Horse-race, which was not before.

The Ambraciotes and Peloponnesians make Warre against the Acarnanians and Amphilochians unfortunately.

They take Olpe.

The same Winter the Ambraciotes, (according to their promise made to Eurylochus) when they retheyned his Armie, made Warre vpon Argos in Amphilochia, with three thousand men of Armes, and inuading Argia, they tooke Olpe, a strong Fort on a Hill by the Sea-side, which the Acarnanians had fortified, and vied for the place of their common meetings, for matters of Iustice, and is distant from the Citie of Argos, which stands also on the Sea-side, about twenty five furlongs. The Acarnanians with part of their Forces, came to relieue Argos, and with rest they encamped in that part of Amphilochia which is called Crenae, to watch the Peloponnesians that were with Eurylochus, that they might not passe through to the Ambraciotes without their knowledge; and sent to Demosthenes, who had beene Leader of the Athenians in the expedition against the Aetolians, to come to them, and bee their Generall.

The Acarnanians make Demosthenes their Generall.

The Ambraciotes at Olpe, send to the Ambraciotes at home, to come to their ayde.

They sent also to the twenty Athenian Gallies, that chanced to be then on the Coast of Peloponnesus, vnder the Conduct of Aristoteles, the sonne of Timocrates, and Ierophon, the sonne of Antimnestus. In like manner the Ambraciotes that were at Olpe, sent a messenger to the Citie of

Ambracia,

E

A Ambracia, willing them to come to their ayde with their whole power; as fearing that those with Eurylochus would not bee able to passe by the Acarnans, and so they should bee either forced to fight alone, or else haue an vn-safe Retreat.

But the Peloponnesians that were with Eurylochus, as soone as they vnderstood that the Ambraciotes were come to Olpe, dislodging from Proschion, went with all speede to asist them. And passing over the Riuer Achelous, marched through Acarnania, (which, by reason of the aydes sent to Argos, was now disfurnished,) on their right hand they had the Citie of Stratus, and that Garrison; on the left, the rest of Acarnania. Hauing past the Territory of the Stratians, they marched through Phytia, and againe by the utmost limits of Medeon, then through Limraea, then they went into the Territory of the Agraeans, which are out of Acarnania, and their friends, and getting to the Hill Thiamus, which is a desert Hill, they marched ouer it, and came downe into Argia, when it was now night; and passing betweene the Citie of the Argiues, and the Acarnans that kept watch at the Welles, came vnseene, and ioyned with the Ambraciotes at Olpe.

When they were all together, they sate downe about breake of day, at a place called Metropolis, and there encamped. And the Athenians not long after with their 20. Gallies, arriued in the Ambracian Gulfe, to the aide of the Argiues. To whom also came Demosthenes with 200. Messenian men of Armes, and threescore Athenian Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill vpon which the Fort of Olpe standeth. But the Acarnanians, and those few Amphilochians (for the greatest part of them the Ambraciotes kept backe by force) that were come already together at Argos, prepared themselves to giue the Enemy Battell, and chose Demosthenes with their owne Commenders, for Generall of the whole League. Hee, when hee had brought them vp, neere vnto Olpe, there encamped. There was betweene them a great Hollow; and for five dayes together, they stirred not; but the sixth day both sides put themselves into array for the Battell. The Armie of the Peloponnesians reached a great way beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater, but Demosthenes, fearing to bee encompassed, placed an

D d 2

Ambushi

Demosthenes chosen Generall.

Ambush in a certaine hollow way, and fit for such a A purpose, of armed and vnarmed Souldiers, in all to the number of 400. which in that part where the number of the Enemies ouer-reached, should in the heate of the battell rise out of Ambush, and charge them on their backs. When the Battels were in order on either side, they came to Blowes. Demosthenes with the Messenians, and those few Athenians that were there, stood in the right Wing; and the Acarnanians (as they could one after another bee put in order) and those Amphilocheian Darters which were present, made vp the other. The Pelopon- B nesians and Ambraciotes were ranged promiscuously, except onely the Mantineans, who stood together, most of them in the left Wing, but not in the vtmost part of it, for Eurylochus and those that were with him, made the extremity of the left Wing against Demosthenes, and the Mes- senians.

When they were in fight, and that the Peloponnesians with that Wing ouer-reached, and had encircled the right Wing of their Enemies, those Acarnanians that lay in Ambush, comming in at their backs, charged them, and C put them to flight, in such sort as they endured not the first brunt; and besides, caused the greatest part of the Armie through affright to runne away. For when they saw that part of it defeated, which was with Eurylochus, which was the best of their Armie, they were a great deale the more affraid. And the Messenians that were in that part of the Armie with Demosthenes, pursuing them, dispatched the greatest part of the execution. But the Ambraciotes, that were in the right Wing, on that part, had the Victorie, and chased the Enemy vnto the Citie of D Argos; but in their Retreat, when they saw that the greatest part of the Armie was vanquished, the rest of the Acarnanians setting vpon them, they had much adoe to recouer Olpe in safety; and many of them were slaine, whilest they ranne into it out of array, and in disorder. Saue onely the Mantineans; for these made a more orderly Retreat then any part of the Armie. And so this Battell ended, hauing lasted till the Euening.

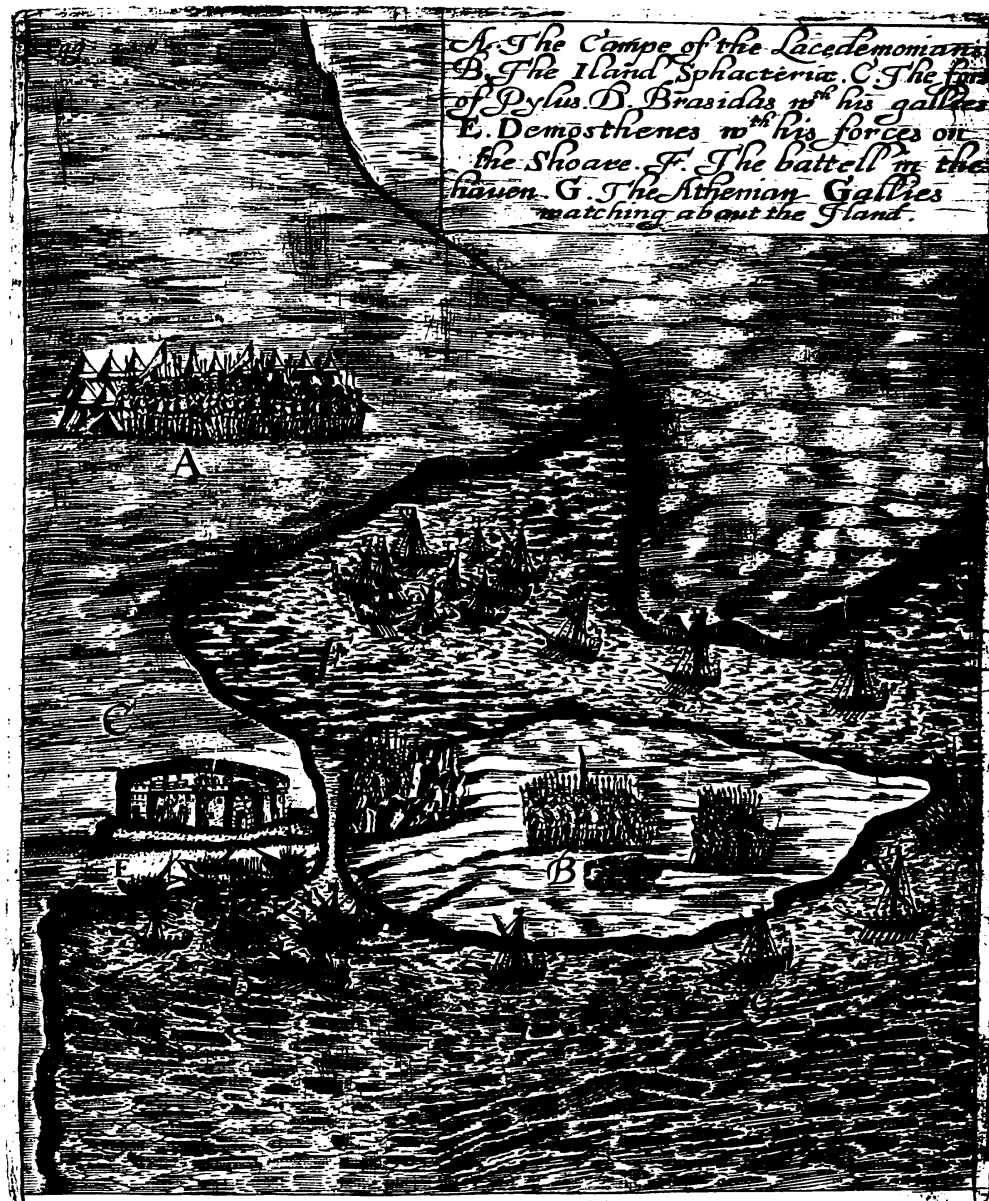
The next day, * Menedaim, (Eurylochus and * Macari- E m beeing now slaine) taking the Command vpon him, and not finding how; if hee staid, hee should bee able

to

The Battell betweene
the Ambraciotes and Aca-
rnianians.

The Ambraciotes and Pe-
loponnians fly.

* called before Menedatus
and Massarius.



A to sustaine a Siege, wherein hee should both bee shut vp by Land, and also with those *Attique Gallies* by Sea; or if hee should depart, how hee might doe it safely, had speech with *Demosthenes*, and the *Acarnian* Captaines, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiuing of the bodies of the slaine. And they deliuered vnto them their dead; and hauing erected a Trophie, tooke vp their owne dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly, *Demosthenes*, with his *Acarnian* fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans*, and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captaines, and men of most worth, to bee gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciotes*, and multitude of mercenary Strangers, and withall to vse this as a meanes to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Grecians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously aduanced their particular interest. Accordingly they tooke vp their dead, and buryed them as fast as they could; and such as had leaue, consulted secretly touching how to bee gone.

C *Demosthenes* and the *Acarnians* had now intelligence, that the *Ambraciotes* from the Citie of *Ambracia*, according to the message sent to them before from *Olpe* (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their ayde) were already on their March, (ignorant of what had passed here) to ioyne with those at *Olpe*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Armie presently forth, to beset the wayes with Ambushment, and to pre-occupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to encounter with the rest of his Armie.

D In the meane time, the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out, on pretence to gather Pot-hearbs, and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to goe forth for; but when they were gotten farre from *Olpe*, they went faster away. But the *Ambraciotes*, and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troopes, seeing the others goe quite away, were eager to bee gone likewise, and ranne out right, as desiring to ouertake those that were gone before. The *Acarnians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce alike;

Demosthenes suffereth the principall *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpe* secretly, to disguard the *Ambraciotes* of their ayde, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

Demosthenes sendeth part of his Armie to lye in Ambush by the wayes by which the *Ambraciotes* supplies were to come from the Citie.

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpe*.

The *Ambraciotes* goe after them, and are slaine to the number of 200.

alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw darts at A their owne Captaines for forbidding them, and for saying that they went away vnder truce, as thinking themselues betrayed. But at last they let goe the *Mantineans*, and *Peloponnesians*, and slew the *Ambraciotes* onely. And there was much contention, and ignorance, of which was an *Ambraciote*, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200 of them, and the rest escaped into *Agraeus*, a bordering Territory, where *Salynthius* King of the *Agraeans*, and their friend, receiued them.

The *Ambraciotes*, out of the Citie of *Ambracia*, were come B as farre as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high hills, to the greater whereof, came first vndiscovered that night, they whom *Demoisthenes* had sent afore from the Campe, and seized it. But the *Ambraciotes* got first to the lesser, and there encamped the same night. *Demoisthenes* after Supper, in the twilight, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one halfe whereof himselfe tooke with him, for the assault of the Campe, and the other halfe he sent about through the Mountaines of *Amphilochia*.

And the next morning before day, he inuaded the *Ambraciotes*, whilest they were yet in their lodgings, and knew not what was the matter, but thought rather, that they had been some of their owne company. For *Demoisthenes* had placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the formost ranks, and commanded them to speake vnto them as they went, in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure; Especially, seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the *Ambraciotes* to flight, at the first onset, and slew many vpon the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards the Mountaines. But the wayes being beset, and the *Amphilochians* being well acquainted with their owne Territory, and armed but lightly, against men in Armour, vnacquainted, and vtterly ignorant which way to take, they light into hollow wayes, and to the places forelayed with Ambushes, and perished. And hauing been put to all manner of shift for their liues, some fled towards the Sea, and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* sayling by the Shore, (this accident concurring with their defeat,) swamme to them, and chose rather in their present feare, to be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the Barbarians, and

The rest escape to *Salynthius* King of the *Agraeans*.

Demoisthenes goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie.

The *Ambraciotes* surprized in their lodgings.

The *Ambraciotes* put to flight.

A and their most mortall enemies the *Amphilochians*. The *Ambraciotes* with this losse, came home a few of many in safety to their Citie. And the *Acarnerians* hauing taken the spoyle of the dead, and erected their Trophies, returned vnto *Argos*.

The next day there came a Herald from those *Ambraciotes* which fled from *Olpe*, into *Agraeus*; to demand leaue to carry away the bodies of those dead, which were slaine after the first battell, when, without Truce, they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with those that had B Truce. But when the Herald saw the Armors of those *Ambraciotes*, that came from the City, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this last blow, but thought they had been the Armors of those with them. Then one asked him, what he wondred at; and how many he thought were slaine. For he that asked him the question, thought, on the other side, that he had been a Herald, sent from those at *Idomene*. And he answered, about 200. Then he that asked, replied, and said, Then these are not the armors of them, but of about a thousand. Then, said he againe, they belong C not to them that were in the battell with vs. The other answered, yes, if you fought yesterday in *Idomene*. But we fought not yesterday at all, but the other day in our retreat. But we yet fought yesterday with those *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie to ayde the rest. When the Herald heard that, and knew that the ayde from the Citie was defeated, he burst out into *Aimées* and astonished with the greatnesse of the present losse, forthwith went his way, without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this losse was greater then, in the like number of dayes happened to any one D Citie of *Greece*, in all this Warre. I haue not written the number of the slaine, because it was said to be such, as is incredible, for the quantity of the City. But this I know, that if the *Acarnerians*, and *Amphilochians*, as *Demoisthenes*, and the *Athenians* would haue had them, would haue subdued *Ambracia*, they might haue done it euen with the shout of their voyces, but they feared now, that if the *Athenians* possessed it, they would proue more troublesome Neighbors vnto them then the other.

After this, hauing bestowed the third part of the spoyles E vpon the *Athenians*, they distributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was lost by Sea.

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciotes* in *Agraeus*, with one of *Demoisthenes* his Army, about the number of the slaine.

The *Acarnerians* will not let the *Athenians* subdue the *Ambraciotes* vtterly, because they thought the *Ambraciotes* better neighbours then the *Athenians*.

Sea. For those 300 compleat Armors which are dedica- A
ted in the Temples in *Atica*, were pick'd out for *Demosthe-*
nes himselfe, and he brought them away with him. His
returne was withall the safer for this action, after his de-
feate in *Æolia*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twenty
Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

The *Acarnanians*, and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians*,
and *Demosthenes* were gone, granted Truce at the Citie of
the *Oeniades* to those *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponnesians* that
were fled to *Salynthius*, & the *Agræans*, to retyre, the *Oeniades*
being gone ouer to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewise. And B
for the future, the *Acarnanians*, & *Amphilochians* made a league
with the *Ambraciotes* for an hundred yeeres, vpon these
conditions. That neither the *Ambraciotes*, with the *Acar-*
nanians, should make Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, nor
the *Acarnanians* with the *Ambraciotes*, against the *Atheni-*
ans. That they should giue mutuall ayde to one anothers Coun-
treys. That the *Ambraciotes* should restore, whatsoeuer Townes
or bordering fields they held of the *Amphilochians*, and that
they should at no time ayde *Anactorium*, which was in hostility
with the *Acarnanians*. And vpon this composition, the C
Warre ended. After this, the *Corinthians* sent a Garrison
of about 300 men of Armes of their owne Citie to *Ambracia*,
vnder the Conduct of *Xenocles* the sonne of *Euthycles*;
who with much difficulty passing through *Epirus*, at
length arriued. Thus passed the businesse in *Ambracia*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, inva-
ded *Himeræa* by Sea, ayded by the * *Sicilians* that invaded
the skirts of the same by Land. They sayled also to the
Ilands of *Æolu*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they D
found there *Pythodorus*, the sonne of *Iolechus*; with certaine
Gallies, come to receiue charge of the Fleet commanded
by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had sent to
Athens, and perswaded the people, to assit them with a
greater Fleet. For though the *Syracusians* were masters
by Land, yet seeing they hindred them, but with few
Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparati-
on, and were gathering together a Fleet, with intention
to resist them. And the *Athenians* furnished out forty
Gallies to send into *Sicily*, conceiuing that the Warre E
there would the sooner be at an end, and desiring withall
to

League for 100 yeeres
betweene the *Ambraci-*
otes and *Acarnanians*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sy-*
cily, invade *Himeræa*.

Pythodorus sent to take
the Fleet from *Laches*.

A to traine their men in nauall exercise. Therefore *Pythodo-*
rus, one of the Commanders, they sent presently away,
with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sopho-*
cles the sonne of *Sostratides*, and *Euryzmdon* the sonne of *Thu-*
cles, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus*
hauing now the Command of *Laches* his Fleet, sayled in
the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Garrison of the *Locrians*,
which *Laches* had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a
Battell there by the *Locrians*, retired.

The same Spring, there issued a great * streame of Fire
B out of the Mountaine *Æma*, as it had also done in former
times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Cataneans*,
that dwell at the Foot of *Æma*, which is the highest
Mountaine of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the fire
brake out before, to this time, it is said to bee fifty yeeres.
And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was
inhabited by the *Grecians*. These were the things that
came to passe this Winter. And so ended the
sixth yeere of this War, written by

THUCYDIDES.

The fire breaketh out of
and *Æma*, burneth the
Fields of *Catane*,
" *ἵλαξ ἵμας* ", a streame
of fire; and was a kind of
molten stone, gushing out of
the sides of the Mountains.

E e

THE





THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The Athenians take and fortify Pylus in Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, to recover it, put over 400. of their best men into the island Sphacteria: whom the Athenians, having overcome the Lacedæmonian Fleet, doe there besiege. The Athenians and Syracusians fight in the Streight of Messina. Cleon engageth himselfe rashly to take or kill the Lacedæmonians in Sphacteria within 30. dayes, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in Corcyra. Nicias invadeth Peloponnesus. The Sicilians agreeing, take from the Athenians their pretence of sailing upon that Coast with their Fleet. The Athenians take Nisæa, but fail of Megara. The overthrow of the Athenians at Delium. The Cities on the Coast of Thrace, upon the coming of Brasidas, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Truce for a yeere. And this in three yeeres more of the same Warre.

IN THE Spring following which Spring
began to bee in the care of the
Gallies of the Sea, and as many of
them went to Messina in Sicily, call-
led in by the Citizens themselves,
and took it, and Megara resisted
from the Athenians. This was done
by the plot of Cleon and Brasidas,
who had the place to bee
convenient for invasion of both, and feared lest the
Athenians should sometime or other be there, making it the seat of
their

THE SEVENTH
YEERE.

Messina.

Messina revolted from
the Athenians.

The Locrians waste the Territory of Rhegium.

Rhegium.

The fifth invasion of Attica.

The Athenians send forty Gallies into Sicily.

Who are to put in by the way at Corcyra, being still in sedition, the Outlawes holding the Field, and the Commons, the Citie.

Demoſthenes urgeth to put in at Pylus.

their Warre, might come with greater forces into Sicily, **A** and invade them from thence; but partly also of the Locrians, as being in hostility with the Rhegians, & desirous to make Warre vpon them on both sides. The Locrians had now also entred the Lands of the Rhegians with their whole power; both because they would hinder them from assisting the Messenians and because they were solicited therevnto by the banished men of Rhegium, that were with them. For they of Rhegium had beene long in Sedition, and were vnable for the present to giue them Battell, for which cause, they the rather also now invaded them. **B** And after they had wasted the Countrey, the Locrians withdrew their Land-forces, but their Gallies lay still at the guard of Messina, and more were setting forth, to lye in the same Harbour, to make the Warre on that side.

About the same time of the Spring, and before Corne was at full growth, the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, vnder the Conduct of Agis the sonne of Archidamus, King of the Lacedaemonians, invaded Attica, and there lay and wasted the Countrey about.

And the Athenians sent fortie Gallies into Sicily, the same **C** which they had provided before for that purpose, and with them the other two Generals, Eurymedon & Sophocles. For Pythodorus, who was the third in that Commission, was arrived in Sicily before. To these they gaue commandment also, to take order as they went by, for the state of those Corcyraans that were in the Citie, and were pillaged by the Outlawes in the Mountaine: and three-score Gallies of the Peloponnesians were gone out, to take part with those in the Mountaine; who, because there was a great Famine in the Citie, thought they might easily be masters of that State. To Demosthenes also (who euer since his returne out of Acanania had liued priuately) **D** they gaue authority, at his owne request, to make vse of the same Gallies, if hee thought good so to doe, about Peloponnesus.

As they sayled by the Coast of Laconia, and had intelligence that the Peloponnesian Fleet was at Corcyra already, Eurymedon and Sophocles hastened to Corcyra; but Demosthenes willed them to put in first at Pylus, and when they had done what was requisite there, then to proceed in their **E** Voyage. But whilest they denyed to doe it, the Fleet

was

A was driven into Pylus by a Tempest that then arose by chance. And presently Demosthenes required them to fortifie the place, alledging that hee came with them for no other purpose, and shewing how there was great store of Timber and Stone, and that the place it selfe was naturally strong, and desart, both it, and a great deale of the Countrey about. For it lyeth from Sparta about 400. Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the Messenians, is called by the Lacedaemonians, Coryphasen. But they answered him, that there were many desart Promontories **B** in Peloponnesus, if they were minded to put the Citie to charges in taking them in. But there appeared vnto Demosthenes a great difference betweene this place and other places; because there was heere 2 Hauens, and the Messenians, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, speaking the same language the Lacedaemonians did, would both be able to annoy them much by excursions thence, and be also faithfull Guardians of the place.

When hee could not preuaile, neither with the Generals, nor with the Souldiers, hauing also at last communicated the same to the Captaines of Companies, hee gaue **C** it ouer, till at last, the weather not seruing to bee gone, there came vpon the Souldiers lying idle, a desire, occasioned by dissention, to Wall in the place of their owne accord. And falling in hand with the worke, they performed it, not with yron tooles to hew stone, but picked out such stones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would feuerally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Vessels, they carried it on their **D** backs, with their bodies enclining forward, so as it might best lye, and their hands clasped behinde, to stay it from falling; making all possible haste to preuent the Lacedaemonians, and to finish the most assailable parts, before they came to succour it. For the greatest part of the place was strong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The Lacedaemonians were that day celebrating a certaine Holiday, and when they heard the newes, did set lightly by it; conceiuing, that whensoever it should please them to goe thither, they should finde them either already gone, or easily take the place by force. Somewhat also they were retarded, by reason that their Armie was **E** in

The Fleet driven in to Pylus by weather.

The commodity of Pylus.

The Athenians build the Fort of Pylus.

The Lacedaemonians at home regard the taking of Pylus but lightly.

in Attica. The Athenians having in fixe dayes finished the A Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need, left Demosthenes with five Gallies to defend it, and with the rest, hastend on in their course for Corcyra, and Sicily.

The Peloponnesians that were in Attica, when they were advertised of the taking of Pylus, returned speedily home. For the Lacedæmonians, and Agis their King, took this accident of Pylus to concerne their owne particular. And the invasion was withall so early, (Come being yet greene) that the most of them were scanted with victuals, the Armie was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season, so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now, then at other times they had done; and this invasion was the shorter, for they continued in Attica, in all but five dayes.

About the same time Simondas an Athenian Commander, having drawne a few Athenians together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, took the Citie of Troezen in the Peloponnesus, which was their Enemy, by Treason; but was presently againe driven out by the Chalcidians and Argives, that came to succour it, and lost many of his Soldiers.

When the Peloponnesians were returned out of Attica, they tooke the Citie of Sparta, and of other the neyghbouring Townes; were presently driven out of Sparta, but the rest of the Lacedæmonians came howe so ever, and being now come from the former Expedition, they sent about, to the Citie of Troezen, and to other neyghbouring Townes, with all speed, to succour it, and to the Gallies that were at sea, which were now forced into the Harbour of Troezen, and to the Armie of the Athenians lying in the Bay. And goodly time when the Armie of foot was also there. Whilest the Peloponnesians Gallies were coming to Troezen, Demosthenes sent two Gallies secretly to Eurymachus and the Argives, to the Island of Zacynthus, in all haste, to don chaine, that they might come presently to him; for at that time the place was in danger to bee lost. And according as Demosthenes had intelligence imported, so the Fleet made haste. The Lacedæmonians in the

The Lacedæmonian army, and Agis take it more to heart.

Agis to take care of it.

The Athenians take them in Treason, and take it againe.

retrieved by the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians by Sea and Land, seeke to recover Pylus.

Zante.

Demosthenes sends to call back the Fleet to help him.

A the meane time prepared themselves to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to winne it, beeing a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the coming of the Athenian Fleet from Zacynthus, they had a purpose, if they tooke not the Fort before, to barre vp the entries of the Harbour. For the Island called Sphacteria, lying just before, and very neere to the place, maketh the Haven safe, and the entries straight; one of them, neere to Pylus, and to the Athenian Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gallies in Front, and the other which lyeth against the other part of the Continent, for not about eight or nine. The Island, by being desart, was all Wood, and vntrodden, in biggnesse about fiftene Furlongs over. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thicke set, and with the Beake-heads outward, to stop vp the entries of the Haven. And because they feared the Island, lest the Athenians putting men into it, should make Warre vpon them from thence, they carried over men of Armes into the same, and placed others likewise along the shore of the Continent. For by this meane the Athenians at their coming should finde the Island their Enemy, and no meane of landing into the Continent. For the Coast of Pylus it selfe, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourlesse, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the ayde of their fellowes. And they, in all probability, might by siege, without battell by Sea, or other danger, winne the place, seeing there was no prouision of Victuall within it, and that the Enemy tooke it but on short preparation. Having thus resolved, they put over into the Island their men of Armes, out of euery Band by Lot; some also had beene sent over before by turnes, but they which went over now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the Helotes that were with them. And their Captaine was Epitadas the sonne of Molobrus.

Demosthenes, when he law the Lacedæmonians bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Armie by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when hee had drawne vp his Gallies, all that were left him, vnto the Land, hee placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them, with Bucklers, though

The Lacedæmonians prepare themselves to assault the Fort.

The situation of the Ile Sphacteria.

The Lacedæmonians put over 420 men of Armes, besides their servants, into the Ile Sphacteria, over against Pylus.

Demosthenes prepareth himselfe to keep the Lacedæmonians from landing on the shore.

though bad ones, and for the greatest part made of Officers. A For they had no meanes in a desert place to provide themselves of Armes. Those they had, they tooke out of a Peiraticall Boate, of thirty Oares, and a * Light-horseman of the Messenians, which came by by chance. And the men of Armes of the Messenians were about 40. which hee made vse of amongst the rest. The greatest part therefore, both of armed and vnarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land, which were of most strength, and commanded them to make good the place against the Land-forces, if they assaulted it; and hee himselfe, with B 60. men of Armes, chosen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-side, in that part where he most expected their landing. Which part was of troublesome accessse, and stonie, and lay to the wide Sea. But because their Wall was there the weakest, he thought they would be drawne to aduenture for that. For neither did the Athenians thinke they should euer haue benee mastered with Gallies, which caused them to make the place to the Sea-ward the lesse strong; and if the Peloponnesians should by force come to land, they made no other account but the place would bee lost. Comming therefore in this part to the very brinke of the Sea, hee put in order his men of Armes, and encouraged them with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES to his Souldiers.

YOV that participate with mee in the present danger, let not any of you in this extremity, goe about to seeme wise, and reckon every perill that now besetteth vs; but let him rather come up to the Enemy with little circumspection, and much hope, and looke for his safety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as these are, admit not debate, but a speedy hazard. And yet if wee stand it out, and betray not our aduantages with feare of the number of the Enemy, I see well enough, that most things are with vs. For I make account, the difficultie of their landing makes for vs: which, as long as wee abide our selues, will helpe vs, but if wee retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whilest they are in their Gallies, they are most easie to be fought withall; and in their disembarking being but on equall termes,

E

A termes, their number is not greatly to be feared; for though they bee many, yet they must fight but by few, for want of rooms to fight in. And for an Armie to haue oddes by Land, is another matter, then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they stand in need of so many accidents to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I thinke their great difficulties doe but set them euen with our small number. And for you, that bee Athenians, and by experience of disembarking against others, know, that if a man stand it out, and doe not, for feare of the (owing) of a Waue, or the menacing approach of a Gallie, giue B backe of himselfe, hee can neuer bee put backe by violence; I expect that you should keepe your ground, and by fighting it out vpon the very edge of the water, preserve both your selues and the Fort.

Vpon this exhortation of Demosthenes, the Athenians tooke better heart, and went downe, and arranged themselves close by the Sea. And the Lacedaemonians came and assaulted the Fort, both with their Armie by Land, and with their Fleet, consisting of three and fortie C Gallies, in which was Admirall, Tbrasytelidas, the some of Cratesicles, a Spartan; and he made his approach where Demosthenes had before expected him. So the Athenians were assaulted on both sides; both by Sea and by Land.

The Peloponnesians diuiding their Gallies into small numbers, because they could not come neere with many at once, and resting betweene, assailed them by turnes; vsing all possible valour, and mutuall encouragement, to put the Athenians backe, and gaine the Fort.

D Most eminent of all the rest was Brasidas: For hauing the Command of a Gallie, and seeing other Captaines of Gallies, and Steeresmen (the place being hard of accessse) when there appeared sometimes possibility of putting ashore, to bee affraid, and tender of breaking their Gallies, hee would cry out vnto them, saying, They did not well, for sparing of Wood, to let the Enemy fortifie in their Countrey. And to the Lacedaemonians hee gaue aduice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies; and prayed the Confederates, E that in requitall of many benefits, they would not sticke to bestow their Gallies at this time vpon the Lacedaemonians, and run-

Ff

The Athenians take heart.

The Lacedaemonians assault the Fort by Land, and seeke to force landing from their Gallies.

The valour of Brasidas.

The Magistrates of Sparta come to view the state of the Campe, and conclude there to send to Athens about peace.

Truce between the Armies, till Ambassadors might be sent to Athens.

As soone as the newes of what had passed was related At Sparta, they thought fit, in respect the losse was great, to send the Magistrates downe to the Campe, to determine, vpon view of the state of their present affaires there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieue their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude, concluded amongst themselves, to take Truce with the Athenian Commanders, as farre as concerned the particulars of Pylus, if they also would bee content, and to send Ambassadors to Athens, about agreement, and to endeavour to fetch off their men as soone as they could. The Athenian Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

The Articles of the Truce.

THAT the Lacedæmonians should deliuer vpp, not onely those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to Pylus, and put into the Athenians hands, whatsoever Vessels of the * long forme of building were any where else in Laconia.

That they should not make any assault vpon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the Athenians should permit the Lacedæmonians that were in the Continent, to send ouer to those in the Island, a portion of ground corne, agreed on, to wit, to euery one two Attique * Choenickes of Meale, and two * Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to euery of their seruants halfe that quantitie.

That they should send this, the Athenians looking on, and not send ouer any Vessell by stealth.

That the Athenians should neuerthelesse continue garding of the Island, provided that they landed not in it; and should not invade the Peloponnesian Armie neither by Land nor Sea. That if either side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to bee voyd, otherwise to hold good till the returne of the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors from Athens.

That the Athenians should conuoy them in a Gallie vnto Athens, and backe. That at their returne the Truce should end, and the Athenians should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had receiued them.

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were deliuered

Auered to the Athenians, to the number of about threescore: and the Ambassadors were sent away, who arriving at Athens, said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadors.

MEN of Athens, the Lacedæmonians haue sent vs hither, conserning our men in the Island, to see if wee can perswade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you, may in this misfortune, be the most honourable for vs, that our present condition is capable of. We will not be longer in discourse then standeth with our custome, being the * fashion with vs, where few words suffice, there indeed not to vse many; but yet to vse more, when the occasion requireth that by words wee should make plaine that which is to bee done in actions of importance. But the words we shall vse, wee pray you to receiue, not with the minde of an Enemy, nor as if wee went about to instruct you, as men ignorant, but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune with reputation, holding what you haue, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to auoyd that which befalleth men vpon extraordinary succeffe, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they haue already, came vn hoped for. Whereas they that haue felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to bee most suspicious of the good. So ought your Citie, and ours especially, vpon experience, in all reason to bee. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune fallie on vs, who being of greatest dignity of all the Grecians, come to you, to aske that, which before wee thought chiefly in our owne hands to giue. And yet wee are not brought to this through weaknesse, nor through insolence vpon addition of strength, but because it succeeded nor with the power wee had, as we thought it should which may as well happen to any other, as to our selues. So that you haue no reason to conclude, that for your power, and purchases, fortune also must be therefore alwaies yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity by the account of things doubtfull, doe most wisely also addresse themselves towards aduersity; and not thinke that Warre will so farre follow, and no further, as one shall please more or lesse to take it in hand, but rather so farre as fortune shall leade it. Such men also seldome miscarrying, because they bee not puffed vp with the confidence of succeffe, chuse then principally, to giue ouer, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will bee good for

* Brevity of speech was so customary and naturall to the Laconians, that it grew to a proverb.

* Out of this and other places it appears, that the shipping of those times was of two formes, long and round. The long, which principally used the Oares, serued for the Warres; the round, which used onely the Saile, serued for Merchants uses and transportation of prouision. Of the first sort were all Gallies, whether of one, two, three, or more tye of Oares; of the latter were the Ships called *Choenixes*.

* A *Choenix*, a measure of about three pintes of ours. * A *Cotyle*, a quarter of a *Choenix*.

for you, men of Athens, to doe with vs; and not, if reiecting our A
advice, you chance to miscarry (as many wayes you may) to haue it
thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meere for-
tune.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands, without danger,
to leaue a reputation to posterity both of strength and wisdom.
The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the Warre,
giving you peace, and alliance, and much other friendship and mutu-
all familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are
in the Iland; though also we thinke it better for both sides, not to
try the chance of Warre; Whether it fall out that by some occasion B
of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expugned by siege,
should be more in your power then they be. For wee are of this
mind, that great hatred is most safely canceled, not when one that
hauing beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the Warre,
brings him through necessity to take an oath, and to make peace on
vnequall termes; but when hauing it in his power, lawfully so to doe,
if he please, he ouercome him likewise in goodnesse, and contrary to
what he expects, be reconciled to him on moderate conditions.
For in this case, his enemy being obliged, not to seeke reuenge, as
one that had bene forced, but to requite his goodnesse, will, for C
shame, be the more enclined to the conditions agreed on. And nat-
urally, to those that relent of their owne accord, men giue way re-
ciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant, they will hazard
all, euen when in their owne iudgements they be too weake. But for
vs both, if euer it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present,
and before any irreparable accident be interposed. Whereby wee
should be compelled besides the common, to beare you a particular
eternall hatred, and you be deprived of the commodities we now
offer you. Let vs be reconciled while matters stand vndecided,
and whilst you haue gained reputation, and our friendship, and we D
not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent losse. And we shall not
onely our selues preferre Peace before Warre, but also giue a ces-
sation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will ac-
knowledge it rather from you, then vs. For they make Warre,
not knowing whether side begun; but if an end be made, (which is
now for the most part in your owne hands) the thanks will bee
yours.

Aid by decreasing the Peace, you may make the Lacedæmo-
nians your sure friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are
therein not forced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many E
commodities are like to ensue, for if we and you goe one way, you
know

A know the rest of Greece, being inferior to vs, * will honour vs in
the highest degree. Thus spake the Lacedæmonians, thinking
that in times past, the Athenians had coveted Peace, and
been hindered of it by them, and that being now offered,
they would gladly accept of it.

But they, hauing these men intercepted in the Iland,
thought they might compound at pleasure, and aspired
to greater matters. To this, they were set on, for the most
part by Cleon, the sonne of Cleonetus, a popular man, at that
time, and of greatest sway with the multitude. He per-
swaded them to giue this answer:

That they in the Iland ought first to deliuer vp their Armes,
and come themselves to Athens, and when they should be there, if
the Lacedæmonians would make restitution of Nisæa, and Pegæ,
and Træzen, and Achaia, (the which they had not won in
Warre, but had receiued by former Treaty. when the A-
thenian, being in distresse, and at that time, in more need of
Peace then now, yeelded them vp into their hands) then
they should haue their men againe, and peace should be made, for as
C long as they both should thinke good.

To this answer, they replied nothing, but desired that
Commissioners might be chosen to treat with them, who
by alternate speaking, and hearing, might quietly make
such an agreement, as they could perswade each other vn-
to. But then Cleon came mightily vpon them, saying, he
knew before, that they had no honest purpose, and that
the same was now manifest, in that they refused to speake
before the people, but sought to sit in consultation, onely
with a few; And willed them, if they had ought to say,
D that was reall, to speake it before them all. But the Lacedæ-
monians finding, that although they had a mind to make
Peace with them, vpon this occasion of aduersity, yet it
would not be fit to speake in it before the multitude, lest
speaking, and not obtaining, they should incurre * calum-
ny with their Confederates, and seeing withall, that the
Athenians would not grant what they sued for, vpon rea-
sonable conditions, they went backe againe without effect.

Vpon their returne, presently the Truce at Pylus was at
an end, and the Lacedæmonians, according to agreement, de-
E manded restitution of their Gallies. But the Athenians, lay-
ing to their charge, an assault made vpon the Fort, contra-

* *τὴν πλεονεξίαν.* *Will*
giue vs highest honour, con-
sidering the vnderstanding
of the wisest sort of the hea-
rens, the consideration of
tyrannizing the rest of
Greece for by the highest
to our, he is come tyrannic,
but a sordid, the envy of the
world; because if he had said
it plainly, the Confederates
would see, that they which
termed themselves the deli-
uerers of Greece, would
now, out of private interest,
be content to toyne with the
Athenians, to tyrannize it.

The insolent demand
of the people of Athens,
by the aduice of Cleon.

The Lacedæmonians desire
to speake before a pri-
uate Committee.

* *ἢ τὴν πλεονεξίαν.* *For*
the cost of the Confederates
subjection for the thing they
desired not proposed before the
people was this, that by the
unity of these two great states
the rest of Greece would
be forced to serve them,
which they touched also, but
obscurely in the last words of
their Orations, as I haue
noted before.
The Ambassadors re-
turne without effect, and
the Truce endeth.
The Athenians cauilt, and
keepe the Gallies of the
Lacedæmonians.

The Warre at Pylus goes on.

ry to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refused to render them; standing vpon this, that it was said that the accord should be voyd, vpon whatsoever the left transgression of the same. But the *Lacedemonians* denying it, and protesting this detention of their Gallies for an iniury, went their wayes, and betooke themselves to the Warre. So the Warre at *Pylus* was on both sides renewed with all their power.

The *Athenians* went euery day about the Iland with two Gallies, one going one way, another, another way, and lay at Anchor about it euery night with their whole Fleet, B except on that part which lyeth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* also, there came a supply of thirty Gallies more, to guard the Iland, so that they were in the whole threescore and ten. And the *Lacedemonians* made assaults vpon the Fort, and watched euery opportunity that should present it selfe, to saue their men in the Iland.

Whilest these things passed, the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates in *Sicily*, adding to those Gallies that lay in Garrison at *Messana*, the rest of the Fleet which they had prepared, made Warre out of *Messana*, instigated thereto, chiefly, by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegiens*, (whose Territory they had also inuaded with their whole forces by Land) and seeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies present, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the siege of the * Iland, desired to try with them a Battell by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Nauie, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land-forces on the Field side, and with their Fleet by Sea, easily to take it D their hands, and thereby strengthen their affaires. For *Rhegium* a * Promontorie of *Italy*, and *Messana* in *Sicily* lying neere together, they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying at Anchor there against them, and make themselves Masters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea betweene *Rhegium* and *Messana*, where *Sicily* is neere to the Continent, and is that which is called * *Charybdis*, where *Vlysses* is said to haue passed through; which, for that it is very narrow, and because the Sea falleth in there, from two great maines, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, E hath therefore not without good cause bene esteemed dangerous.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight in the straight betweene *Messana* and *Rhegium*.
* *Messana*.

* *Sphaeria*.

* *Rhegium*, being a promontory, and derived from *Pylus*, which signifies to break, makes it probable that *Sicily* was once a part of *Italy*, and there broken off by some Earthquake, but yet *Scylla* is neerer to *Sicily* then *Rhegium* is.
* *Charybdis*, bene taken for the name of the whole strait, is but a part neere to *Messana*, betweene it and *Pelorus*, subiect to extraordinary agitation in stormy weather, but nothing to that it was, or was fained to be of old.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight at Sea.

A In this Straight then, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30. Gallies, were constrained in the later end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, hauing bin drawne forth about the passage of a certaine Boat, to vnder-take 16. Gallies of *Athens*, and 8. of *Rhegium*; and being overcome by the *Athenians*, fell off with the losse of one Gallie, and went speedily, each side to their own Campe at *Messana*, and *Rhegium*; and the night ouertooke them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegiens*; and the Fleet of the *Syracusians* and their B Confederates came together to an Anchor at * *Pelorus*, and had their Land-forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegiens* came vp to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by meanes of a Grapnel * cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gallie, but the men swam out. Vpon this the *Syracusians* went aboard, and whilest they were towed along the shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came vp to them againe, and the *Syracusians* * opening themselves, charged first, and sunke another of their Gallies; so the *Syracusians* passed on to C the Port of *Messana*, hauing had the better in their passage by the shore, and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Athenians* vpon newes that *Camarina* should by *Archias* and his complices bee betrayed to the *Syracusians*, went thither. In the meane time the *Messanians* with their whole power, by Land, and also with their Fleet, warred on *Naxos*, a * *Chalcidique* Citie, & their borderer. The first day hauing forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about into D the River *Acefine*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went vp the Riuer, & with their Land-forces assaulted the City. In the meane time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*; which when they of *Naxos* perceiued, they tooke heart, and encouraging themselves with an opinion, that the *Leontines*, and all the rest of the Grecians their Confederates, had come to succour them, sallied suddenly out of the Citie, and charged vpon the *Messanians*, and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hardly escaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell vpon them, and slew the most part of them in the High-wayes.

G g

And

* a Promontory of *Sicily*, hard by *Messana*.

* cast in by the Souldiers on shore.

The *Messanians* warre on the Citie of *Naxos*, and receiue a great losse.

* of those which were founded by the *Chalcidians* of Greece.

Athenians, seeing them enclined of themselves, to send A
thither greater forces, then they had before thought to
doe, that it was not fit to send to view the place, nor to
lose their opportunity by delay, but if the report seemed
vnto them to bee true, they should make a voyage against
those men, and glanced at *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, then
* Generall, vpon malice, and with language of reproach.
Saying it was easie, if the Leaders were men, to goe and
take them there in the Iland. And that himselfe, if hee had
the Command, would doe it. But *Nicias*, seeing the *Athe-*
nians to bee in a kinde of tumult against *Cleon*, for that B
when hee thought it so easie a matter, hee did not present-
ly put it in practice, & seeing also he had vpbraided him,
willed him to take what strength hee would, that they
could giue him, and vndertake it. *Cleon* supposing at first
that he gaue him this leaue but in words, was ready to ac-
cept it; but when he knew he would giue him the authori-
ty in good earnest, then he shrunke backe, and said, that not
he, but *Nicias* was Generall; being now indeed afraid, and
hoping that he durst not haue giuen ouer the office to him.
But then, *Nicias* againe bade him doe it, and gaue ouer his C
command to him, for so much as concerned *Pylus*, and cal-
led the *Athenians* to witnesse it. They (as is the fashion of
the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and
went backe from his word, pressed *Nicias* so much the
more to resigne his * power to him, and cryed out vpon
Cleon to goe. Inasmuch as not knowing how to disengage
himselfe of his word, hee vndertooke the Voyage, and
stood forth, saying, that he feared not the *Lacedemonians*,
and that hee would not carry any man with him out of
the Citie, but onely the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* that then D
were present, and those Targettieres that were come to
them from *Aenus*, and 400. Archers out of other places,
and with these, he said, added to the Souldiers that were
at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty dayes, either
ferch away the *Lacedemonians* aliue, or kill them vpon the
place.

This vaine speech moued amongst the *Athenians* some
laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiser
sort. For of two benefits, the one must needs fall out; ei-
ther to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greatest hope) or E
if they were deceiued in that, then to get those *Lacedemo-*
nians

* *epitaphy* - The Magistrate
to whose authority was com-
mitted the leuying and muste-
ring of Souldiers.

Cleon vndertaketh to
fetch those in the Iland
prisoners to *Athenis*.

Cleon taken at his word,
would haue declined the
employment, but cannot

* his power to levy Souldiers.

A glorious boast of *Cleon*
well taken.

nians into their hands. Now when he had dispatched with
the Assembly, and the *Athenians* had by their voices de-
creed him the Voyage, he ioyned vnto himselfe *Demosthe-*
nes, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to
Sea. Hee made choice of *Demosthenes* for his Companion,
because he heard that hee also, of himselfe, had a purpose
to set his Souldiers aland in the Ile. For the Armie ha-
uing suffered much by the straightnesse of the place, and
being rather the besieged, then the besieger, had a great
desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battell: con-
B
firmed therein the more, for that the Iland had been burnt.
For hauing beene for the most part wood, and (by reason
it had lyen euer desart) without path, they were before
the more afraid, and thought it the aduantage of the Ene-
mie; for assaulting them out of sight, they might annoy
a very great Armie that should offer to come aland. For
their errours, being in the Wood, and their preparation
could not so well haue beene discerned: whereas all the
faults of their owne Armie should haue beene in sight. So
that the Enemy might haue set vpon them suddenly; in
C
what part soeuer they had pleased; because the onset
had beene in their owne election. Againe, if they
should by force come vp to fight with the *Lacedemo-*
nians at hand in the thicke Woods, the fewer, and skil-
full of the wayes, hee thought would bee too hard for the
many and vnskilfull. Besides, their owne Armie beeing
great, it might receiue an ouerthrow before they could
know of it, because they could not see where it was need-
full to relieue one another.

These things came into his head, especially from the
D
losse hee receiued in *Aetolia*. Which in part also happe-
ned, by occasion of the Woods. But the * Souldiers, for
want of roomes, hauing beene forced to put in at the out-
side of the Iland, to dresse their dinners with a watch be-
fore them, and one of them hauing set fire on the Wood, it
burnt on by little and little; and the Wind afterwards ri-
sing, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By
this accident, *Demosthenes* the better discerning that the *La-*
cedemonians were more then hee had imagined, having be-
fore, by victuall sent vnto them, thought them not so
E
many, did now prepare himselfe for the Enterprize, as a
matter deseruing the *Athenians* vtmost care; and as having
better

The reason why *Demo-*
sthenes durst not land in
the Iland, to subdue the
besieged by fight.

* The Athenian Souldiers.

The word of the Iland
burnt by accident.

Cleon arrives at Pylos.

The Athenians invade the Iland:

And kill those that were in the first and most remote watch from Pylos.

** Viz. the light-armed. * Thalamij. There were three ranks of rowers among the Athenians, the uppermost called Thranij, the second Zygiæ, and the last Thalamitæ, or Thalamij. In the Galij called a Birime, there were no Zygijæ, in a Trirème were all 3. ranks, in a Quadrireme and upwards, all the middle ranks were Zygijæ: only the uppermost were Thranij, and the neathermost Thalamitæ.*

better commodity of landing in the Iland, then before he A had; and both sent for the forces of such Confederates as were neere, and put in readinesse euery other needfull thing. And *Cleon*, who had sent a Messenger before to signifie his coming, came himselfe also with those forces which he had required, vnto *Pylos*. When they were both together, first they sent a Herald to the Campe in the Continent, to know if they would command those in the Iland to deliuer vp themselves and their Armes without battell, to be held with easie imprisonment, till some agreement were made touching the maine Warre. B Which when they refused, the *Athenians* for one day held their hands, but the next day, hauing put aboard vpon a few Gallies, all their men of Armes, they put off in the night, and landed a little before day on both sides of the Iland, both from the Mayne, and from the Hauen, to the number of about 800 men of Armes, and marched vpon high speed towards the formost watch of the Iland. For thus the *Lacedæmonians* lay quartered. In this formost watch were about thirty men of Armes. The middest, and eueneft part of the Iland, and about the water, was C kept by *Epidarus* their Captaine, with the greatest part of the whole number. And another part of them, which were not many, kept the last guard towards *Pylos*, which place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliffe, and least assailable by Land. For there was also a certaine Fort which was old, and made of chofen, not of hewne stones, which they thought would stand them in stead in case of violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the *Athenians* presently killed those of the formost guard, (which they so ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were D taking Armes. For they knew not of their landing, but thought those Gallies, had come thither to Anchor in the night, according to custome, as they had been wont to doe. As soone as it was morning, the * rest of the Army also landed, out of somewhat more then 70 Gallies, euery one with such Armes as he had; being all that rowed, (except only the * *Thalamij*) eight hundred Archers; Targueticers as many; all the *Messenians* that came to aide them, and as many of them besides, as held any place about *Pylos*, except onely the Garrison of the Fort it selfe. *Demosthenes* then E disposing his Army by two hundred, and more in a company,

A party, and in some lesse, at certaine distances, seized on all the higher grounds; to the end that the enemies compassed about on euery side, might the lesse know what to doe, or against what part to set themselves in battell, and be subject to the shot of the multitude from euery part; and when they should make head against those that fronted them, be charged behind; and when they should turne to those that were opposed to their flanks, be charged at once both behind and before. And which way soeuer they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanliest B prouided of Armes, followed them at the backe, with Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and Slings; who haue courage enough as farre off, and could not be charged, but would overcome flying, and also presse the enemies when they should retyre. With this designe, *Demosthenes*, both intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his forces accordingly in the action. Those that were about *Epidarus*, who were the greatest part of those in the Iland, when they saw that the formost guard was slaine, and that the Army marched towards them, put themselves in array, and went towards the men of Armes of the C *Athenians*, with intent to charge them; for these were opposed to them in front, and the light-armed Souldiers on their flanks, and at their backs. But they could neither come to ioyn with them, nor any way make vse of their * skill. For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them off, with shot from either side, and the men of Armes advanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers approached neereft, they were driuen backe; but returning, they charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that D easily got out of their reach by running, especially the ground being vneasie, and rough, by hauing been formerly desert; so that the *Lacedæmonians* in their Armour, could not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished one against another, a farre off. But when the *Lacedæmonians* were no longer able to run out after them, where they charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them lesse earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from their sight, as being many times their number, and hauing also been vsed to them so much, as not to thinke them now E so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not receiued so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued mindes, because

The Athenians diuide themselves into many troopes, against the maine body of the Lacedæmonian Souldiers.

The fight between the Athenians, and the Lacedæmonians, in the middle of the Iland.

** The skill of fighting, a landing fight, was thought a peculiar vertue of the Lacedæmonians, as the Sea-fight was thought to the Athenians.*

because they were to fight against the *Lacedæmonians*, had A
at their first landing pre-iudged, contemned them; and
with a great cry ran all at once vpon them, casting Stones,
Arrowes, and Darts, as to euery man came next to hand.
Vpon this cry, and assault, they were much terrified, as not
accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great
dust of the woods lately burnt, mounted into the ayre, so
that by reason of the Arrowes, and Stones, that together
with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they
could hardly see before them. Then the battell grew
fore on the *Lacedæmonians* side, for their * lackes now gaue B
way to the Arrowes, and the Darts that were throwne,
stucke broken in them, so as they could not handle them-
selues, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any dire-
ction giuen them, for the greater noyse of the enemy; but
(danger being on all sides) were hopelesse to saue them-
selues vpon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them
being now wounded, for that they could not shift their
ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last
guard of the Iland, and to the watch that was there. When
they once gaue ground, then were the light-armed Souldiers C
much more confident then before, and pressed vpon
them with a mighty noyse. And as many of the *Lacedæmo-
nians* as they could intercept in their retreat, they slew;
but the most of them recouered the Fort, and together
with the watch of the same, put themselues in order to
defend it in all parts that were subiect to assault. The
Athenians following, could not now encompasse and
hemme them in, for the strong situation of the place, but
assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them
from the wall. And thus they held out a long time, D
the better part of a day, either side tyred with the fight,
and with thirst, and with the Sunne, one endeauouring to
drue the enemy from the top, the other to keepe
their ground. And the *Lacedæmonians* defended them-
selues easilier now then before, because they were
not now encompassed vpon their flankes. When there
was no end of the businesse, the Captaine of the *Messenians*
said vnto *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes*, that they spent their
labour there in vaine, and that if they would deliuer vnto E
him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to
get vp by such a way as he himselfe should find out, and
come

* οἰστοί. A kind of quilted
Armour, or of stuffe close
beaten like Fell.

The *Lacedæmonians* retire
to the Fort, where the
last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault
them there.

A come behinde vpon their backs, hee thought the en-
trance might bee forced. And hauing receiued the
Forces hee asked, hee tooke his way from a place out of
sight to the *Lacedæmonians*, that hee might not be discou-
red; making his approach vnder the Cliftes of the Iland,
where they were continuall; in which part, trusting to
the naturall strength therof, they kept no watch; and with
much labour, and hardly vnscene, came behinde them.
And appearing suddenly from aboue at their backes,
both terrified the Enemies with the sight of what they
B expected not, and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the
sight of what they expected. And the *Lacedæmonians* be-
ing now charged with their shot both before and behind,
were in the same case (to compare small matters with
great) that they were in at * *Thermopyle*. For then they
were slaine by the *Persians*, shut vp on both sides in a nar-
row path. And these now being charged on both sides,
could make good the place no longer, but fighting, few
against many, and being weake withall for want of
foode, were at last forced to giue ground; and the *Athenians* C
by this time, were also Masters of all the entran-
ces.

But *Cleon* and *Demosthenes*, knowing that the more
they gaue backe, the faster they would bee killed by
their Armie, slaid the fight, and held in the Souldiers,
with desire to carry them aliuie to *Athens*, in case their
spirits were so much broken, and their courage abated
by this miserie, as vpon Proclamation made, they would
bee content to deliuer vp their Armes. So they proclai-
med, that they should deliuer vp their Armes and them-
D selues to the *Athenians*, to be disposed of as to them should
seeme good.

Vpon hearing heereof, the most of them threw
downe their Bucklers, and shooke their hands aboue
their heads, signifying their acceptation of what was
proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they
came to treat, *Cleon* and *Demosthenes* of one side, and
Steyphon the sonne of *Pharax*, on the other side. For
of them that had Command there, *Epitadas*, who was the
first, was slaine; and *Hippagretes*, who was chosen to succeed
E him, lay amongst the dead, though yet aliuie; and this man
was the third to succeed in the Command by the * Law, in case
H h the

Some of the *Athenians*
climbe vp behind the *Lacedæmonians* vnscene, and
appear at their backes.

* 5000. *Lacedæmonians*,
vnder King *Leonidas*,
in the strength of *Thermo-
pyle*, withstood 300000.
Persians, till they were cir-
cumuall'd, and charged both
before and behinde, and so all
slaine. Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedæmonians* yeeld.

* This manner of subordi-
nating *Athenians* Com-
manders to
be chiefe in succession, was in
those times much vsed.

the others should miscarry. *Styphen*, and those that were A with him, said they would send ouer to the *Lacedæmonians* in the Continent, to know what they there would aduise them to; but the *Athenians* letting none goe thence, called for Heralds out of the Continent; and the question hauing beene twice or thrice asked, the last of the *Lacedæmonians* that came ouer from the Continent, brought them this Answer: *The Lacedæmonians bid you take aduice touching your selues, such as you shall thinke good, provided you doe nothing dishonourably.* Whereupon hauing consulted, they yeelded vp themselves and their Armes; and the *Athenians* attended them that day, and the night following, with a watch. But the next day, after they had set vp their Trophie in the Iland, they prepared to bee gone, and committed the prisoners to the custody of the Captaines of the Gallies. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent ouer a Herald, and tooke vp the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were slaine and taken aliue in the Iland, was thus. There went ouer into the Iland in all, foure hundred and twenty men of Armes; of these were sent away aliue, three hundred wanting eight, and the rest slaine. Of those that liued, there were of the Citie it selfe of *Sparta*, one hundred and twenty. Of the *Athenians* there dyed not many, for it was no standing fight.

The whole time of the siege of these men in the Iland, from the fight of the Gallies, to the fight in the Iland, was 72. dayes; of which, for 20. dayes, victuall was allowed to bee carried to them, that is to say, in the time that the Ambassadors were away, that went about the Peace; in the rest, they were fed by such onely as put in thither by stealth, and yet there was both Corne and other food left in the Iland. For their Captaine *Epidadas* had distributed it more sparingly then hee needed to haue done. So the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians* departed from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Armies. And the promise of *Cleon*, as senselesse as it was, tooke effect: For within twenty dayes he brought home the men, as he had vndertaken.

Of all the accidents of this Warre, this same fell out the most contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they expected that the *Lacedæmonians* should neuer, neither by E Famine, nor whatsoeuer other necessity, haue bin constrained

The *Lacedæmonians* yeeld vp their Armes, and are carried prisoners to *Athen*.

The number of the slaine, and of the prisoners.

The yielding of the *Lacedæmonians* was contrary to the opinion had of their vertue.

A ned to deliuer vp their Armes, but haue dyed with them in their hands, fighting as long as they had beene able; and would not beleue that those that yeelded, were like to those that were slaine: and when one afterwards, of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the prisoners, by way of insulting, if they which were slaine, were valiant men; hee answered, that a Spindle (meaning an Arrow) deserued to bee valued at a high rate, if it could know who was a good man. Signifying, that the slaine were such as the Stones and Arrowes chanced to light B on.

After the arriual of the men, the *Athenians* ordered, that they should be kept in bonds, till there should bee made some agreement; and if before that, the *Peloponnesians* should inuade their Territory, then to bring them forth & kill them. They tooke order also in the same Assembly, for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, hauing sent thither such men of their own as were fittest for the purpose, as to their native Countrey, (for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the C *Messenians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them much other mischiefe, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedæmonians*, not hauing in times past beene acquainted with robberies, and such Warre as that, and because their *Helotes* ranne ouer to the Enemy, fearing also some greater innouation in the Countrey, tooke the matter much to heart; and though they would not be knowne of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadors, and endeououred to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus*, and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater matters; and the Ambassadors, though they came often about it, yet were alwayes sent away without effect. These were the proceedings at *Pylus*.

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians* with 80. Gallies, 2000. men of Armes of their own City, and 200. Horse, in boats built for transportation of Horses, made War vpon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went also with them, *Milesians*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their Confederates. The Generall of the whole Army was *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, with 2. other in Commission with E him. Betimes in a morning, they put in at a place betweene *Chersonesus* and *Rheitis*, on that shore, aboue Hh 2 which

The *Lacedæmonian* prisoners kept in bonds at *Athen*, to be made vie of in making the peace, or else vpon the first inuasion of *Attica* to be slaine.

Nicias warreth in the Territory of *Corinth* with good fortune.

The Corinthians hearing of their coming, assemble their forces to hinder their landing.

The Athenians and Corinthians fight.

* A Hymne accustomed to be sung, one before Battell, another after victory.

which standeth the Hill *Solygia*, whereon the Dorians in A old time fate downe, to make Warre on the Corinthians in the Citie of *Corinth*, that were then *Aeolians*, and vpon which there standeth now a Village, called also *Solygia*. From the shore where the Gallies came in, this Village is distant twenty furlongs, and the Citie of *Corinth*, sixtie, and the *Isthmus* twenty. The Corinthians hauing long before from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Armie of the Athenians was coming against them, came all of them with their forces to the *Isthmus* (saue onely such as dwelt without the *Isthmus*, and five hundred Garrison Souldiers, B absent in *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*) all the rest of military age came forth, to attend the Athenians, where they should put in. But when the Athenians had put to shore in the night vnscene, and that aduertisement thereof was giuen them by signes put vp into the ayre, they left the one halfe of their Forces in *Cenchrea*, lest the Athenians should goe against *Crommyon*, and with the other halfe made haste to meete them. *Battus*, one of their Commanders, (for there were two of them present at the Battell) with one Squadron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*, being an open C one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the rest charged the Enemy. And first they gaue the onset on the right wing of the Athenians, which was but newly landed before *Chersonesus*, and afterwards they charged likewise the rest of the Armie. The Battell was hot, and at hand-strokes: And the right wing of the Athenians and *Carystians* (for of these consisted their vtmost Files) sustained the charge of the Corinthians, and with much adoe draue them backe. But as they retyred, they came vp, (for the place was all rising ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on D the vpper ground, threw downe stones at them; and after hauing sung the * *Paean*, came againe close to them, whom when the Athenians abode, the Battell was againe at hand-strokes. But a certaine Band of Corinthians that came in, to the ayde of their owne left wing, put the right wing of the Athenians to flight, and chased them to the Sea-side. But then from their Gallies they turned head againe, both the Athenians, and the *Carystians*. The other part of their Armie continued fighting on both sides, especially the right wing of the Corinthians, where *Lycophron* fought a- E gainst the left wing of the Athenians: for they expected that

The Corinthians are put to flight.

* It was said before, that all the Corinthians of military age were come forth.

* To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a confession of being the weaker; but yet *Nicias* chooseth rather to renounce the reputation of victory, then omit an all of piety. Besides, the people takeouerously ill the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appeare by their sentence on the Captains after the Battell at *Arginasse*.

The Athenians waite other parts of the same Coast.

A that the Athenians would attempt to goe to *Solygia*; so they held each other to it a long time, neither side giuing ground. But in the end (for that the Athenians had Horsemen, which did them great seruice, seeing the other had none) the Corinthians were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid downe their Armes, and descended no more, but there rested. In this Retreat, the greatest part of their right wing was slaine, and amongst others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the rest of the Army being in this manner, neither much vrged, nor retiring in B much haste, when they could do no other, made their Retreat vp the Hill, & there fate downe. The Athenians seeing them come no more downe to Battell, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and tooke vp their owne, and presently erected a Trophie on the place. That halfe of the Corinthians that lay at *Cenchrea*, to watch the Athenians, that they went not against *Crommyon*, saw not this Battell, for the Hill *Oncius*; but when they saw the dust, and so knew what was in hand, they went presently to their ayde: so did also the * old men of *Corinth* from the Citie, when they C vnderstood how the matter had succeeded. The Athenians, when all these were coming vpon them together, imagining them to haue been the succours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponnesus*, retired speedily to their Gallies; carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead, all saue two, which not finding, they left. Being aboard, they crossed ouer to the Islands on the other side, and from thence * sent a Herald, and fetched away those two dead bodies which they left behinde. There were slaine in this battell, Corinthians, two hundred and twelue, and Athenians, D somewhat vnder fifty.

The Athenians putting off from the Islands, sayled the same day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, distant from the City a hundred and twenty furlongs: where anchoring, they wasted the Fields, and stayed all that night. The next day, they sailed along the shore, first to to the Territory of *Epidaurus*, whereinto they made some little incursion from their Gallies; and then went to *Me- thone*, betweene *Epidaurus* and *Træzen*, and there tooke in the *Isthmus* of *Chersonesus* with a Wall; and placed a Gar- E rison in it, which afterwards exercised robberies in the Territories of *Træzen*, *Halias*, and *Epidaurus*; and when they

The execution of the
Corcyraeans banished men,
and end of that sedition.

Truce granted to the
banished men, with con-
dition that the same
should bee voyd, if any of
them offered to make an
escape.

The fraud of the Corcy-
raeans to entrappe the ba-
nished men.

The truce broken, and
the outlaws put into
the hands of the Com-
mons.

The Corcyraeans take the
Outlaws out by scores,
and make them passe the
Pikes.

they had fortified this place, they returned home with A
their Fleet.

About the same time that these things were in doing,
Eurymedon and Sophocles, after their departure from Pylus
with the Athenian Fleet, towards Sicily, arriuing at Corcyra,
ioyned with those of the Citie, and made Warre vpon
those Corcyraeans, which lay encamped vpon the Hill I-
stone, and which, after the sedition, had come ouer, and both
made themselues masters of the Field, and much annoyed
the Citie: and hauing assaulted their fortification, tooke it.
But the men all in one troupe, escaped to a certaine high B
ground, and thence made their composition, which was
this; *That they should deliuer vp the Strangers that ayded them,
and that they themselues, hauing rendred their Armes, should stand
to the iudgement of the People of Athens.* Heereupon the
Generals granted them truce, and transported them to the
Iland of Psychia, to bee there in custodie till the Athenians
should send for them; with this condition, *That if any one
of them should be taken running away, then the truce so bee broken
for them all.*

But the Patrons of the Commons of Corcyra, fearing C
lest the Athenians would not kill them when they came
thither, deuise against them this plot. To some few of
those in the Iland, they secretly send their friends, and in-
struct them to say, as if, forsooth, it were for good-will,
that it was their best course, with all speed, to get away,
(and withall, to offer to prouide them of a Boat) for that
the Athenian Commanders intended verily to deliuer them
to the Corcyraean people.

When they were perswaded to doe so, and that a Boat
was treacherously prepared, as they rowed away, they D
were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all
giuen vp into the hands of the Corcyraeans. It did much fur-
ther this Plot, that to make the pretext seeme more seri-
ous, and the agents in it lesse fearefull, the Athenian Gene-
rals gaue out, that they were nothing pleased that the
men should be carried home by others, whilest they them-
selues were to goe into Sicily, and the honour of it be ascri-
bed to those that should conuoy them. The Corcyraeans
hauing receiued them into their hands, imprisoned them
in a certaine Edifice, from whence afterwards they tooke E
them out by twenty at a time, and made them passe
through

A through a Lane of men of Armes, bound together, and re-
ceiuing stroakes and thrusts from those on eyther side, ac-
cording as any one espyed his Enemie. And to halten the
pace of those that went slowliest on, others were set to
follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Roome in this manner, and
slaine, to the number of threescore, before they that re-
mained knew it, who thought they were but removed,
and carried to some other place. But when they knew
the truth, some or other hauing told them, they then cry-
B ed out to the Athenians, and said, that if they would them-
selues kill them, they should doe it; and refused any more
to go out of the Roome, nor would suffer, they said, as long
as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the
Corcyraeans any purpose to force entrance by the doore, but
getting vp to the top of the House, vncovered the roofe,
and threw Tyles, and shot Arrowes at them. They in
prison defended themselves as well as they could, but ma-
ny also slew themselves with the Arrowes shot by the
Enemie, by thrusting them into their throats, and stran-
C gled themselves with the cords of certaine beds that were
in the Roome, and with ropes made of their owne gar-
ments rent in pieces. And hauing continued most part of
the night, (for night ouertooke them in the action) partly
strangling themselves, by all such meanes as they found,
and partly shot at from aboue, they all perished. When
day came, the Corcyraeans laid them one * acrosse another
in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their
Wiues, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they
made bond-women. In this manner were the Corcyraeans
D that kept the * Hill, brought to destruction by the Com-
mons. And thus ended this farre-spread sedition, for so
much as concerned this present Warre: for of other sedi-
tions there remained nothing worth the relation. And
the Athenians being arriued in Sicily, whither they were at
first bound, prosecuted the Warre there, together with
the rest of their Confederates of those parts.

In the end of this Summer, the Athenians that lay at
Naupactus, went forth with an Armie, and tooke the City
of * Anactorium, belonging to the Corinthians, and lying at
E the mouth of the Ambracian Gulfe, by Treason. And
when they had put forth the Corinthians, the Acarnanians held

The outlaws refuse to
goe out to execution.

They kill themselves.

The miserable end of the
banished men, which was
also the end of the sedi-
tion.

* *επισπασθῆναι*, significth pro-
perly, after the manner that
Matts or Hurdles are platted.

* *Ἴλιον*.

The Athenians take Ana-
ctorium from the Corinthi-
ans, and put it into the
hands of the Acarnanians.
* This City belonged to the
Corcyraeans and Corinthi-
ans in common, but a
little before this Warre, the
Corinthians carry away
captures the men that were
in it, and possesse it alone:
and those Corcyraeans
wrought the Sedition before
related.

The end of the seventh Summer.

Artaphernes, an Ambassadour from the King of Persia to the Lacedæmonians, intercepted, and brought to Athens, and his Letters read.

The King of Persia's Letters to the Lacedæmonians translated into Greeke, and read at Athens.

The Chians are suspected, and forced to pull downe their new-built Walles.

THE EIGHTH YEERE.

The Lesbian Outlawes make warre vpon the Athenians dominions, in the Continent neere Lesbos.

*Littorales. Cities situate on the Sea-shore.

held it with a Colonie sent thither from all parts of their owne Nation. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, *Aristides* the sonne of *Archippus*, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the Athenians had sent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended *Artaphernes* a Persian, in the Towne of *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, going from the King to *Lacedæmon*. When he was brought to Athens, the Athenians translated his Letters out of the Assyrian Language into Greeke, and read them: wherein, amongst many other things that were written to the Lacedæmonians, the principall was this, *B*

That hee knew not what they meant; for many Ambassadors came, but they spake not the same things. If therefore they had any thing to say certaine, they should send somebody to him, with this Persian. But Artaphernes they send afterwards away in a Gallie, with Ambassadors of their owne, to Ephesus. And there encountering the newes, that King Artaxerxes, the sonne of Xerxes, was lately dead, (for about that time he dyed) they returned home.

The same Winter also, the Chians demolished their new Wall, by command of the Athenians, vpon suspicion *C* that they intended some innouation, notwithstanding they had given the Athenians their faith, and the best security they could, to the intent they should let them bee as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the seventh yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moone, the Sunne was eclipsed in part; and in the beginning of the same Moneth, happened an Earthquake.

At this time, the *Mitylenian*, and other *Lesbian* Outlawes, *D* most of them residing in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, and some which they leauied where they were, seaze on *Rhoetium*, and for two thousand *Phocæan* Scaters, render it againe, without doing them other harme. After this they came with their Forces to *Antander*, and tooke that Citie also by Treason. They had likewise a Designe, to set free the rest of the Cities called **Æliæ*, which were in the occupation formerly of the *Mitylenians*, but subiect to the Athenians: but about all the rest, *Antander*, which when they had once gotten, (for *E* there they might easily build Gallies, because there was

store

A store of Timber; and mount *Ida* was about their heads) they might issue from thence with other their preparation, and infest *Lesbos* which was neere, and bring into their power the *Æoliæ* Townes in the Continent. And this were those men preparing.

The Athenians the same Summer, with sixty Gallies, 2000 men of Armes, and a few horsemen, taking with them also the *Milesians*, and some other of their Confederates made Warre vpon *Cythera*, vnder the Conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Nicostratus* the sonne of *Diotrophes*, *B* and *Autocles* the sonne of *Tolmæus*. This **Cythera* is an Iland vpon the Coast of *Laconia*, ouer against *Malea*. The Inhabitants be *Lacedæmonians*, of the same that dwell about them.

And euery yeere there goeth ouer vnto them from *Sparta* a Magistrate called **Cytherodices*. They likewise sent ouer men of Armes from time to time, to lie in Garrison there, and tooke much care of the place. For it was the place where their *ships vsed to put in from *Ægypt*, and *Libia*, and by which *Laconia* was the lesse infested by *C* cheeues from the Sea, being that way wholly out, into the *Sicilian* and *Creticke* Seas: The Athenians arriving with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Armes of the *Milesians*, tooke a towne lying to the Sea, called *Scandea*, and with the rest of their forces, hauing landed in the parts of the Iland towards *Malea*, marched into the Citie it selfe of the *Cythereans*, lying likewise to the Sea. The *Cythereans* they found standing all in Armes prepared for them, and after the battell began, the *Cythereans* for *D* a little while made resistance; but soon after turned their backs, and fled, into the higher part of the Citie; and afterwards compounded with *Nicias* and his fellow-Commanders, That the **Athenians* should determine of them whatsoever they thought good, but death. *Nicias* had had some conference with certaine of the *Cythereans* before; which was also a cause that those things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the sooner, and with the more fauour dispatched. For the Athenians did but remove the *Cythereans*, and that also because they were *Lacedæmoni-* *E* *ans*, and because the Iland lay in that maner vpon the coast of *Laconia*. After this composition, hauing as they went by

I i.

The Athenians led by *Nicias*, subdue *Cythera*, an Iland ouer against *Laconia*, and inhabited by *Lacedæmonians*

**Now Cerigo.*

*The Iudge of *Cythera*.

**Æliæ*, Cities of the round forme of building. Merchant ships.

The *Cythereans* yeeld to *Nicias*, referring themselves to the people of Athens for any thing but death. *The Athenian people.

The Athenians remove them from their seats.

The Lacedæmonians begin to be dejected with their great losses.

* Sphacteria, where their men were taken, and carried to Athens.

* The Lacedæmonians relied only on their armed footmen, or men of Armes, in whose valour and skill in fight, they gloried much, as a peculiar virtue, and as for horsemen, and light-armed Souldiers, they made lesse reckoning, and only used such of them as were brought in by their Confederates.

* Sphacteria.

The Athenians waste the Coast of Laconia.

* So called from *Xiuvv*, a Haven, because it is full of Havens.
Malinasia.

received Scandea, a Towne lying vpon the Hauens, and put a guard vpon the *Cythreans*, they sayled to *Asine* & most of the Townes vpon the Sea-side. And going sometimes a-land, and staying where they saw cause, wasted the Countrey for about seuen dayes together. The *Lacedæmonians* though they saw the *Athenians* had *Cythera*, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the same manner, in their owne Territory, yet came not forth with their united forces to resist them; but distributed a number of men of Armes into sundry parts of their Territory, to guard it wheresoeuer there was need, and were otherwise also exceeding watchfull, fearing lest some innouation should happen in the State; as hauing received a very great and vncexpected losse in the * *Iland*, and the *Athenians* hauing gotten *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and as being on all sides encompassed with a busie and vnuoydable Warre; In so much that contrary to their custome they ordayned 400 * *Horsemen*, and some *Archers*. And if euer they were fearefull in matter of Warre, they were so now, because it was contrary to their owne way, to contend in a Nauall Warre, and against *Athenians*, who thought they lost whatsoeuer they not attempted. Withall, their so many mis-fortunes, in so short a time, falling out so contrary to their owne expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing lest some such calamity should againe happen, as they had received in the * *Iland*, they durst the lesse to hazzard battell; and thought that whatsoeuer they should goe about, would miscarry, because their mindes not used formerly to losses, could now warrant them nothing. As the *Athenians* therefore wasted the Maritime parts of the Country, and disbarked neere a ny Garrison, those of the Garrison for the most part stirred not, both as knowing themselves singly to be too small a number, and as being in that maner dejected. Yet one Garrison fought about *Coriuta*, and *Aphrodisia*, and frighted in, the straggling rabble of light-armed Souldiers, but when the men of Armes had received them, it retyred againe, with the losse of a few whom they also rifled of their Armes. And the *Athenians*, after they had erected a *Trophie*, put off againe, and went to *Cythera*. From thence they sayled about to *Epidaurus*, called * *Limera*, and E hauing wasted some part of that Territory, came to *Thyrea*,

A *Thyrea*, which is of the Territory called *Cynuria*, but is nevertheless the middle border betweene *Argia* and *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* possessing this Citie, gaue the same for an habitation to the *Eginetae*, after they were driuen out of *Egina*, both for the benefite they had received from them, about the time of the Earthquake, and of the insurrection of the *Helots*, and also for that being subiect to the *Athenians*, they had nevertheless gone euer the same way with the *Lacedæmonians*. When the *Athenians* were comming towards them, the *Eginetae* left the Wall which they hapned to be then building toward the Sea-side, and retired vp into the Citie aboue, where they dwelt, and which was not aboue tenne Furlongs from the Sea. There was also with them, one of those Garrisons which the *Lacedæmonians* had distributed into the severall parts of the Countrey, and these, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Towne (though the *Eginetae* intreated them) apprehending danger in being coopt vp within the Wallles; and therefore retiring into the highest ground, lay still there, as finding themselves too weake to glue them Battell. In the meane time the *Athenians* came in, and matching vp, presently, with their whole Armie, won *Thyrea*, and burnt it, and destroyed whatsoeuer was in it. The *Eginetae*, as many as were not slaine in the affray, they carried prisoners to *Athens*; amongst whom *Tantalus* also, the sonne of *Patroclus*, Captaine of such *Lacedæmonians* as were amongst them, was wounded; and taken aliue. They carried likewise with them some few men of *Cythera*, whom for safeties sake they thought good to remoue into some other place. These therefore, the *Athenians* decreed, should be placed in the * *Ilands*. And that the rest of the *Cythreans*, at the Tribute of foure Talents, should inhabit their owne Territory. That the *Eginetae*, as many as they had taken, (out of former inueterate hatred) should bee put to death. And that *Tantalus* should be put in bonds amongst those *Lacedæmonians* that were taken in the * *Iland*.

In Sicily the same Summer, was concluded a cessation of Armes, first, betweene the *Camarinians* and the *Geloans*. But afterwards the rest of the *Sicilians*, assembling by their Ambassadours out of euery City at *Gela*, held a Conference amongst themselves, for making of a Peace: I i 2 wherein,

The Athenians burne *Thyrea*, slay and make prisoners of all the Inhabitants being *Eginetae*.

Tantalus a *Lacedæmonian* Captaine carried prisoner to *Athens*.

The Decree of the *Athenian* people concerning the *Cythreans*, the *Eginetae* taken in *Thyrea*, and *Tantalus* a *Lacedæmonian* that was amongst them.
* *Cyclades*.
The *Eginetae* put to death.

* *Sphacteria*.
The *Sicilians* make a general peace, by the advice of *Hermocrates*, and so dismiss the *Athenians*, that waited to take advantage of their discord.

wherein, after many opinions deliuered by men disagree-
ing, and requiring satisfaction, euery one-as hee thought
himselſe preiudiced, *Hermocrates* the ſonne of *Hermion*, a
Syracusan, who alſo preuailed with them the moſt, ſpake
vnto the Aſſembly, to this effect.

THE ORATION OF HER- MOCRATES for Peace.

MEN of Sicily, I am neither of the leaſt Citie, nor of the
moſt afflicted with Warre, that am now to ſpeake, and to B
deliuer the opinion which I take to conduce moſt to the common be-
nefit of all Sicily. Touching Warre, how calamitous a thing it is,
to what end ſhould a man, particularizing the evils thereof, make a
long ſpeech before men that already know it? For neither doth the
not knowing of them neceſſitate any man to enter into Warre, nor the
feare of them, diuers any man from it, when he thinks it will turne
to his advantage. But rather it ſo fallies out, that the one thinks
the gaine greater then the danger; and the other prefers danger be-
fore preſent loſſe. But leaſt they ſhould both the one and the other
doe it unreaſonably, exhortations vnto peace are profitable, and C
will be very much worth to vs, if we will follow them, at this pre-
ſent. For it was out of a deſire that euery Citie had to aſſure their
owne, both that we fell our ſelues into the Warre, and alſo that we
endeavour now, by reaſoning the matter, to returne to mutuall ami-
ty. Which if it ſucceed not ſo well, that we may depart ſatisfied e-
uery man with reaſon, wee will be at Warres againe. Neuertheleſſe
you muſt know, that this Aſſembly, if we be wiſe, ought not to bee
onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to pre-
ſerue Sicily in generall, now ſought to bee ſubdued (at leaſt in my
opinion) by the Athenians. And you ought to thinke, that the A-
thenians are more vrgent perſuaders of the Peace then any D
words of mine; who hauing, of all the Grecians, the greateſt
power, lye here with a few Gallies, to obſerue our errours, and by
a lawfull title of alliance, haſtomely to accomodate their naturall ho-
ſtility, to their beſt advantage. For if wee enter into a Warre, and
call in theſe men, who are apt enough to bring their Armie in, con-
called, and if we weaken our ſelues at our owne charges, and withall
cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely, when they ſhall
ſee vs ſpent, they will ſometime hereafter come vpon vs, with a
greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all theſe States into their ſub-
iection. Now, if we were wiſe, we ought rather to call in Confe-
derates, E

A derates, and vndergoe dangers, for the winning of ſome ſubat that is
none of ours, then for the empayring of what we already haue, and to
beleue, that nothing ſo much deſtroies a Citie as Sedition; and that
Sicily, though wee the inhabitants thereof be infatuated by the A-
thenians, as one body, is neuertheleſſe Citie againſt Citie in Sediti-
on within it ſelſe. In contemplation whereof, wee ought, man with
man, and Citie with Citie, to returne againe into amity, and with
one conſent, to endeavour the ſafety of all Sicily, and not to haue this
conceit, that though the * *Dorians* be the Athenians enemies, yet
the * *Chalcideans* are ſafe, as being of the race of the *Ionians*.
B For they inuade not theſe diuided races, vpon hatred of a ſide, but
vpon a couetous deſire of thoſe neceſſities which we enioy in common.
And this they haue proued themſelues, in their coming hither to ayde
the *Chalcideans*. For though they neuer received any aide by ver-
tue of their League, from the *Chalcideans*, yet haue they on their
part bene more forward to helpe them, then by the League they were
bound vnto. Indeed the Athenians, that comes and meditates theſe
things, are to be pardoned. I blame not thoſe that are willing to reigne,
but thoſe that are moſt willing to be ſubiect. For it is the nature of
man, euery where to command ſuch as giue way, and to be ſhye of ſuch
C as aſſaile. Wee are too blame, that know this, and doe not provide
accordingly, and make it our firſt care of all, to take good order againſt
the common feare. Of which wee ſhould ſooner bee deliuered, if wee
would agree amongſt our ſelues. For the Athenians come not a-
gainſt vs out of their owne Countrey, but from theirs here, that haue
called them in. And ſo, not warre by Warre, but all our quarrels ſhall
be ended by peace, without trouble. And thoſe that haue bene cal-
led in, as they came with faire pretence to inuade vs, ſo ſhall they with
faire reaſon bee diſmiſſed by vs without their errand. And thus much
for the profit that will be found by aduiſing wiſely concerning the A-
thenians. But when Peace is confeſſed by all men to be the beſt of
D things, why ſhould wee not make it alſo in reſpect of our ſelues? Or
doe you thinke perhaps, if any of you poſſeſſe a good thing, or bee preſ-
ſed with an euill, that Peace is not better then Warre, to remove the
later, or preſerue the former, to both? or that it hath not honours,
and eminence more free from danger? or whatſoeuer elſe one might
diſcourſe at large concerning Warre? Which things conſidered, you
ought not to make light of my aduice, but rather make uſe of it, euery
one to provide for his owne ſafety. Now if ſome man bee ſtrongly con-
ceited to goe through with ſome deſigne of his, be it by right or by vio-
E lence, let him take heed that hee faile not, ſo much the more to his
griefe, as it is contrary to his hope; knowing that many men ere now,
hunting

* The Dorians and Ioni-
ans are two Nations, out of
which almoſt all the people of
Greece were deſcended.
The Chalcideans and A-
thenians were Ionians,
and the Lacedemonians,
and moſt of Peloponnetus,
were Dorians. Hence it is
that the Chalcideans might
be thought ſafe, though the
Athenians inuaded Sicily,
but the Dorians not.

hunting after reuenge on such as had done them iniury, and others A
trusting by some strength they haue had, to take away anothers right,
haue the first sort, instead of being reuenged, been destroyed; and the
other, instead of winning from others, left behind them what they had
of their owne. For reuenge succeeds not according to Iustice, as that
because an iniury hath bene done, it should therefore prosper, nor is
strength therefore sure, because hopefull. It is the instabili-
ty of Fortune, that is most predominant in things to come, which though
it be the most deceivable of all things yet appears to be the most pro-
fitable. For whilst every one feare it alike, we proceed against each
other with the greater providence. Now therefore terrified doubly, B
both with the implicate feare of the incertainty of euents, and with the
terrou of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances
sufficient, to haue made vs come short of what we had generally con-
ceiued to effect, let vs send away our enemies that haue ouer vs, and
make an eternall peace amongst our selues, or if not that, then a Truce,
at least, for as long as may be, and put off our priuate quarrels to some
other time. In summe, let vs know this, that following my counsell, we
shall every of vs haue our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our
selues, we shall be able to remunerate according to their merit, such as
doe vs good or harme. Whereas reiecting it and following the coun- C
sell of others, our contention shall no more be how to be reuenged, or at
the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest
enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I sayd
in the beginning, I bring to this the greatest Citie, and which is rather
an assaiant, then assayed; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit
to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our enemies, as to hurt our
selues more. Nor yet through foolish * spight will I looke to be follow-
ed as absolute in my will, and master of Fortune, which I cannot com-
mand; but will also giue way where it is reason. And so I looke the rest
should doe as well as I; and that of your selues, and not forced to it by D
the enemy. For it is no dishonour to be overcome kinsmen of kinsmen,
one Dorian of another Dorian; and one Chalcidean of another
of his owne race, or in sum, any one by another of vs, being neighbours,
and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all cal-
led by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceiue, will both warre when
it happens, and againe by common conferences make peace by our owne
selues. But when Forrainers innade vs, we shall, if wise, vnite all of
vs to encounter them; in as much as being weakned singly, wee are in
danger vniuersally. As for Confederates, let vs neuer hereafter, call
in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attaine these two bene- E
fits, to be ridde of the Athenians, and of Domestique Warre for the
present,

A present, and to be inhabited by our selues with liberty, and lesse
infiltrated by others for the time to come.

Hermocrates hauing thus spoken, the Sicilians followed
his aduice, and agreed amongst themselves, That the Warre
should cease, every one retaining what they then presently enioyed.
And that the Camarinæans should haue Morgantina, paying for
the same vnto the Syracusians, a certaine summe of money then
assessed.

They that were Confederates with the Athenians, cal-
ling such of the Athenians vnto them, as were in authority, B
told them that they also were willing to compound, and
be comprehended in the same Peace; And the Athenians
approouing it, they did so; and hereupon the Athenians
departed out of Sicily. The people of Athens, when their
Generals came home banished two, namely Pythadorus, and
Sophocles; and laid a Fine vpon the third, which was Eury-
medon, as men that might haue subdued the estates of Sici-
ly, but had been * bribed to returne. So great was their
fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could
C crosse them, but that they might haue atchieued both easie,
and hard enterprises with great & slender forces alike. The
cause whercof, was the vnreasonable prosperity of most
of their designes, subministring strength vnto their hope.

The same Summer the Megareans in the Citie of Mega-
ra, pinched both by the Warre of the Athenians, who inua-
ded their Territory, with their whole forces, every yeere
twice, and by their owne Outlawes from Pega, who in a
sedition driuen out by the Commons, grievously afflicted
them with robberies, began to talke one to another, how it
D was fit to call them home againe, and not to let their Ci-
tie by both these meanes to be ruined. The friends of
those without, perceiuing the rumour, they also, more o-
penly now, then before, required to haue it brought to
Counsell. But the Patrons of the Commons, fearing that
they with the Commons, by reason of the miseries they
were in, should not be able to carry it against the other
side, made an offer to Hippocrates the sonne of Aripbron; and
Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes, Commanders of the
Athenian Army, to deliuer them the City, as esteeming that
E course lesse dangerous for themselves, then the reduction
of those whom they had before driuen out. And they
agreed,

The substance of the
conditions of the Peace
in Sicily.
Camarinæans.

The Athenians depart Si-
cily, and their Comman-
ders punished as suspec-
ted to haue left Sicily for
a bribe.

* Nothing was more frequent
in the Athenian Assemblies
at this time, when when things
went amisse, to accuse one an-
other of bribery; for it was a
sure way to win fauours with
the people, who thought that
nothing was able to resist
their power.

The Athenians attempt to
take Megara by treason.

The heads of the Com-
mons doe hinder the re-
turne of the Outlawes
plot, the betraying of the
City to the Athenians.

The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the Athenians into the Towne.

* This Island lying before the Haven Nisæa, made the Port, and the Athenians kept in it, an ordinary Garrison, ever since they took it first, and could see all the Haven, and what vessels lay in it, but could not enter.

The plot of the Traitors, to give the Athenians the Long-walls.

* To get booty from the Athenians.

* Not the Gates of Megara, but the Gates in the Long-walls were unto Nisæa, as appears by the Narration, * a supposition.

* To take it in, for it was almost morning.

The Athenians win the Longwalls.

* Those that watched in that part of Nisæa, which was nearest to this Gate of the Long-walls.

agreed, that first, the Athenians should possess themselves A of the Long-walls, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the Citie to Nisæa, their Haven) thereby to cut off the aide of the Peloponnesians, in Nisæa, in which (the better to assure Megara to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliuer them the City about, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The Athenians therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and euery thing ready, sayled away by night to * Minoa, an Island of the Megare- B ans, with 600 men of Armes led by Hippocrates, and sette downe in a certaine pit, out of which Bridges had beene made for the walles, and which was not farre off. But they that were with the other Commander Demosthenes, light-armed Plateans, and others called Peripoli, lay in ambush at the Temple of Mars, not so farre off as the former. And none of the Citie perceiued any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the Megare- C an Traitors did thus. They had beene accustomed long, as men that went out for * booty, with leaue of the Magi- strates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the * Gates, to carry out a little Boate, * such as wherein the watermen vsed an Oare in either hand, and to conueigh it by night, downe the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart; and in a Cart to bring it backe againe, and set it within the Gates, to the end that the Athenians which lay in Minoa, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seene in the Haven. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to D custome, as for the * Boate. And the Athenians, seeing it (for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should bee shut againe, and to be there whilest the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those Plateans, and Peripoli, that were with Demosthenes, ranne in, in that same place where the Trophie is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those Peloponnesians that were * nearest heard the stirre) the Plateans overcame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the Athe- E nian men of Armes, that were comming after.

After

A After this, the Athenian Souldiers, as they entred, went vp euery one to the wall, and a few of the Peloponnesians that were of the Garrison, made head, at first, and fought, and were some of them slaine, but the most of them took their heeles; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the Megareans that fought against them, apprehending that all the Megareans in generall had betrayed them. It chanced also that the Athenian Herald, of his owne discretion, made Proclamation, that if any Megarean would take part with the Athenians, he should B come and lay downe his Armes. When the Peloponnesians heard this, they stayed no longer, but seriously beleeuing that they ioyntly warred vpon them, fled into Nisæa. As soone as it was day, the walls being now taken, and the Megareans being in a tumult within the Citie, they that had treated with the Athenians, and with them, the rest as many as were conscious, said it was fit to haue the gates opened, and to goe out and giue the enemy battell. Now it was agreed on betweene them, that when the * gates were open, the Athenians should rush in. And that themselves would be C easily knowne from the rest, to the end they might haue no harm done them, for that they would besmeare themselves with some ointment. And the opening of the gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men of Armes of Athens, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to the, hauing marched all night, were already arriued. When they had besmeared themselves and were now about the gates one of those who were priuy discovered the conspiracy to the rest that were not. These ioy- D ning their strength, came all together, to the gates, denying that it was fit to goe out to fight, (For that neither in former times when they were stronger then now, durst they do so) or to put the Citie into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battell should be there right. Yet they discovered not that they knew of the practice, but only, as hauing giuen good aduice, meant to maintaine it. And they stayed at the gates, inso much as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The Athenian Comanders, knowing some crosse accident had hapned, and that they could not take the Citie by assault, fell to E enclosing of Nisæa with a wall, which if they could take before ayde came, they thought Megara would the sooner yeeld. Iron was quickly brought vnto them from Athens, and

The Traitors giue aduice to open the Gates and giue battell.

* Of the City is selfe of Megara.

The Treason discovered.

The Athenians failing of Megara, take Nisæa, and demolisheth the Long-walls.

K k

and

* It is that part of the long wall which they feared.

and Maſons; and what ſoever els was neceſſary. And begin-
ning at the * wall they had won, when they had built croſſe
ouer to the other ſide, from thence both wayes they drew
it on to the Sea on either ſide *Niſea*; and hauing diſtri-
buted the worke amongſt the Army, as well the Wall as
the Ditch, they ſerued themſelues of the ſtones and brickeſ
of the ſuburbs; & hauing felled trees and timber, they ſup-
plied what was defective, with a ſtrong Palifado; the
houſes alſo themſelues of the ſuburbs, when they had put
on Battlements, ſerued them for a fortification. All that
day they wrought, the next day about Euening they had
within very little finiſhed. But then they that were in *Ni-
ſea*, ſeeing themſelues to want victuall, (for they had none
but what came day by day from the Citie aboue) & with-
out hope that the *Peloponneſians* could quickly come to re-
lieue them, conceiuing alſo that the *Megareans* were their
enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on theſe termes,
To be diſmiſſed euery one at a certaine ranſome in money; to deliuer
up their armes; and the *Lacedæmonians*, both the Captaine; and
whoſoever of them elſe was within, to be at diſcretion of the *Athe-
nians*. Hauing thus agreed, they went out. And the *Athe-
nians*, when they had broken off the Long walls from the City
of *Megara*, and taken in *Niſea*, prepared for what was fur-
ther to be done. *Brasidas* the ſonne of *Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*,
happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, prepa-
ring of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of
the taking of the Long walls, fearing what might become
of the *Peloponneſians* in *Niſea*, and leſt *Megara* ſhould be won,
ſent vnto the *Bæotians*, willing them to meet him ſpeedily
with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megara*, ſo cal-
led, at the foot of the hill *Geranea*) and marched preſently
himſelfe with 2700 men of armes of *Corinth*, 400 of *Pblius*,
600 of *Sicyon*, and thoſe of his owne, all that he had yet le-
iued; thinking to haue found *Niſea* yet vntaken. When he
heard the contrary (for he ſet firſt towards *Tripodiscus* in
the night) with 300 men choſen out of the whole army,
before newes ſhould arriue of his coming, he came vnſeene
of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea ſide, to the City of *Me-
gara*, pretending in word, & intending alſo in good earneſt,
if he could haue done it, to attempt vpo *Niſea*, but deſiring
to get into *Megara* to confirme it, and required to be let in,
for that he was, he ſaid, in hope to recouer *Niſea*. But the
Megarean Factions being afraid, * one, leſt he ſhould bring
in

* Not pulled them downe quite, but onely ſo farre, as not to be a defence to any part of the City it ſelfe, nor to ioyne to the walls of the Citie.

Brasidas ſaueth *Megara* from being rendred to the *Athenians*.

Brasidas deſireth to put himſelfe into the City.

* The Patrons of the Com-
mons.

A in the Outlawes, and caſt out them; the * other, leſt the
Commons, out of this very feare, ſhould aſſault them, wher-
by the City (being at battell within it ſelfe) and the *Athe-
nians*, lying in wait ſo neere) would be loſt; ſeiued him not,
but reſolved on both ſides to ſit ſtill, and attend the ſide
eſſe. For both the one faction, and the other expected,
that the *Athenians*, and theſe that came to ſuccour the City,
would ioyne battell; and then they might with more ſafe-
ty, ſuch as were the fauoured ſide, turne vnto them, the
had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not preuailing, went backe
to the reſt of the * Army. Betimes in the morning, arriued
the *Bæotians*, hauing alſo intended to come to the aide of
Megara, before *Brasidas* ſent, as, eſteeming the danger to
conceigne themſelues, and were then with their whole for-
ces come forward as farre as *Platea*. But when they had
receiued alſo this meſſage, they were a great deale the more
encouraged; and ſent 2200 men of Armes, and 200 horſe,
to *Brasidas*, but went backe with the greater part of their
Army. The whole Army being now together of no leſſe
then 6000 men of Armes. And the *Athenian* men of Armes
lying indeed in good order, about *Niſea*, and the Sea ſide;
but the light-armed ſtragglng in the Plaines, the *Bæotian*
horſemen came v unexpected vpon the light-armed Soul-
diers, and droue them towards the Sea. For in all this time
till now, there had come no aide at all to the *Megareans*
from any place. But when the *Athenian* horſe went likewise
out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battell
between the horſemen of either ſide, that held long, where-
in both ſides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* ſlew the
Generall of the *Bæotian* horſe, and ſome few others, and
riſed them, hauing themſelues bin firſt chaſed by them to
Niſea. And hauing theſe dead bodies in their power, they
reſtored them vpon truce, and erected a Trophie. Neuer-
the leſſe, in reſpect of the whole action, neither ſide went
off with aſſurance, but parting aſunder, the *Bæotians* went
to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Niſea*.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came downe neerer
to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and hauing ſea-
zed on a place of aduantage, ſet his Army in battell ar-
ray, and ſtood ſtill. For they thought the *Athenians*
would bee aſſaylants, and knew the *Megareans* ſtood
obſeruing whether ſide ſhould haue the Victory;

K k 2

and

The Nobility.

Brasidas goeth backe to
Tripodiscus.
* At *Tripodiscus*.

The *Bæotians* come with
their forces, and ioyne
with *Brasidas*.

The *Bæotian*, and *Atheni-
an* horſe ſtrife.

The whole Army on ei-
ther ſide, ſaw one ano-
ther, but neither ſide
willing to begin.

and that it must needs fall out well for them both wayes; A
first, because they should not be the assaillants, and voluntari-
ly begin the battell and danger, since hauing shewed them-
selues ready to fight, the victory must also * insly be at-
tributed to them * without their labour. And next it must
fall out well in respect of the *Megaraeans*. For if they
should not haue come in fight, the matter had not bene
any longer in the power of fortune, but they had without
all doubt been presently deprived of the City, as men con-
quered. Whereas now, if haply, the *Athenians* declined
battell likewise, they should obtaine what they came for B
without stroke stricken. Which also indeed came to
pass. For the *Megaraeans*, when the *Athenians* went out
and ordered their Army without the Long-walls, but yet
(because the enemy charged not) stood also still, (their
Commanders likewise, considering that if they should be-
gin the battell, against a number greater then their owne,
after the greatest part of their enterprize was already at-
chieued, the danger would be vnequall. For if they should
ouercome, they could win but *Megara*, and if they were
vanquished, must lose the best part of their men of Armes, C
Whereas the enemy, who out of the whole power, and
number that was present in the field, did aduenture but
euery one a part, would in all likelihood, put it to the haz-
zard) And so for a while affronted each other, and neither
doing any thing, withdrew againe, the *Athenians* first into
Nisaea, and afterwards the *Peloponnesians* to the place from
whence they had set forth; then, I say, the *Megaraeans*, such
as were the friends of the Outlawes, taking heart, because
they saw the *Athenians* were vnwilling to fight, set open
the Gates to *Brasidas* as Victor, and to the rest of the Cap-
taines of the seuerall Cities; And when they were in, D
(those that had practised with the *Athenians*, being all
the while in a great feare) they went to Councell. After-
wards, *Brasidas*, hauing dismissed his Confederates, to their
seuerall Cities, went himselfe to *Corinth*, in pursute of his
former purpose to leuy an Army for *Thrace*. Now the
Megaraeans that were in the Citie, (when the *Athenians* also
were gone home) all that had chiefe hand in the practice
with the *Athenians*, knowing themselues discovered, pre-
sently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred E
with the friends of the Outlawes, recalled them from

Pega,

* *Brasidas* if he saved the
Towne from the *Athenians*
had his end. Therefore by show-
ing him selfe ready if the *A*-
thenians would not fight,
he gained this, that he should
bee let into the townes, which
was all he can e for, and
therefore might iustly be
counted Victor.

* *Brasidas* without doubt.

* The period is somewhat
long, and seems to be one of
them that gave occasion to
Dionysius Halicarnassius,
to censure the Authors elocution.

The *Megaraeans* receiue
Brasidas and his Army.

The *Megaraean* Outlawes
recalled, and sworne to
forget former quarrell.

A Page, upon great oathes administered vnto them, no more
to remember former quarrells, but to giue the Citie their
best advice.

These, when they came into Office, took a view of the
Armes, and disposing bands of Souldiers in diuers quar-
ters of the Citie, picked out of their enemies, and of those
that seemed most to haue cooperated in the treason with
the *Athenians*, about a hundred persons; and hauing con-
strained the people to giue their sentence vpon them, * o-
penly, when they were condemned, slew them; and esta-
B blished in the Citie, the estate almost of an Oligarchy. And
this change of government, made by a few vpon sedition,
did neuertheless continue for a long time after.

The same Summer, when *Antandrus* was to be furnished
by the *Mitylenians*, as they intended, *Damadicus*, and *Aristi-*
des, Captaines of certaines Gallies, set forth by the *Athe-*
nians to fetch in Tribute, being then about *Hellestone* (for
Lamachus that was the third in that Commission, was gone
with ten Gallies into *Pontus*) hauing notice of the prepa-
ration made in that place; and thinking it would be dan-
C gerous to haue it happen there, as it had done in *Anea*, ouer
against *Samos*, in which the *Samian* Outlawes, hauing se-
led themselues, ayded the *Peloponnesians* in matters of the
Sea, by sending them Steersmen; and both bred trouble
within the Citie, and entertained such as fled out of it; le-
uyed an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to
it, and hauing overcome in fight, those that came out of
Antandrus against them, recovered the place againe. And
not long after, *Lamachus* that was gone into *Pontus*, as he
lay at Anchor in the Riuer *Cilex*, in the territory of *Hera-*
clea, much raine hauing fallen aboue in the Countrey,
and the streame of a Land Flood coming suddenly
downe, lost all his Gallies, and came himselfe and his Ar-
my through the Territory of the *Bithynians*, (who are
Thracians dwelling in *Asia*, on the other side) to *Chalcedon*,
a Colony of the *Megaraeans*, in the mouth of *Pontus Euxi-*
nus, by Land,

The same Summer likewise, *Demosthenes*, Generall of
the *Athenians*, with fortie Gallies, presently after his de-
parture out of *Megara*, sayled to *Naupactus*. For certaine
E men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the
forme of the *Baetian* gouernment, and to turne it into a

Democratic.

The Outlawes being in
authority, put to death
too of the aduersie
faction.
* Because they should not dare
but to condemn them, which
they would not haue done, if
their sentence had past by se-
cret suffrage.

The *Mitylenian* Outlawes
lose the City of *Antandrus*
which they had intended
to fortifie and make the
seat of their Warre.

Lamachus loseth his ten
Gallies by a sudden
Land-flood, in *Pontus*.

Demosthenes goeth to *Na-*
upactus, vpon designe a-
gainst the *Baetians*.

The cause why Perdiccas and the Chalcideans called in the Lacedæmonians into those parts.

The cause why the Lacedæmonians so willingly sent an army to them.

* By incursions and foraging the Country, from Pylus, and the Island Cythera.

* their servants.

An impious Policy of the Lacedæmonians, in the destroying their Helotes

subject to the *Thessalonians*, set him at *Dion*, in the Dominion of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, situate at the foot of *Olympus*, on the side toward *Thessalie*. In this manner, *Brasidas* ran through *Thessalie*, before any there could put in readinesse to stop him; and came into the Territorie of the *Chalcideans*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans*, all that had revolted from the *Athenians*, when they saw the affaires of the *Athenians* prosper, had drawne this Armie out of *Peloponnesus* for feare: the *Chalcideans*, because they thought the *Athenians* would make Warre on them first, as having been also incited thereto, by those Cities amongst them that had not revolted; and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open enemy, but because he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels; but principally because he desired to subdue *Arrhibæus*, King of the *Lyncestæans*. And the ill successe which the *Lacedæmonians* in these times had, was a cause that they obtained an Armie from them, the more easily.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponnesus*, and their particular * Territory *Laconia* most of all, they thought the best way to diuert them, was to send an Armie to the Confederates of the *Athenians*, so to vex them againe. And the rather, because *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans* were content to maintain the Armie, having called it thither to helpe the *Chalcideans* in their revolt. And because also they desired a pretence to send away part of their * *Helotes*, for feare they should take the opportunity of the present state of their affaires, the enemies lying now in *Pylus*, to innouate. For they did also this further. Fearing the youth, and multitude of their *Helotes*, (For the *Lacedæmonians* had euer many Ordinances, concerning how to look to the selues against the *Helotes*,) they caused Proclamation to be made, that as many of the, as claimed the estimation, to haue done the *Lacedæmonians* best seruice in their Warres should be made free; feeling them in this manner, and conceiuing that as they should euery one out of pride deeme himselfe worthy to be first made free, so they would soonest also rebell against the. And when they had thus preferred about 2000, which also with Crownes on their heads, went in procession about the Temples, as to receiue their liberty, they, not long after made them away, and no man knew how they perished. And now at this

A this time with all their hearts they sent away 700 men of Armes more of the same men, along with *Brasidas*. The rest of the Army were Mercenaries hired by *Brasidas*, out of *Peloponnesus*. But *Brasidas* himselfe the *Lacedæmonians* sent out, chiefly, because it was his owne desire. Notwithstanding the *Chalcideans* also longed to haue him, as one esteemed also in *Sparta*, euery way an actiue man. And when he was out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great seruice. For by shewing himselfe at that present iust, and moderate towards the Cities, hee caused the most of them to revolt, and some of them he also tooke by Treason. Whereby it came to passe, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleased to come to composition (as also they did) they might haue Townes to render and receiue reciprocally.

And also long after, after the *Sicilian Warre*, the vertue, and wisdom which *Brasidas* shewed now, to some knowne by experience, by others, beleueed vpon report, was the principall cause that made the *Athenian* Confederates affect the *Lacedæmonians*; For being the * first that went out, and esteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an assured hope, that the rest also were like him.

Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* vpon notice, thereof, declared *Perdiccas* an enemy, as imputing to him this expedition, and reinforced the Garrisons in the parts thereabouts.

Perdiccas with *Brasidas* and his Army, together with his owne Forces, marched presently against *Arrhibæus* the sonne of *Bromerus*, King of the *Lyncestæans*, a people of *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrell they had against him, and also as desiring to subdue him.

When he came with his Army, and *Brasidas* with him, to the place where they were to haue fallen in, *Brasidas* told him that hee desired, before hee made Warre, to draw *Arrhibæus* by parly, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had also made some proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Brasidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean* Ambassadors being present, gaue him likewise aduice, not to thrust himselfe into danger in fauour of *Perdiccas*, to the end they

The praise of *Brasidas*.

* The first that went abroad for Governour into other States, since this Warre. For fifty yeeres before this Warre, *Paulanias* being the gouernment of the Grecian Confederates, as *Bizantium*, behaued himselfe insolently, and then *Cimon* an *Athenian* by the vertues now praised in *Brasidas*, got the Confederates to leave the *Lacedæmonians*, and assist the *Athenians*. *Brasidas* ioynd with *Perdiccas*, marcheth towards *Linces*.

Brasidas refusing to make Warre on *Arrhibæus*.

For the offer of *Arrhibæus*. And through the aduice of the *Chalcideans*.

they might haue him more prompt in their owne affaires. A Besides, the Ministers of *Perdiccas*, when they were at *Lacedæmon*, had spoken there, as if they had meant to bring as many of the places about him as they could, into the *Lacedæmonian* League. So that *Brasidas* fauoured *Arrhibæus*, for the publique good of their owne State. But *Perdiccas* said that he brought not *Brasidas* thither, to be a Iudge of his Controuersies, but to destroy those enemies which he should shew him. And that it will be an iniury, seeing he payes the halfe of his Army, for *Brasidas* to parly with *Arrhibæus*. Neuerthelesse, *Brasidas* whether *Perdiccas* would, or not, and though it made a quarrell, had conference with *Arrhibæus*, by whom also hee was induced to withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Perdiccas* in stead of halfe, paid but a third part of his Army, as conceiuing himselfe to haue been iniured.

The same Summer, a little before the Vintage, *Brasidas* hauing ioyned to his owne, the forces of the *Chalcidians*, marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And there arose sedition about receiuing him, betweene such as had ioyned with the *Chalcidians* in calling him thither, and the common people. Neuerthelesse, for feare of their fruits which were not yet gotten in, The multitude was won by *Brasidas* to let him enter alone, and then (after he had said his mind) to aduise what to doe amongst themselves. And presenting himselfe before the multitude, (for he was not vneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*.) he spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF

BRASIDAS.

MEN of *Acanthus*, The reason why the *Lacedæmonians* haue sent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good what we gaue out in the beginning for the cause of our Warre against the *Athenians*, which was, that we meant to make a Warre for the Libertie of Greece. But if we be come late, as deceived by the Warre there, in the opinion we had, that we our selues should soone haue pulled the *Athenians* downe, without any danger of yours, no man hath reason therefore to blame vs. For we are come as soone as occasion serued, and with your helpe will do our best to bring them vnder. But I wonder why you shut me forth of

your

Giueh there in distaste to *Perdiccas*.

Brasidas cometh before *Acanthus*.

And is receiued without his army.

A your gates and why I was not welcome. For we *Lacedæmonians* haue undergone this great danger, of passing many dayes iourne through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeale, because we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before wee came had vs present in their hearts, and were desirous of our comming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now bee other wise minded, and withstand your owne, and the rest of the Grecians liberty: not onely in that your selues resist vs, but also because others whom I goe to, will be the lesse willing to come in, making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, hauing a flourishing City, and being esteemed wise, haue refused vs. For which I shall haue no sufficient excuse to pleade, but must be thought either to pretend to set up liberty vnjustly, or to come weake, and without power to maintaine you against the *Athenians*. And yet against this same *Athenians* I now haue when I went to encounter the *Athenians* at *Nisæa*, though more in number, they durst not hazard battell. Nor is it likely, that the *Athenians* will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at *Nisæa*. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the Grecians, and I haue the *Lacedæmonian* Magistrates bound vnto me by great Oathes, that whatsoeuer Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by mee, shall still enjoy their owne Lawes. And that wee shall not hold you as Confederates to vs, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in seruitude by the *Athenians*. And therefore I clayme not onely that you be not iealous of mee, especially hauing giuen you so good assurance, or thinke me vnable to defend you, but also that you declare your selues boldly with mee. And if any man be vnwilling so to doe, through feare of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the Citie into the hands of a few, let him cast away that feare; for I came not to side, nor doe I thinke I should bring you an assured liberty; if neglecting the ancient vse here, I should enthrall, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be gonerped so, were worse then the domination of a Forrainger. And there would result from it to vs *Lacedæmonians*, not thanks for our labours, but instead of honour and glory, an imputation of those * crimes, for which we make Warre amongst the *Athenians*, and which would be more odious in vs then in them, that neuer pretended the * vertue. For it is more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplifie their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the later assayleth with a certaine right of power giuen vs by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

LI 2

But

* Ambition and desire to subdue other States.

* The desire to assist other States.

But besides the oath which they haue sworne already, the greatest A further assurance you can haue, is this. That our actions weighed with our words, you must needs believe, that it is to our profit to doe, as I haue told you. But if after these promises of mine, you shall say, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with vs, will claime impunity for reiecting vs; Or shall say that this liberty I offer you seems to bee accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to such as can receiue it, but not to force it upon any. Then will I call to witness the Gods, and * Heroes of this place, that my counsell which you refuse, was for your good, and will indouour by wasting of your Territory to compell you to it. Nor shall I thinke I doe you therein any wrong; But haue reason for it from two necessities; one, of the Lacedaemonians, lest whilest they haue your affections, and not your society, they should receiue hurt from your contribution of money to the Athenians; another, of the Grecians, lest they should be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwise indeed we could not iustly doe it; nor ought we Lacedaemonians to set any at liberty against their wills, if it were not for some common good. We couet not dominion ouer you, but seeing we haue to make others lay downe the same, we should doe iniury to the greater C part, if bringing liberty to the other States in generall, we should tolerate you to crosse vs. Deliberate well of these things, strue to be the beginners of Liberty in Greece, to get your selues eternall glory, to preserue euery man his priuate estate from damage, and to inuest the whole Citie with a most honourable * Title. Thus spake Brasidas.

The Acanthians, after much said on either side, partly for that which Brasidas had effectually spoken, and partly for feare of their fruits abroad, the most of them decreed D to reuolt from the Athenians; hauing giuen their votes in secret. And when they had made him take the same oath, which the Lacedaemonian Magistrates tooke, when they sent him out; namely, that what Confederates soeuer he should ioine to the Lacedaemonians, should enioy their owne Lawes, they receiued his Army into the City. And not long after, reuolted Stagyrus, another Colony of the Andrians. And these were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the Boeotian Cities should haue been deliuered to Hippocrates and Demosthenes,

* Semi-gods, fained by the Poets to haue been gotten between a god and a mortall.

* The Title of a free City.

The reuolt of Acanthus.

The reuolt of Stagyrus.

The end of the eighth Summer.

A Demosthenes, Generall of the Athenians, and that Demosthenes should haue gone to Sipha and Hippocrates, to Delium, ha- uing mistaken the dayes, on which they should haue both set forward, Demosthenes went to Sipha * first, and hauing with him the Acanthians, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one Nisamachus a Phocian, of the Towne of Phocis, who told it vnto the Lacedaemonians, and they againe vnto the Boeotians. Wherby the Boeotians concurr- ing vniuersally to relieue those places, (for Hippocrates B was not yet gone to trouble them in their owne feuerall Territories) preoccupied both Sipha, and Cheronea. And the Conspirators knowing the error, attempted in those Cities no further.

But Hippocrates hauing raised the whole power of the Citie of Athens, both Citizens and others that dwelt amongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arri- ued * afterwards at Delium, when the Boeotians were now returned from Sipha, and there stayed and tooke in Delium a Temple of Apollo with a wall, in this manner. Round C about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast vp the earth, and hauing driuen downe piles on either side, they cast therinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut downe, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all meanes heightened the fortification, and in such places as would giue leaue, erected Tur- rets of wood vpon the same. There was no Edifice of the Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fal- len downe. They began the worke, the third day after D they set forth from Athens, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fift day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the campe came backe from Delium, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light- armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Armes, laid downe their Armes there, and rested. Hippocrates staid yet behind, and tooke order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The Boeotians tooke the same time to assem- ble E at Tanagra; and when all the Forces were come in, that from euery Citie were expected, and when they vnder- stood

Demosthenes approache heth- er by Sea, to take it by reason, but layed.

Before Hippocrates went to Delium, whereas it ought to haue bene at the same time.

The Treason detected.

Hippocrates marcheth to De- lium.

* After Demosthenes had been at Sipha which was too late. He fortifieth Delium.

The army of the Athe- nians, hauing taken De- lium, begin to retire.

The Boeotians follow them

* Boeotians, as in number.

* It seems that the several States of Boeotia being free of themselves, and holding altogether, were united under government from them severally, at least in the warre, and then they had the leading of the common forces by turns.

stood that the Athenians drew homewards, though the rest of the Boeotian Commanders, which were eleven, approved not giving battell. Because they were not now in good tid for the Athenians, when they laid downe their Armes, were in the Confines of Boeotia, whereupon the Boeotians, being the Boeotian Commander, for whose sake it was to have the leading of the Army, was together with Aristodemus the sonne of Lyfimarichus, of opinion on to fight, and held in the battell, to try the fortune of a battell, wherefore calling them into his owne Company by it selfe, that they might not be all at once from their Armes, he exhorted the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and to hazard battell, speaking in this manner.

THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS TO HIS Souldiers.

MEAN of Boeotia, it ought never to have so much as entered into the thought of any of us the Commanders, that because we finde not the Athenians now in Boeotia, it should therefore be omitt to give them battell. For they, out of a bordering Countrey have entered Boeotia, and fortified in it, without intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoever ground we find them, or whence soever they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man thinks it also unsafe, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For providence in them that are invaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their owne, as may be used by them, who retaining their owne, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily invade the estate of another. And it is the custome of this Countrey of yours, when a foraine enemy comes against you to fight with him, both on your owne, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to doe it, against the Athenians, when they be borderers. * For liberty with all men, is no thing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subjugation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates farre from them, why should we not try the utmost of our fortune? We have for example, the estate that the Euboeans over against us, and also the greatest part of the rest of Greece do liue in under them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, wee if we be vanquished shall have but one bound amongst us all; so that

* So that so some as a State hath a neighbour strong enough to subdue it, it is no more to be thought a free State.

A that we shall no more quarrell about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our severall states into their owne possession by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the Athenians, then of other people. And such as upon confidence in their strength invade their neighbours, (as the Athenians now doe) use to bee bolde in warring on those that sit still, defending themselves onely in their owne Territories; whereas they be lesse urgent to those that are ready to meete them without their owne limits, or also to beginne the Warre when opportunity seructh. We have experience hereof in these same men; for after wee had overcome them at Coronea, at what time through our owne sedition, they held our Countrey in subiection, wee established a great security in Boeotia, which lasted till this present. Remembring which, wee ought now, the elder sort to imitate our former acts there, and the younger sort, who are the children of those valiant Fathers, to endeavour not to disgrace the vertue of their Houses, but rather with confidence that the God, whose Temple fortified they unlawfully dwell in, will bee with us, the Sacrifices wee offered him appearing faire, to march against them, and let them see, that though they may gaine what they couet, when they invade such as will not fight, yet men that have the generosity to hold their owne in liberty by battell, and not invade the state of another unjustly, will never let them goe away unsoughten.

Pagondas with this exhortation perswaded the Boeotians to march against the Athenians, and making them rise, led them speedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was neere to their Army, in a place from whence by the interposition of a Hill they saw not each other, making a stand, he put his Armie into order, and prepared to give Battell. When it was told Hippocrates, who was then at Delium, that the Boeotians were marching after them, he sends presently to the Armie, commanding them to bee put in array, and not long after hee came himselfe, having left some 300. Horse about Delium, both for a guard to the place, if it should be assaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come upon the Boeotians when they were in fight. But for these, the Boeotians appointed some Forces purposely to attend them. And when all was as it should be, they shewed themselves from the toppe of the Hill. Where they sat downe with their Armes, in the same order they were to fight in; being about seven thousand men of Armes, of light-armed Souldiers, about

* It was the fashion in those times, for the Souldiers to sit downe with their Armes by them, when they staid any where in the Field.

The order of the Army of the Boeotians.

tenne

* The Lake Copais.

The order of the army of the Athenians.

tenne thousand, a thousand Horsemen, and five hundred A Targettiers. Their right Wing consisting of the Thebans, and their partakers; In the middle battell were the Halicartians, Coronaeans, Copaeans, and the rest that dwell about the * Lake; In the left were the Thebians, Tanagraeans, and Orchomenians. The Horsemen, and light-armed Souldiers were placed on either wing. The Thebans were ordered by twenty five in File, but the rest, every one as it fell out. This was the preparation and order of the Bæotians.

The Athenian men of Armes, in number, no fewer then B the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout. Their Horse they placed on either Wing; but for light-armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor was there any in the City. Those that went out, followed the Campe, for the most part without Armes, as being a generall expedition both of Citizens, and Strangers; and after they once began to make homeward, there stayed few behind. When they were now in their order, and ready to ioine battell, Hippocrates the Generall came into the Army of the Athenians, and encouraged them, speaking to C this effect.

THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, my exhortation shall be short, but with valiant men, it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a remembrance, rather then a command. Let no man thinke, because it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipitate our selues into a great danger that did not conceyue vs. For D in the Territory of these men, you fight for your owne. If wee get the victory, the Peloponnesians will neuer invade our Territories againe, for want of the Bæotian Horsemen. So that in one battell, you shall both gaine this Territory, and free your owne. Therefore march on against the enemy, every one as becommeth the dignity, both of his naturall Citie, (which he glorieth to be chiefe of all Greece) and of his Ancestors, who having overcome these men at Oenophyta, vnder the Conduēt of Myronides, were in times past Masters of all Bæotia.

Whiles Hippocrates was making this exhortation, and E had

The Bæotians interrupt the Oration.

A had gone with it ouer halfe the Army, but could proceed no further, the Bæotians, (for Pagondas likewise made but a short exhortation, and had there sung the *Peon*) came downe vpon them from the hill. And the Athenians likewise went forward to meet them, so fast, that they met together running. The vtmost parts of both the Armies neuer came to ioine, hindred both, by one, and the same cause, for certaine currents of water kept them asunder. But the rest made sharpe battell, standing close, and striving to put by each others Bucklers. The left wing of the Bæotians, to B the very middle of the Army was ouerthrowne by the Athenians, who in this part had to deale, amongst others principally with the Thebians. For whilest they that were placed within the same wing, gaue backe, and were circled in by the Athenians in a narrow compasse, those Thebians that were flaine, were hewed downe in the very fight. Some also of the Athenians themselves, troubled with inclosing the, through ignorance slew one another. So that the Bæotians were ouerthrowne in this part, and fled to the other part, where they were yet in fight. But the right wing wherein C the Thebans stood, had the better of the Athenians, and by little and little, forced them to giue ground, and followed vpon them from the very first. It hapned also that Pagondas, whilst the left wing of his Army was in distresse, sent two Companies of Horse secretly about the hill; whereby that wing of the Athenians which was victorious, apprehending vpon their sudden appearing that they had bin a fresh Army, was put into affright, and the whole Army of the Athenians, now doubly terrified, by this accident, and by the Thebans that continually won ground, & brake their ranks, D betooke themselves to flight. Some fled toward Delium, and the sea; and some towards Oropus; others toward the mountaine Parnethus, and others other wayes, as to each appeared hope of safety. The Bæotians, especially their horse, & those Locrians that came in, after the enemy was already defeated, followed, killing the. But night surprising them, the multitude of the that fled, was the easier saued. The next day, those that were gotten to Oropus and Delium, went thence by Sea to Athens, hauing left a Garrison in Delium, which place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retayned. E The Bæotians, when they had erected their Trophy, taken away their owne dead, rifled those of the enemy, and left a

The Athenians flie,

M m guard

Dispute about giving
leave to the Athenians
to take up their dead.
The message of the Bo-
eotians to the Athenians.

* *disputes.*

The message of the Athe-
nians to the Boeotians, by
a friend of their owne.

guard vpon the place, returned backe to Tanagra, and there A
entred into consultation, for an assault to be made vpon De-
lium. In the meane time, a Herald sent from the Athenians,
to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent
by the Boeotians, which turned him backe, by telling him he
could get nothing done, till himselfe was returned from the
Athenians. This Herald, when he came before the Athenians,
deliuered vnto them what the Boeotians had giuen him in
charge; namely, That they had done iniustly, to transgresse the v-
niuersall law of the Grecians; being a constitution receiued by them
all, that the Inuader of anothers countrey, shall abstaine from all holy B
places in the same. That the Athenians had fortified Delium, and
dwelt in it, and done whatsoeuer else men vse to doe in places profane,
and had drawne that water to the common vse, which was vnlawfull
for themselves to haue touched, saue onely to wash their hands for the
sacrifice. That therefore the Boeotians, both in the behalfe of the god,
and of themselves, inuoking Apollo, and all the interested *spirits,
did warne them to be gone, and to remoue their stuffe out of the Tem-
ple. After the Herald had said this, the Athenians sent a He-
rald of their owne to the Boeotians. Denying that either they had
done any wrong to the holy place already, or would willingly doe any C
hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it, to such
intent; but to requite the greater iniuries which had beene done vnto
them. As for the law which the Grecians haue, it is no other, but that
they which haue the dominion of any territory, great or small, haue euer
the Temples also, & besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what
other they can. For also the Boeotians, and most men else, all that ha-
uing druen out another nation, possesse their territory, did at first in-
uade the Temples of others, and make them their owne. That therefore,
if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keepe it;
and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and D
would not out of it, as being their owne. That for the water, they medled
with it vpon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to
this, that fighting against the Boeotians that had inuaded their ter-
ritory first, they were forced to vse it. For whatsoeuer is forced by War,
or danger, hath in reason, a kind of pardon, euen with the god himselfe.
For the Altars, in cases of inuoluntary offences, are a refuge; and
they are said to violate Lawes, that are euill without constraint, not
they that are a little bold vpon occasion of distresse.

That the Boeotians themselves, who require restitution of the ho-
ly places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by farre, E
then they, who, rather then let their Temples goe, are content to goe
without

A without, that which were fit for them to receiue. And they bad
him say plainly, That they would not depart out of the Boeotian
Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which
they had made their owne by the * Sword; And neuertheless, re-
quired Truce according to the Ordinances of the Countrey, for the
fetching away of the dead. To this the Boeotians answered,
That if the dead were in Boeotia, they should quit the ground, and
take with them, whatsoeuer was theirs. But if the dead were in
their owne Territory, the Athenians themselves knew best what to
doe. For they thought, that though Oropia, wherein the
dead lay, (for the battell was fought in the border be-
tweene Attica and Boeotia) by subiection belonged to the
Athenians, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and
for Truce, that the Athenians might come safely on Athenian
ground, they would giue none, but conceiued it was a
handsome answer, to say, That if they would quit the ground,
they should obtaine whatsoeuer they required. Which when the
Athenian Herald heard, he went his way without effect.
The Boeotians presently sent for Darters and Slingers from
the Townes on the Melian Gulfe, and with these, and with
two thousand men of Armes, of Corinth, and with the
Peloponnesian Garrison that was put out of Nisea, and with
the Megareans, all which arriued after the battell, they mar-
ched forthwith to Delium, and assaulted the wall; and
when they had attempted the same many other wayes, at
length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith they also
tooke it, made in this manner. Having slit in two a great
Mast, they made hollow both the sides, and curiously set
them together againe, in forme of a Pipe. At the end of it
in chaines, they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from
the end of the Mast, they conveyed a snowt of Iron, hauing
with Iron also armed a great part of the rest of the wood.
They carried it to the wall, being farre off, in Carts, to that
part where it was most made vp, with the matter of the
Vineyard, and with wood. And when it was to, they ap-
plied a paire of great bellows to the end next themselves,
and blew. The blast passing narrowly through into the
Caldron, in which were coales of fire, brimstone, and pitch,
raised an exceeding great flame, and set the wall on fire; so
that no man being able to stand any longer on it, but aban-
doning the same, and betaking themselves to flight, the
wall was by that meanes taken.

* *Asi, by the Speare.*

The reply of the Bo-
eotians.

The forme of an Engine,
wherewith they set the
wall on fire.

Delium recovered by the
Boeotians.

The Amphipolitans send
for aide to Thucydides,
the Author of this Hi-
storie.

the contrary Faction to the Traytors, being superiour in A
number, whereby the Gates were not opened presently,
both they and *Eucles* the Generall, who was then there for
the *Athenians*, to keep the towne, sent vnto the other Gene-
rall, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Olorus*, the Writer of this Histo-
rie, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thasus*
(which is an Island, and a Colonie of the *Parians*, distant
from *Amphipolis*, about halfe a dayes sayle) requiring him
to come and releue them.

When he heard the newes, he went thitherwards in all
haste, with seuen Gallies which chanced to be with him B
at that time. His purpose principally was, to preuent
the yeelding vp of *Amphipolis*, but if he should faile of that,
then to possesse himselfe of *Eion*, before *Brasidas* his com-
ming.

Brasidas in the meane time, fearing the aid of the Gallies,
to come from *Thasus*, and hauing also bene informed that
Thucydides possessed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace*
thereabouts, and was thereby of ability amongst the prin-
cipall men of the Continent, hastened by all meanes to get
Amphipolis, before he should arrive, lest otherwise at his C
comming, the Commons of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he
would leuy Confederates, both from the Sea side, and in
Thrace, and releue them, should thereupon refuse to yeeld.
And to that end, offered them a moderate composition,
causing to be proclaimed, That whosoever *Amphipolitan*,
or *Athenian* would, might continue to dwell there, and enioy his
owne, with equall and like forme of gouernment. And that he that
would not, should haue five dayes respite to be gone, and carry away
his goods.

When the Commons heard this, their mindes were turned D
ned; and the rather, because the *Athenians* amongst them
were but few, and the most, were a promiscuous multi-
tude; And the kinsmen of those that were taken without,
flocked together within, and in respect of their feare, they
all thought the Proclamation reasonable. The *Athenians*
thought it so, because they were willing to goe out, as ap-
prehending their owne danger to be greater, then that of
the rest, and withall, not expecting aid in haste; and the
rest of the multitude, as being thereby both deliuered of
the danger, and withall to retaine their Citie, with the E
equall forme of gouernment. Insomuch, that they which
conspired

Brasidas, fearing to be
preuented by *Thucydides*,
hasteth by easie condi-
tions, to procure the
Towne to yeeld.

A conspired with *Brasidas*, now openly iustified the offer to
be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the Commons were
now turned, and that they gaue care no more to the words
of the *Athenian* Generall, they compounded; and vpon the
conditions proclaimed, receiued him. Thus did these
men deliuer vp the City.

Thucydides with his Gallies, arrived in the euening of
the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipo-
lis*, and waited but a night of taking *Eion* also; for if these
Gallies had not come speedily to releue it, by next mor-
ning it had beene had.

After this, *Thucydides* assured *Eion*, so as it should bee
safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it,
and for the future; and tooke into it, such as according to
the Proclamation made, came downie from *Amphipolis*. *Brasidas*
with many Boats came suddenly downe the Riuer
to *Eion*, and attempted to seaze on the point of the ground
lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to com-
mand the mouth of the Riuer; he assayed also the same,
at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but

C *Amphipolis* hee furnished with all things necessary.

Then resorted to him *Myrtinus*, a City of the *Edonians*,
(*Pintacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slaine by the sons
of *Goaxus*, and by *Brasidas* his owne wife.) And not long af-
ter, *Gapselus* also, and *Ossyme*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Per-
diccas* also, after the taking of these places, came to him,
and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis*
was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great feare;
especially, for that it was a City that yeelded them much
profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building
D of Gallies, and in reuenue of money; and because also,
though the *Lacedemonians* had a passage open to come a-
gainst their Confederates (the *Thessalians* conuoying them)
as farre as to *Sirymon*, yet if they had not gotten that
Bridge, the Riuer being vpwards, nothing but a vast
Fenne, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies,
they could haue gone no further, which now they
thought they might easily doe; and therefore feared lest
their Confederates should revolt. For *Brasidas* both
shewed himselfe otherwise very moderate; and also gaue
E out in speech, that he was sent forth to recouer the liber-
ty of Greece. And the Cities, which were subiect to the
Athenians,

Amphipolis yeelded.

Thucydides commeth too
late to releue *Amphipo-
lis*, and putteth himselfe
into *Eion*.

And defendeth it against
Brasidas.

Great inclination of the
people of those parts to
come in to *Brasidas*.

The *Athenians* begin to
feare.

The Towne taken.

Brasidas, when he saw the signe, made his Army rise, and with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of those within, entred into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and some by certaine squared Timber-trees, which lay at the wall (which hauing been lately downe, was now againe in building) for the drawing vp of Stone. *Brasidas* therefore, with the greatest number, betooke himselfe to the highest places of the City, to make sure the winning of it, by possessing the places of aduantage.

The Athenians escape into a Castle of the same called *Lecythus*.

But the rest of the Rabble ran dispersed here and B there, without difference. When the Towne was taken, the most of the *Toroneans* were much troubled, because they were not acquainted with the matter, but the Conspirators, and such as were pleased with it, ioyned themselves presently with those that entred. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Armes asleepe in the Market place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except some few that were slaine vpon the place, some by Land, some by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and saued themselves in *Lecythus*, which was a Fort which they themselves held, cut off from the rest of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow *Isthmus*. And thither also fled all such *Toroneans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City strongly possessed, *Brasidas* caused a Proclamation to be made, that those *Toroneans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come backe, as many as would, to their owne, and Inhabite there in security. To the *Athenians* he sent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Lecythus*, vnder Truce, with all that they had, as a place that belonged to the *Chalcideans*. The *Athenians* denyed to quit the place, but the Truce they desired for one day, for the taking vp of their dead. And *Brasidas* granted it for two. In which two dayes, hee fortified the buildings neere, and so also did the *Athenians* theirs. Hee also called an Assembly of the *Toroneans*, and spake vnto them, as hee had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, *That there was no iust cause, why either they that had praesided to put the Citie into his hands, should be the worse thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, seeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the Citie into seruitude, nor were hired thereunto with money, but for the benefit, and libertie of*

Brasidas his speech to the *Toroneans*.

the

A the Citie; or that they which were not made acquainted with it, should thinke, that themselves were not to reape as much good by it as the others. For he came not to destroy either City, or man. But had therefore made that Proclamation touching those that fled with the *Athenians*, because he thought them neuer the worse for that friendship, and made account when they had made tryall of the *Lacedæmonians*, they would shew as much good will also vnto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behaue themselves with more equity; and that their present feare, was onely vpon want of tryall. Withall, he wished them to prepare themselves to be true Confederates B for the future, and from hence forward, to looke to haue their faults imputed. For, for what was past he thought they had not done any wrong, but suffered it rather from other men that were too strong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought benee against him.

When he had thus said, and put them againe into heart, the Truce being expired, he made diuers assaults vpon *Lecythus*. The *Athenians* fought against them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houses, such as had Battlements, and for the first day, kept them off. But the C next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to cast fire vpon their Woodden Fences, and that the Army was now coming vp to the place where they thought they might best apply the Engine, and which was easiest to be assaulted, The *Athenians*, hauing vpon the top of the building, erected a Turret of Wood, and carried vp many Buckets of Water, and many men being also gone vp into it, the building overcharged with weight, fell suddenly to the ground, and that with so huge a noyse, that though those which D were neere and saw it, were grieved more then afraid, yet such as stood further off, especially the farthest of all, supposing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as fast as they could towards the Sea, and went aboard their Gallies.

Brasidas, when he perceiued the Battlements to be abandoned, and saw what had happened; came on with his Army, and presently got the Fort, and slew all that he found within it. But the rest of the *Athenians*, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies, E put themselves into *Pallene*.

There was in *Lecythus* a Temple of *MYNERVA*.
N n 2 And

Brasidas taketh *Lecythus*.

* February.

* to murther, they sacrificed
at the making of all accords
betweene Cities.

The reuolt of Scione.

Brasidas goeth ouer in a
Boat, but with a Gally
before him, and his rea-
son.

agreed; And they consented before the people, that the suspence should continue for a yeere; beginning that same day, being the fourteenth of the month * Elaphebolion. In which time the Ambassadors and Heralds going from one side to the other, should treat about a finall end of the Warres. And that the Commanders of the Army, and the Presidents of the City calling an Assembly, the Athenians should hold a Conncell touching the manner of Embassage, for ending of the Warre first. And the Ambassadors there present should now immediately sweare this Truce for a yeere. The same Articles, the Lacedæmonians propounded, and the Confederates agreed vnto, with the Athenians, and their Confederates in Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the Gerastion. The men that agreed vpon these Articles, and * sacrificed, were these, viz. Of the Lacedæmonians, Taurus the sonne of Echetimidæ, Athenæus the sonne of Pericleidas, and Philocharidas, the sonne of Eryxideidas. Of the Corinthians, Æneas the sonne of Ocytes, and Euphamidas the sonne of Aristonymus. Of the Sicyonians, Damotimas the sonne of Naucrates, and Onesimus the sonne of Megacles. Of the Megareans, Nicasus the sonne of Cenalus, and Menecrates the sonne of Amphidorus. Of the Epidaurians, Amphias the sonne of Eupæidas; Of the Athenians, the Generals themselves, Nicostratus the sonne of Diotrephes, Nicias the sonne of Niceratus, and Autocles the sonne of Tolmaeus. This was the Truce, and during the same, they were continually in Treaty, about a longer Peace.

About the same time, whilest they were going to and fro, Scione a Citty in Pallene reuolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. The Scioneans say that they be Pellenians descended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their Ancestors passing the Seas from Troy, were driuen in by a Tempest, which tossed the Achæans vp and downe, and planted themselves in the place they now dwell in. Brasidas vpon their reuolt, went ouer into Scione by night, and though he had a Gallie, with him that went before, yet he himselfe followed a loofe, in a Light-horseman. His reason was this, that if his Light-horseman should be assaulted by some greater Vessell, the Gally would defend it; But if hee met with a Gally equall to his owne, hee made account that such a one would not assault his Boat, but rather the Gally, whereby he might in the meane time goe through in safety. When he was ouer, and had called the Scioneans to assembly, he spake vnto them as hee had done

Brasidas his speech to the
Scioneans.The honour done to
Brasidas by the Scioneans.Brasidas receiveth newes
of the suspension of
Armes.Difference betweene
the Athenians and Lacedæ-
monians, about the restitu-
tion of Scione, which
reuolted after the Truce
made, but before the
Lacedæmonians knew of it.

A done before to them of Acanthus, and Torone, adding, That they of all the rest were most worthy to be commended, in as much as Pallene, being cut off in the Isthmus by the Athenians that possesse Potidæa, and being no other then Ilanders, did yet of their owne accord come forth to meet their liberty, and stayed not through cowardlinesse, till they must of necessity haue been compelled to their owne manifest good. Which was an argument, that they would valiantly vndergoe any other great matter, to haue their State ordered to their mindes. And that he would verily hold them for most faithfull friends to the Lacedæmonians, and also otherwise do them honour. The Scioneans were erected with these words of his; and now euery one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as those that liked it, entertained a purpose, stoutly to vndergoe the Warre; and receiued Brasidas both otherwise honourably, and crowned him with a Crowne of gold, in the name of the Citie, as the deliuerer of Greece. And priuate persons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him, as they vse to doe, to a Champion that hath wonne a prize. But he leauing there a small Garrison for the present, came backe, and not long after, carried ouer a greater Army, with designe, by the helpe of those of Scione, to make an attempt vpon Menda and Potidæa. For he thought the Athenians would send succours to the place, as to an Iland, and desired to preuent them. Withall he had in hand a practise with some within to haue those Cities betrayed. So he attended, ready to vndertake that enterprize.

But in the meane time, came vnto him in a Gally, Aristonymus for the Athenians, and Athenæus for the Lacedæmonians, that carried about the newes of the Truce. Whereupon he sent away his Army againe to Torone. And these men related vnto Brasidas, the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, in Thrace approoued of what was done, and Aristonymus had in all other things satisfaction; But for the Scioneans, whose reuolt by computation of the dayes, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denied that they were comprehended therein. Brasidas said much in contradiction of this, and that the Citie reuolted before the Truce, and refused to render it. But when Aristonymus had sent to Athens, to informe them of the matter, the Athenians were ready presently to haue sent an Army against Scione. The Lacedæmonians

understood that the *Macedonians* were gone away without him, and that the *Illyrians*, and *Arrhibaeans* were comming vpon him, putting his men of Armes into a square forme, and receiuing the multitude of his light-armed into the midst, intended to retire likewise. The youngest men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out vpon the enemy, when they charged the Army any where with shot; and he himselfe with three hundred chosen men, marching in the Rere, intended, as he retired, to sustaine the formost of the enemy fighting, if they came close vp. But before the enemy approached, he encouraged his Souldiers, as the shortnesse of time gaue him leaue, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If I did not mistrust, in respect you are thus abandoned by the *Macedonians*, and that the Barbarians which come vpon you, are many, that you were afraid, I should not at this time instruct you, and encourage you as I doe. But now against this desertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeavour with a short instruction and hortative, to giue you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is vnto you naturall, not by the presence of any Confederates, but by your owne valour; and not to feare others for the number, seeing you are not come from a Citie where the Many beare rule ouer the Few, but the Few ouer Many, and haue gotten this for power by no other meanes then by ouercomming in fight. And as these Barbarians, whom through ignorance you feare, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by vs against them before, in fauour of the *Macedonians*, and also by what I my selfe coniecture, and haue heard by others, that they haue no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatsoever maketh shew of strength, being indeed weak, the truth once knowne, doth rather serue to embolden the other side, whereas against such as haue valour indeed, a man will bee the boldest, when hee knoweth the least. These men here, to such as haue not tried them, doe indeed make terrible offers; for the sight of their number, is fearefull; the greatnesse of their cry intolerable; and the

vaine

A vaine shaking of their weapons on high, is not without signification of menacing. But they are not answerable to this, when with such as stand them, they come to blowes. For fighting without order, they will quit their place without shame, if they be once pressed, and seeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are neuer called in question. And a battell wherein euery one may doe as he list, affords them a more handsome excuse to saue themselves. But they trust rather in their standing out of danger, and terrifying vs a farre off, then in comming to hands with vs, for else they would rather haue taken that course then this. And you see manifestly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and serues onely to urge you to be going, with their shew and noyse. Which if you sustaine at their first comming on, and againe withdraw your selues still, as you shall haue leasure, in your order and places, you shall not onely come the sooner to a place of safety, but shall learne also against hereafter, that such a Rabble as this, to men prepared to endure their first charge, doe but make a flourish of valour, with threats from a farre, before the battell; but to such as giue them ground, they are eagre enough to seeme couragious, where they may doe it safely.

C When Brasidas had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the Barbarians seeing it, pressed after them with great cries and tumult, as supposing he fled. But seeing that those who were appointed to runne out vpon them, did so, and met them, which way soeuer they came on; and that Brasidas himselfe with his chosen band sustained them where they charged close, and endured the first brunt, beyond their expectation, and seeing also that afterwards continually when they charged, the other received them and fought, and when they ceased, the other retired, then at length the greatest part of the Barbarians forbore the Grecians, that with Brasidas were in the open field, and leauing a part to follow them with shot, the rest ranne with all speed after the *Macedonians* which were fled, of whom, as many as they ouertooke, they slew; and withall, praeposessed the passage, which is a narrow one betweene two hills, giuing entrance into the Countrey of *Arrhibaeus*, knowing that there was no other passage, by which Brasidas could get away. And when he was come to the very strait, they were going about him, to haue cut him off. He, when he saw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to runne euery man as fast

Brasidas draweth away his army, and the Barbarians follow him.

The Illyrians pursue the Macedonians, leauing part of their army to follow Brasidas.

Brasidas seazeth the top of the hill by which he was to passe.

as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could A
easiest get vp to, and try if they could driue downe those
Barbarians that were now going vp to the same, before any
greater number was about to hemme them in. These ac-
cordingly fought with, and ouercame those *Barbarians* vp-
on the hill, and thereby the rest of the Army marched the
more easily to the top. For this beating of them from the
vantage of the hill, made the *Barbarians* also afraid, so that
they followed them no further, conceiuing withall, that
they were now at the Confines, & already escaped through.
Brasidas, hauing now gottē the hils, & marching with more B
safety, came first the same day to *Arnissa*, of the dominion of
Perdiccas. And the Soldiers of these lues being angry with
the *Macedonians*, for leauing them behind, whatsoeuer teems
of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to
happen in a retreat, made in feare, and in the night) they
lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, & took
the fardles to these lues. And from this time did *Perdiccas*
first esteem *Brasidas* as his enemy, and afterwards hated the
Peloponnesians, not with ordinary hatred for the *Athenians*
sake; but being vtterly fallen out with him, about his own
particular interest, sought meanes as soone as he could, to
compound with these, & to be disleagued from the other. C

Brasidas at his returne out of *Macedonia* to *Torone*, found
that the *Athenians* had already taken *Menda*, and therefore
staying there (for he thought it impossible to passe ouer in-
to *Pallene*, and to recouer *Menda*) he kept good watch vpon
Torone. For about the time that these things passed amongst
the *Lyncestians*, the *Athenians* after all was in readinesse, set
sayle for *Menda* and *Scione*, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10
were of *Chiu*, and 1000 men of Armes of their owne City, D
600 Archers, 1000 *Thracian* Mercenaries, and other Tar-
gettiers of their owne Confederates thereabouts, vnder the
conduct of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Nicostratus* the son
of *Diotrephes*. These lanching from *Potidea* with their Gal-
lies, and putting in at the Temple of *Neptune*, marched pre-
sently against the *Mendeans*. The *Mendeans* with their own
forces, 300 of *Scione* that came to aide them, and the aydes
of the *Peloponnesians*, in all 700 men of Armes, and *Polyda-
midas* their Commander, were encamped vpon a strong hill
without the City. *Nicias* with 120 light-armed Souldiers E
of *Methone*, and 60 chosen men of Armes of *Athens*, and all
his

The spight of *Brasidas*
Souldiers against the
Macedonians for abando-
ning them.

Perdiccas and *Brasidas* fall
out.

The *Mendeans* encampe
without the Citie.

A his Archers attempting to get vp by a path that was in
the hills side, was wounded in the attempt, and could not
make his way by force. And *Nicostratus* with all the rest of
the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed
the hill being hard of access, was quite disordered, and the
whole Army wanted little of being vtterly discomfited.
So for this day, seeing the *Mendeans* and their Confederates
stood to it, the *Athenians* retired; and pitched their Campe.
And at night the *Mendeans* retired into the City. The next
day the *Athenians* sayling about vnto that part of the City
B which is towards *Scione*, seized on the suburbs, and all that
day wasted their fields, no man coming forth to oppose
them; for there was also sedition in the Citie, and the 300
Scioneans the night following went home againe. The next
day, *Nicias* with the one halfe of the Army marched to the
Confines, and wasted the Territory of the *Scioneans*, and
Nicostratus at the same time with the other halfe, late down
against the City, before the higher Gates towards *Potidea*.
Polydamidas (for it fell out that the *Mendeans*, & their aides
had their Armes lying within the wall, in this part) set his
C men in order for the battell, and encouraged the *Mendeans*
to make a sally. But when one of the faction of the Com-
mons in sedition, said to the contrary, that they would not
goe out, and that it was not necessary to fight, and was vp-
on this contradiction, by *Polydamidas* pulled and molested,
the Commons in passion presently tooke vp their Armes,
and made towards the *Peloponnesians*, and such other with
them as were of the contrary faction, and falling vpon
them, put the to flight, partly with the suddenesse of the
charge, and partly through the feare they were in of the
D *Athenians*, to whom the Gates were at the same time ope-
ned. For they imagined that this insurrection was by some
appointment made betweene them. So they fled into the
Citadell, as many as were not presently slaine, which was
also in their owne hands before. But the *Athenians* (for now
was *Nicias* also come backe, and at the Towne side) rushed
into the City, with the whole Army, and rifled it, not as o-
pened to them by agreement, but as taken by force. And
the Captaines had much adoe to keepe them that they al-
so killed not the men. After this, they bade the *Mendeans*
E vse the same forme of gouernment they had done before,
and to giue iudgement vpon those they thought the prin-
cipall

Nicias wounded.

Sedition in *Menda*.

The Gates opened to
the *Athenians* vpon sedi-
tion.

Menda pillaged by the
Athenians.

The Athenians leade their
army against Scione.

cipall authors of the reuolt, amongst themselves. Those A
that were in the Cittadell, they shut vp with a wall rea-
ching on both sides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it;
and hauing thus gotten Menda, they led their Army against
Scione.

The Scioneans, and the Peloponneſians, comming out a-
gainſt them, poſſeſſed themſelues of a ſtrong hill before the
Citie, which if the enemy did not winne, he ſhould not be
able to encloſe the City with a wall. The Athenians ha-
uing ſtrongly charged them with ſhot, and beaten the de-
fendants from it, encamped vpon the hill, and after they B
had ſet vp their Trophy, prepared to build their wall a-
bout the Citie. Not long after, whileſt the Athenians were
at worke about this, thoſe aides that were beſieged in the
Cittadell of Menda, forcing the watch by the Sea-side,
came by night, and eſcaping moſt of them through the
Campe before Scione, put themſelues into that City.

Perdiccas maketh Peace
with the Athenians.

As they were enclosing of Scione, Perdiccas ſent a He-
rald to the Athenian Commanders, and concluded a Peace
with the Athenians, vpon hatred to Braſidas, about the retreat
made out of Lyncus, hauing then immediately begun to
treat of the ſame. For it happened alſo at this time; that Iſ-
chagoras a Lacedamonian was leading an Army of foot vnto
Braſidas. And Perdiccas, partly becauſe Nicias aduiſed him,
ſeeing the Peace was made, to giue ſome cleare token that
he would be firme, and partly becauſe he himſelfe deſired
not that the Peloponneſians ſhould come any more into
his Territories, wrought with his hoſtes in Theſſaly, hauing
in that kind, euer vſed the prime men, and ſo ſtopped the
Army and Munition, as they would not ſo much as try the
Theſſalians, whether they would let them paſſe or not. D
Neuertheleſſe Iſchagoras, and Ameinias, and Ariſteus them-
ſelues went on to Braſidas, as ſent by the Lacedamonians to
view the ſtate of affaires there. And alſo tooke with them
from Sparta, contrary to the Law, ſuch men as were but in
the beginning of their youth to make them gouernours of
Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of ſuch
as were there before. And Clearchus the ſonne of Cleonymus,
they made gouernour of Amphipolis, and Epitelidas the ſonne of
Hegesander, gouernour of Torone.

The Lacedamonians make
young men gouernours
of Cities.

The walls of Theſpie de-
molished by the Thebans.

The ſame Summer, the Thebans demolished the wallles E
of the Theſpians, laying Atticisme to their charge. And
though

A though they had euer meant to doe it, yet now it was ea-
ſier, becauſe the flower of their youth was ſlaine in the
battell againſt the Athenians.

The Temple of Iuno in Argos, was alſo burnt downe
the ſame Summer, by the negligence of Chryſis the Prieſt,
who hauing ſet a burning Torch by the Garlands, fell a-
ſleepe, inſomuch as all was on fire, and flamed out before
ſhee knew. Chryſis the ſame night, for feare of the Ar-
giues, fled preſently to Phlius, and they according to the
Law formerly vſed, choſe another Prieſt in her roome, cal-
B led Phaeinias. Now when Chryſis fled, was the eighth yeere
of this Warre ended, and halfe of the ninth.

The Temple of Iunio in
Argos burnt by negli-
gence of an old woman
Prieſt.

Phaeinias, Prieſt of Iuno,
in the place of Chryſis.

Siege laid to Scione.
The end of the ninth
Summer.

Scione in the very end of this Summer was quite enlo-
ſed, and the Athenians hauing left a guard there, went
home with the reſt of their Army.

The Winter following, nothing was done betweene the
Athenians and the Lacedamonians, becauſe of the Truce. But
the Mantineans, and the Tegeate, with the Confederates of
both, fought a battell at Laodicea, in the Territory of Ore-
ſtu, wherein the victory was doubtfull, for either ſide put
C to flight one Wing of their enemies, both ſides ſet vp
Trophies, and both ſides ſent of their ſpoyles vnto Delphi.
Neuertheleſſe, after many ſlaine on either ſide, and equall
battell, which ended by the coming of night, the Tegeate
lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophie
then preſently, whereas the Mantineans turned to Buc-
lion, and ſet vp their Trophie afterwards.

Battell betweene the
Mantineans and the
Tegeate.

The ſame Winter ending, and the Spring now approa-
ching, Braſidas made an attempt vpon Potidea; For com-
ming by night, he applyed his Ladders, and was thitherto
D vndiſcerned. He tooke the time to apply his Ladders,
when the Bell paſſed by, and before he that carried it
to the next, returned. Neuertheleſſe, being diſco-
uered, he ſcaled not the Wall, but preſently
againe withdrew his Army with ſpeed,
not ſtaying till it was day. So ended
this Winter, and the ninth yeere
of this Warre written by

Braſidas attempteth
Potidea.

The end of the ninth
yeere.

THUCYDIDES.

* * *

E



THE
FIFTH BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
THUCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The former yeeres Truce ended, Cleon warreth on the Chalcidicke Cities, and reconereth Torone. Phæax is sent by the Athenians, to moue a Warre amongst the Sicilians. Cleon and Brasidas, who were on both sides the principall maintainers of the Warre, are both slaine at Amphipolis. Presently after their death, a Peace is concluded, and after that againe, a League betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Diuers of the Lacedæmonian Confederates herat discontented, seeke the Confederacy of the Argiues. These make League, first with the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, then with the Lacedæmonians; and then againe (by the artifice of Alcibiades) with the Athenians. After this the Argiues make Warre vpon the Epidaurians; and the Lacedæmonians vpon the Argiues. The Athenian Captaines and the Melians treat by way of Dialogue, touching the yeelding of Melos, which the Athenians afterwards besiege and winne. These are the Actes of almost sixe yeeres more of the same Warre.

IN THE Summer following, the Truce for a yeere, which was to last till the * Pythian Holidayes, expired. During this Truce, the Athenians remoued the Delians out of Delos; because though they were consecrated, yet for a certaine crime committed of old, they esteemed them polluted persons; because also they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the

Pp

purgation.

The Truce for a yeere expired.
* Exercises dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated at Delphi, about the 12 of the month Elaphobolium, as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.
The Delians remoued out of Delos, vpon superstition.

* Lib. 3, 945, 201.

The Delians seat themselves in *Adramyttium*.Cleon goeth out with an army, into the parts vpon *Thrace*.He assaulteth *Torone*.* Into the Hauen of *Torone*.

Pasilidas with the Garrison of the Towne, endeavoureth to defend it.

Cleon taketh *Torone*.

Pasilidas, a Lacedaemonian Captaine, taken alive.

purgation of the Iland; in the purging whereof, as I declared * before, they thought they did well to take vp the sepulchres of the dead. These *Delians* seated themselves afterwards, every one as he came, in *Adramyttium* in *Asia* a Towne giuen vnto them by *Pharnaces*.

After the Truce was expired, *Cleon* preuailed with the *Athenians*, to be sent out with a Fleet against the Cities, lying vpon *Thrace*; He had with him of *Athenians*, 1200 men of Armes, and 300 horsemen; Of Confederates more, and thirty Gallies. And first arriuing at *Scione*, which was yet besieged, he tooke aboard some men of Armes, of those B that kept the siege, and sayled into the Hauen of the *Colophonians*, not farre distant from the Citie of *Torone*. And there hauing heard by fugitiues, that *Brasidas* was not in *Torone*, nor those within sufficient to giue him battell, hee marched with his Army to the City, and sent ten of his Gallies about into the * Hauen. And first he came to the New-wall, which *Brasidas* had raised about the Citie to take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old-wall, that the whole might be one Citie. And *Pasilidas*, a *Lacedaemonian*, Captaine of the Towne, with the Garrison there present, came to the defence, & fought with the *Athenians* that assaulted it. But being oppressed, (and the Gallies which were before sent about, being by this time come into the Hauen) *Pasilidas* was afraid, lest those Gallies should take the Towne, vnfurnished of defendants, before he could get backe, and that the *Athenians* on the other side should winne the wall, and he be intercepted betweene them both; and thereupon abandoned the wall, and ran backe into the Citie. But the *Athenians* that were in the Gallies, hauing taken the towne before he came, and the Land-army following in after him, without resistance, and entering the City by the breach of the Old-wall, slew some of the *Peloponnesians*, and *Toroneans* on the place, and some others, amongst whom was the Captaine *Pasilidas*, they tooke alive. *Brasidas* was now comming with aide towards *Torone*, but aduertised by the way, that it was already lost, went backe againe, being about forty Furlongs short of preventing it. *Cleon* and the *Athenians* erected two Trophies, one at the Hauen, another at the Wall.

The Women and Children of the *Toroneans*, they made E slaves, but the men of *Torone*, and the *Peloponnesians*, and such

A such *Chalcideans* as were amongst them, in all, about 700; they sent away prisoners to *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians* were afterward, at the making of the Peace, dismissed, the rest were redeemed, by the *Olynthians* by exchange of man for man.

About the same time the *Boeotians* tooke *Panaetum*, a Fort of the *Athenians*, standing in their Confinnes, by treason.

Cleon, after he had settled the Garrison in *Torone*, went thence by Sea about the mountaine *Athos*, to make Warre against *Amphipoliu*.

B About the same time *Phaeax* the sonne of *Erasistratus*, who with two others was sent Ambassador into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, departed from *Athens* with two Gallies. For the *Leontines*, after the *Athenians*, vpon the making of the Peace, were gone out of *Sicily*, receiued many strangers into the freedom of their City; and the *Commons* had a purpose also to haue made diuision of the Land. But the great men perceiuing it, called in the *Syracusians*, and draue the *Commons* out. And they wandred vp and down euery one as he chanced, & the great men, vpon conditions agreed on with the *Syracusians*, abandoning and deserting that city, went to dwell with the priuiledge of free Citizens in *Syracusa*. After this againe, some of them, vpon dislike, relinquished *Syracusa*, and leazed on *Phocaea*, a certaine place, part of the City of the *Leontines*, and vpon *Bricinnia*, a Castle in the *Leontine* Territory; thither also came vnto them most of the *Commons*, that had before been driuen out, and settling themselves, made Warre from those places of strength. Vpon intelligence hereof, the *Athenians* sent *Phaeax* thither, to perswade their Confederates there, and, if they could, all the *Sicilians* ioyntly, to make Warre vpon the *Syracusians* that were now beginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby preserue the common people of the *Leontines*.

C *Phaeax* arriuing, preuailed with the *Camarineans*, and *Agrigentines*: but the businesse finding a stop at *Gelas*, hee went vnto no more, as conceiuing he should not be able to perswade the. So he returned through the cities of the *Siculi* vnto *Catana*, hauing been at *Bricinnia*, by the way, and there encouraged them to hold out; and from *Catana* he set saile, and departed. In his voyage to *Sicily*, both going and comming, hee dealt as hee went by, with sundry Cities also of *Italy*, to enter into friendship with the *Athenians*.

P p 2

He

Seuen hundred men sent prisoners to *Athens*.*Panaetum* taken by the *Boeotians*.*Cleon* goeth to *Amphipoliu*.*Phaeax* sent Ambassador to the *Sicilians*.The *Leontine* Commons driuen out of the City by the *Syracusians*.The *Leontine* Nobility become *Syracusians*, and goe to *Syracusa* to dwell.The *Leontines* make War on the *Syracusians*.*Phaeax* moueth the *Sicilians* to Warre vpon the *Syracusians*.The *Gelas* stop the motion made by *Phaeax*.

Phæax maketh Peace
with the Locrians.

Cleon maketh Warre on
Amphipolis.

* Stagirus the Citie where
Aristotle was borne.
Gampselus taken by Cleon.

Brasidas setteth downe
ouer against Cleon, at
Cerdylum.

The Forces of Brasidas.

He also lighted on those *Locrians*; which hauing dwelt A
once in *Messina*, were afterwards driuen out againe; being
the same men, which after the Peace in *Sicily*, vpon a sedi-
tion in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the
Locrians, had been then sent to inhabite there, and now were
sent away againe. For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a
while. *Phæax* therefore chancing to meet with these, as they
were going to their owne City, did them no hurt, because
the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agree-
ment with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a
generall Peace, these onely of all the Confederates, refused B
to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed
would they haue done it now, but that they were con-
strained thereunto by the Warre they had with the *Ionians*,
and *Melaens*, their owne Colonies and borderers. And
Phæax, after this, returned to *Athens*.

Cleon, who was now gone from *Torone*, and come about
to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the Warre, assaulted
the Citie of * *Stagirus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, but could
not take it; But *Gampselus*, a Colony of the *Thasians* hee
tooke by assault. And hauing sent Ambassadors to *Per- C*
diccas, to will him to come to him with his forces, accord-
ing to the League, and other Ambassadors into *Thrace*
vnto *Polles*, King of the *Odontians*, to take vp as many
mercenary *Thracians*, as he could, he lay still in *Eion*, to ex-
pect their comming. *Brasidas* vpon notice hereof, sate
downe ouer against him at *Cerdylum*. This is a place
belonging to the *Argilians*, standing high, and beyond the
Riuer, not farre from *Amphipolis*, and from whence hee
might discerne all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could
not but be seene, if he should rise with his Army to goe
against *Amphipolis*; which he expected he would doe; and
that in contempt of his small number, he would goe vp
with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furni-
shed himselfe with 1,500 mercenary *Thracians*, and tooke
vnto him all his *Edonians*, both horsemen, and Targettiers.
He had also of *Myrcinians*, and *Chalcideans*, 1000 Target-
tiers, besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Armes,
his whole number was at the most 2000; and of *Grecian*
horsemen 300. With 1,500 of these, came *Brasidas*, and sate
down at *Cerdylum*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Cleari- E*
das their Captaine, within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay
still,

A still, but was afterwards forced to doe as was expected by
Brasidas. For the Souldiers being angry with their stay
there, and recounting with themselves, what a command
his would be, and with what ignorance, and cowardize,
against what skill and boldnesse of the other, and how
they came forth with him against their wils; he percei-
ued their muttering, and being vnwilling to offend them
with so long a stay in one place, dislodged, and led them
forward. And he tooke the same course there, which
hauing succeeded well before at *Pylus*, gaue him cause to
thinke himselfe to haue some iudgement. For he thought
not that any body would come forth to giue him battell,
and gaue out; he went vp principally to see the place:
And stayed for greater forces, not to secure him in case he
should be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith
enuiron the Citie on all sides at once, and in that manner
take it by force. So he went vp, and set his Army down on
a strong hill before *Amphipolis*, standing himselfe to view the
Fens of the riuer *Strymon*, and the situation of the Citie to-
wards *Thrace*; and thought he could haue retired againe
at his pleasure without battell. For neither did any man
apppeare vpon the walls, nor come out of the Gates which
were all fast shut; insomuch as he thought he had com-
mitted an error, in comming without Engines, because
he thought he might by such meanes haue wonne the Ci-
tie, as being without defendants. *Brasidas*, as soone as he
saw the *Athenians* remoue, came downe also from *Cerdyli-
um*, and put himselfe into *Amphipolis*. He would not suf-
fer them to make any sally, nor to face the *Athenians* in or-
der of battell, mistrusting his owne Forces, which he
thought inferiour, not in number (for they were in a man-
ner equall) but in worth (for such *Athenians* as were there,
were pure, and the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians* which were
amongst them, were of the very ablest), but prepared to
set vpon them by a wile. For if he should haue shewed
to the enemy, both his number, and their Armour, such
as for the present they were forced to vse, he thought that
thereby he should not so soone get the victory, as by kee-
ping them out of sight, and out of their contempt, till the
very point. Wherefore chusing to himselfe 1,500 men of
E Armes, and committing the charge of the rest to *Cleardas*,
he resolued to set suddenly vpon them before they should
retire;

Cleon goeth vp to *Amphi-
polis* against his owne
minde.

Cleon, not expecting a
sally, vieweth the situa-
tion of the Towne.

Brasidas putteth himselfe
into *Amphipolis*.

A stratagem of *Brasidas*.

retire; as not expecting to take them so alone another A time, if their succours chanced to arrive. And when he had called his Souldiers together, to encourage them, and to make knowne unto them his designe, he said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Peloponnesus, as for your Country, how by valour it hath ever retained her liberty; and that being Dorians, you are now to fight against Ionians, of whom you were ever wont to get the victory, let it suffice that I have touched it thus briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that, I am now to enforme you of; lest the venturing by few at once, and not altogether, should seeme to proceed from weaknesse, and so dishearten you. I doe coniecture that it was in contempt of vs, and as not expecting to be fought withall, that the enemy both came vp to this place, and that they haue now betaken themselves carelessly, and out of order to view the Country. But he that best observing such errors in his enemies, shall also, to his strength, giue the onset, not alwayes openly, and in ranged battell, but as is best for his present aduantage, shall for the most part attaine his purpose. And these wiles carry with them the greatest glory of all, by which deceiuing most the enemy, a man doth most benefit his friends. Therefore whilst they are secure without preparation, and intend, for ought I see, to steale away, rather then to stay, I say, in this their loosnesse of resolution, and before they put their minds in order, I for my part, with those I haue chosen, will, if I can, before they get away, fall in upon the midst of their Army, running. And you Clearidas, afterwards, as soone as you shall see me to haue charged, and (as it is probable) to haue put them into affright, take those that are with you, both Amphipolitans, and all the rest of the Confederates, and setting open the Gates, runne out upon them, and with all possible speed, come vp to stroke of hand (for there is great hope this way to terrifie them, seeing they which come after, are euer of more terrour to the enemy, then those that are already present, and in fight.) And be valiant, as is likely you should that are a Spartan; and you Confederates, follow manfully, and beleene that the parts of a good Souldier, are willingness, sense of shame, and obedience to his Leaders; and that this day you shall either gaine your selues liberty by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, or else not onely to serue the Athenians your selues, and at the best

A best if you be not led Captiues, nor put to death, to be in greater seruitude then before, but also to be the hinderers of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. But be not you cowards, seeing how great a matter is at stake: and I for my part will make it appeare, that I am not more ready to perswade another, then to put my selfe into action.

When Brasidas had thus said, he both prepared to goe out himselfe, and also placed the rest that were with Clearidas before the Gates, called the Thracian Gates, to issue forth afterwards as was appointed. Now Brasidas having been in fight, when he came downe from Cerdylum, and againe when he sacrificed in the City, by the Temple of Pallas, which place might be seene from without, it was told Cleon, whilst Brasidas was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to looke about him) that the whole Army of the enemies was plainly to be discerned within the Towne, and that the feet of many men, and horses, ready to come forth, might be discerned from vnder the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he saw it was true, being not minded to fight, vntill his aides arrived, and yet making no other account, but that his retreat would be discovered, he commanded at once to giue the signall of retreat, and that, as they went, the left Wing should march formost, which was the only meanes they had to withdraw towards Eion. But when he thought they were long about it, causing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their disarmed parts to the enemy, hee led away the Army himselfe. Brasidas at the same time, hauing spied his opportunity, and that the Army of the Athenians remoued, said to those about him, and the rest, D These men stay not for vs; it is apparant by the wagging of their Speares, and of their heads. For where such motion is, they vse not stay for the charge of the enemy: Therefore open me some body the Gates appointed, and let vs boldly and speedily sally forth vpon them. Then hee went out himselfe at the Gate towards the Trench, and which was the first Gate of the Long-wall, which then was standing, and at high speed tooke the straight way, in which, as one passeth by the strongest part of the Towne, there standeth now a Trophy. And charging vpon the midst of the Athenian Army, which was terrified both with their owne disarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flie. And Clearidas, (as

Brasidas prepareth to assault the army of the Athenians.

Cleon is admonished of a sally towards:

And leadeth his army backe.

Brasidas taketh this opportunity for this sally.

Brasidas is wounded and falleth.

Cleon fleeth, and is slaine.

Brasidas his army getteth the victory.

Brasidas liueth onely so long as to know he had the victory.

The honour done to Brasidas after his death.

* Killed sacrifices unto him.

* Or semied.

* Whom was their true Founder.

(as was appointed) hauing issued out, by the Thracian A Gates, was withall comming vpon them. And it fell out that the Athenians by this vnexpected and sudden attempt, were on both sides in confusion; and the left wing which was next to Eion, and which indeed was marching away before, was immediately broken off, from the rest of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, Brasidas comming vp to the right wing, was there wounded. The Athenians saw not when he fell, and they that were neere, tooke him vp, and carried him off. The right wing stood longer to it; and though Cleon himselfe presently fled, (as B at first he intended not to stay) and was intercepted by a Myrcinian Targettier, and slaine, yet his men of Armes casting themselves into a circle, on the top of a little hill, twice or thrice resisted the charge of Clearidas, and shrunke not at all, till begirt with the Myrcinian and Chalcidean horse, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the Athenians, getting away with much adoe ouer the hills, and by seuerall wayes: all that were not slaine vpon the place, or by the Chalcidean horse, and Targettiers, recovered Eion. C The other side taking vp Brasidas out of the battell, and hauing so long kept him aliue, brought him yet breathing into the City. And he knew that his side had gotten the victory; but expired shortly after. When Clearidas with the rest of the Army, were returned from pursute of the enemy, they rifled those that were slaine, and erected a Trophie.

After this the Confederates following the Corpes of Brasidas, all of them in their Armes, buried him in the City at the publique charge, in the entrance of that which is D now the Market place. And the Amphipolitans afterwards hauing taken in his Monument with a wall, * killed vnto him, as to a * Heroe, honoured him with Games and anniuersary sacrifice, and attributed their Colony vnto him, as to the Founder; pulling downe the Edifices of * Agnon, and defacing whatsoever Monument might maintaine the memory of his foundation. This they did both for that they esteemed Brasidas for their preseruer, and also because at this time, through feare of the Athenians, they courted the Lacedaemonians for a League. As for Agnon, E because of their hostility with the Athenians, they thought it

A it neither expedient for them to giue him honours, nor that they would be acceptable vnto him if they did. The dead bodies they rendred to the Athenians; of whom there were slaine about 600, and but seuen of the other side, by reason, that it was no set battell, but fought vpon such an occasion and precedent affright. After the dead were taken vp, the Athenians went home by Sea, and Clearidas, and those with him, stayed to settle the estate of Amphipolis.

About the same time of the Summer now ending, Ramphias, Anvocharidas, and Epicydidias, Lacedaemonians, were leading a supply towards the parts vpon Thrace, of 900 men B of Armes, and when they were come to Heraclea, in Trachinia they stayed there, to amend such things as they thought amisse; Whilst they stayed, this battell was fought. And the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with Ramphias, went presently forward, as farre as the hill Pierium in Thessaly. But the Thessalians forbidding them to goe on, and Brasidas to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they returned homewards; conceiuing that the opportunity C now serued not, both because the Athenians were vpon this ouerthrow gone away, and for that they themselves were vnable to performe any of those designes, which the other had intended. But the principall cause of their returne was this, that they knew at their comming forth, that the Lacedaemonians had their mindes, more set vpon a Peace, then Warre.

Presently after the battell of Amphipolis, and returne of Rhampbias out of Thessaly, it fell out, that neither side did any act of Warre, but were inclined rather to a Peace; D the Athenians for the blow they had receiued at Delium, and this other, a little after, at Amphipolis; and because they had no longer that confident hope in their strength, on which they relied, when formerly they refused the Peace, as hauing conceiued vpon their present successe, that they should haue had the vpper hand.

Also they stood in feare of their owne Confederates, lest emboldned by these losses of theirs, they should more and more reuolt, and repented that they made not the Peace, after their happy successe at Pylus, when occasion E was offered to haue done it honourably. And the Lacedaemonians on the other side did desire Peace, because

Supplies going to Brasidas, stay by the way at Heraclea.

The end of the tenth Summer. The supplies going to Brasidas, hearing of his death, returned to Lacedaemon.

The Athenians, and Lacedaemonians incline to Peace.

The causes why the Athenians desired Peace.

The causes why the Lacedaemonians desired peace.

because the Warre had not proceeded as they expected: for **A** they had thought they should in a few yeeres haue warred downe the power of *Athens*, by wasting their Territory; and because they were false into that calamity in the Island, the like whereof had neuer happened vnto *Sparta* before: because also their Countrey was continually rauaged by those of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helotes* continually fled to the Enemy; and because they feared lest those which remained, trusting in them that were runne away, should in this estate of theirs, raise some inuouation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it hapned, that **B** the 30. yeeres peace with the *Argiues* was now vpon the point of expiring; and the *Argiues** would not renew it, without restitution made them of *Cynuria*; so that to warre against the *Argiues* and the *Athenians* both at once, seemed impossible. They suspected also, that some of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, as indeed it came afterwards to passe. These things considered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but especially by the *Lacedæmonians*, for the desire they had to recover their men taken in the Island; for the *Spartans* that were **C** amongst them, were both of the prime men of the City, and their kinsmen. And therefore they began to treat, presently after they were taken.

But the *Athenians*, by reason of their prosperity, would not lay downe the War at that time on equall termes. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedæmonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a yeere, during which they were to meet, and consult about a longer time. But when also this other ouerthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Brafidas* were slaine (the which on either side were most opposite to the Peace; the one, for that hee had good successe and honour in the Warre; the other, because in quiet times his euill actions would more appeare, and his calumniations bee the lesse beleueed) those two that in the two States aspired most to bee chiefe, *Pleistoanax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, and *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had beene the most fortunate of his time, did most of all other desire to haue the Peace goe forward; *Nicias*, because he was desirous, hauing hitherto neuer beene ouerthrowne, to carry **E** his

* *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* were sent to *Argos* to renew the Peace; but the *Argiues* holding the *Lacedæmonians* to be no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*, refused it.

Cleon and *Brafidas* opposers of the Peace for seruall ends.

Pleistoanax and *Nicias* persuaders to Peace.

Nicias his ends in seeking Peace.

A his good fortune through, and to giue both himselfe, and the Citie rest from their troubles for the present; and for the future to leaue a name, that in all his time hee had neuer made the Common-wealth miscarry: which hee thought might be done by standing out of danger, and by putting himselfe as little as hee might into the hands of Fortune: And to stand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleistoanax* had the same desire, because of the imputation laid vpon him, about his returne from exile, by his enemies, that suggested vnto the *Lacedæmonians* vpon **B** euery losse they receiued, that the same befell them, for hauing contrary to the Law repealed his banishment. For they charged him further, that hee and his Brother *Aristocles*, had suborned the Prophetesse of *Delphi*, to answer the * *Deputies* of the *Lacedæmonians* when they came thither, most commonly with this, That they should bring backe the seed of the * *Semigo* 1, the sonne of *Iupiter*, out of a strange Countrey into his owne: and that if they did not, they should plow their land with a siluer plough: and so at length to haue made the *Lacedæmonians*, 19. yeeres after, with such Dances and Sa- **C** crifices as they who were the first founders of *Lacedæmon* had ordained to be vsed, at the enthroning of their Kings, to fetch him home againe, who lived in the meane time in exile in the Mountaine *Lycaum*, in a House whereof the one halfe was part of the Temple of *Iupiter*, for feare of the *Lacedæmonians*, as being suspected to haue taken a bribe to withdraw his Armie out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with these imputations; and considering with himselfe, there being no occasion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedæmonians* thereby recovering their **D** men, that he also should cease to bee obnoxious to the calumniations of his enemies; whereas in Warre, such as had charge, could not but bee quarrelled vpon their losses, hee was therefore forward to haue the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to treaty, and withall the *Lacedæmonians* braued them with a preparation already making against the Spring, sending to the Cities about for that purpose, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*, to the end that the *Athenians* might giue them the better care. When after many meetings, and many demands, **E** on eyther side, it was at last agreed, that Peace should

The reason why *Pleistoanax* desired the peace.

* *Stages*. Ambassadors to the Oracles were so called.

* *Hercules*, from whom *Pleistoanax* was descended.

Pleistoanax banished for withdrawing his Army out of *Attica*.

The *Lacedæmonians* desiring the peace, make shew of Warre.

Peace concluded.

The Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, refuse to be comprehended.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PEACE BETWEEN THE ATHENIANS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

* Ambassadors about matters of Religion.

be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in A the Warre, saue that the Athenians should hold Nisæa, (for when they likewise demanded Platea, and the Thebans answered, that it was neither taken by force, nor by treason; but rendred voluntarily, the Athenians said that they also had Nisæa in the same manner.) The Lacedæmonians calling together their Confederates, and all but the Boeotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, (for these disliked it) giuing their votes for the ending of the Warre, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the Athenians with sacrifice, and swore it, and the Athenians againe vnto them, vpon B these Articles.

The Athenians, and Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, haue made Peace, and sworne it, Citie by Citie, as followeth:

Touching the publique Temples, it shall bee lawfull to whomsoever will, to sacrifice in them, and to haue acceffe vnto them, and to aske counsell of the Oracles in the same, and to send their * Deputies vnto them, according to the custome of his Countrey, securely both by Sea and Land.

The whole place consecrate, and Temple of Apollo, in Delphi, C and Delphi it selfe, shall be gouerned by their owne Law, taxed by their owne State, and iudged by their owne Iudges, both City and Territory, according to the institution of the place.

The Peace shall endure betweene the Athenians, with their Confederates, and the Lacedæmonians with their Confederates, for fiftie yeeres, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harine-doing.

It shall not be lawfull to beare Armes, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, against the Athenians, nor for the Athenians and their Confederates, against D the Lacedæmonians, by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

If any Controuersie shall arise betweene them, the same shall be decided by Law, and by Oath, in such manner as they shall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall render Amphipolis to the Athenians.

The Inhabitants of whatsoever City the Lacedæmonians shall render vnto the Athenians, shall be at liberty, to goe forth whither they will, with bagge and baggage.

Those Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the * time of Ari- E stides, continuing to pay it, shall be gouerned by their owne Lawes, and

* Which was the first time that the Athenians began to command the rest of Greece for when in the end of the Median Warre, the Lacedæmonians left that Command, the Athenians undertooke it, and taxed the several Cities with tribute towards the Warre. The Warre ended, the tribute ended not.

A and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be unlawfull for the Athenians, or their Confederates, to beare Armes against them, or to doe them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the Lacedæmonians, nor of the Athenians. But if the Athenians can perswade these Cities vnto it, then it shall bee lawfull for the Athenians to haue them for Confederates, hauing gotten their consent.

The Mecybernians, Sanæans, and Singæans, shall inhabite B their owne Cities, on the same conditions, with the Olynthians and Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, shall render Panactum vnto the Athenians. And the Athenians shall render to the Lacedæmonians, * Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

They shall likewise deliuer whatsoever Lacedæmonians are in the prison of Athens, or in any prison of what place soeuer, in the Athenian dominion; and dismisse all the Peloponnesians, besieged in Scione, and all that Brasidas did there put in, and whatsoever C Confederates of the Lacedæmonians are in prison, either at Athens, or in the Athenian State. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall deliuer whomsoever they haue in their hands of the Athenians, or their Confederates, in the same manner.

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, and Sermylans, and whatsoever other Citie belonging to the Athenians, the Athenians shall doe with them, what they thinke fit.

The Athenians shall take an Oath to the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, Citie by Citie; and that Oath shall be the greatest that in each Citie is in vse; The thing that they shall swear, shall be this. I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truly and sincerely. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the Athenians. This oath they shall on both sides euery yeere renew, and shall erect Pillars, [inscribed with this Peace] at Olympia, * Pythia, and in the Isthmus; at Athens, within the Cittadell; and at Lacedæmon; in the * Amycleum.

And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit upon good deliberation to be changed; it shall be lawfull for them to doe it, * in such manner as the Lacedæmonians, and Atheni- E ans shall thinke fit, ioyntly.

* The promontory where the Pythian stood, put here for Pylus.

* By Delphi where the Pythian games were kept.

* Amycleum, a Temple of Apollo.

* This Article displeased the Confederates of Lacedæmon, because the Articles might by this be changed without them.

This

* February.

This Peace shall take beginning from the 24 of the moneth Artemisium, Pleistolas being Ephore, at Sparta, and the 15 of * Elaphobolium, after the account of Athens, Alcæus, being Archon.

They that tooke the Oath, and sacrificed, were these; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Antheppus, Tellis, Alcenidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians these, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrcilus, Thrafsycles, Theagenes, Aristocretes, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demosthenes

* It appears here that the Moneth Elaphobolion amongst the Athenians was the last Moneth of their Winter quarter.

This Peace was made in the very * end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, presently after the Citie Banchanal, and full tenne yeeres, and some few dayes ouer, after the first inuasion of Attica, and the beginning of this Warre. But now for the certainty hereof, let a man consider the times themselves, and not trust to the account of the names of such as in the seuerall places bare chiefe offices, or for some honour to themselves, had their names ascribed, for markes to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly knowne who was in the beginning of his office, or who in the middest, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the same by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, hee shall finde by the two halfe yeeres, which make the whole, that this first Warre was of tenne Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The true way of accounting the yeeres of this Warre.

The Lacedæmonians begin to performe the Articles, & presently deliuer their prisoners.

The Amphipolitans refuse to render themselves vnder the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians (for it fell vnto them by lot to begin the restitution) both dismissed presently those Prisoners they had then in their hands, and also sent Ambassadors, Ischagoras, Menas, and Philocaridas into the parts vpon Thrace, with command to Cleidas to deliuer vp Amphipolus to the Athenians, & requiring the rest of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in such manner as was for euery of them accorded. But they would not doe it, because they thought it was not for their aduantage. And Cleidas also, to gratifie the Chalcideans, surrendred not the City, alledging that hee could not doe it whether they would or not. And comming away soone after with those Ambassadors to Lacedæmon, both to purge himselfe, if he should

bee

A bee accused by those with Ischagoras, for disobeying the States command, and also to try if the Peace might by any meanes be shaken: when he found it firme, hee himselfe beeing sent backe by the Lacedæmonians, with command principally to surrender the place, and if he could not doe that, then to draw thence all the Peloponnesians that were in it, immediately tooke his iourney. But the Confederates chanced to bee present themselves in Lacedæmon, and the Lacedæmonians required such of them as formerly refused, that they would accept the Peace: but they, vpon the same pretence on which they had reiected it before, said, That vnlesse it were more reasonable, they would not accept it. And the Lacedæmonians seeing they refused, dismissed them, and by themselves entred with the Athenians into a League; because they imagined that the Argines would not renew their Peace (because they had refused it before, when Ampelidas and Lichas went to Argos,) and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the Athenians: and also conceiued, that by this meanes the rest of Peloponnesus would not stirre; for if they could, they would turne to the Athenians. Wherefore the Ambassadors of Athens being then present, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the termes following.

Cleidas endeouoreth to dissolve the Peace.

The Lacedæmonians make league with the Athenians.

The Lacedæmonians shall be Confederates with the Athenians for fiftie yeeres.

If any enemy inuade the territory of the Lacedæmonians, and doe the Lacedæmonians any harme, the Athenians shall ayde the Lacedæmonians against them in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the Enemy, after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then that Citie shall be held as enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall be warred vpon by them both; and both Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre ioyntly. And this to be done iustly, readily, and sincerely.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND THE ATHENIANS.

And if any enemy shall inuade the Territories of the Athenians, and doe the Athenians any harme, then the Lacedæmonians shall ayde the Athenians against them, in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the enemy, after hee hath spoiled the Countrey, shall bee gone away, then shall that Citie be held for enemy both to the Lacedæmonians and to the Athenians, and shall bee warred vpon by both, and both the Cities shall againe lay downe the Warre together.

together. And this to bee done iustly, readily, and sincerely. A
If their slaues shall rebell, the Athenians shall assist the Lacedæmonians with all their strength possible.

These things shall be sworne vnto by the same men on eyther side that swore the peace, and shall be euery yeere renewed by the Lacedæmonians at their comming to the *Bacchanals at Athens; and by the Athenians at their going to the Hyacinthian Feast at Lacedæmon; and either side shall erect a Pillar [inscribed with this League] one at Lacedæmon, neere vnto Apollo in the Amycleum, another at Athens, neere Minerua in the Citadell.

If it shall seeme good to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians B
to adde or take away anything touching the League, it shall be lawfull for them to doe it ioyntly.

Of the Lacedæmonians tooke the Oath, these, Pleistoanax, Agis, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ichagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Antippos, Alcınadas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians, Lampon, Istmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocrates, Iolcius, Tunocrates, Leon, Lamachus and Demosthenes. C

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the Athenians deliuered to the Lacedæmonians the men they had taken in the Iland, and by this time began the Summer of the eleuenth yeere. And hitherto hath bene written these tenne yeeres which this first Warre continued, without intermission.

After the Peace and League made betweene the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, after the tenne yeeres Warre, Pleistolas being Ephore at Lacedæmon, and Alcaus Archon of Athens; though there were Peace to those that had accepted it; yet the Corinthians and some Cities of Peloponnesus, endeououred to ouerthrow what was done, and presently arose another stirre, by the Confederates, against Lacedæmon. And the Lacedæmonians also after a while became suspect vnto the Athenians, for not performing somewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for sixe yeeres and tenne moneths, they abstayned from entring into each others Territories with their Armes: but the Peace being but weake, they did each other abroad what harme they could; and in the end, were forced to dissolue the Peace, made

* Bacchanalia Vibica.
which were celebrated yearly,
not much before this time.

The Athenians deliuer the
prisoners taken at Pylos.

THE ELEVENTH
YEERE.

The Lacedæmonians slacke
in performance of the
Articles of the Peace.

A made after those ten yeeres, and fell againe into open War.

This also hath the same Thucydides of Athens, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as euery thing came to passe, vntill such time as the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, had made an end of the Athenian dominion and had taken their Long-walls and Peiræus. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 yeeres.

As for the composition betweene, if any man shall thinke it not to be accounted with the War, he shall thinke amisse. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that that deserueth not

B to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendred all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the Mantinan and Epidaurian wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreover, the Confederates on the borders of Thrace continued in hostility as before; and the Boeotians had but a truce from one ten dayes to another. So that with the first ten yeeres war, and with this doubtfull cessation & the war that followed after it, a man shall find, counting by the times, that it came to iust so many yeeres, and some few dayes; & that those who built vpon the prediction of the Oracles, haue this number onely to agree. C
And remember yet, that, from the very beginning of this War, and so on till the end, it was vnto many, that it should be of thrice 9 yeeres continuance. And for the time therof I liued in my strength, & applied my mind to gaine an accurate knowledge of the same. It hapned also that I was banished my countrey for 20 yeeres, after my charge at Amphipolis, whereby being present at the affaires of both, and especially of the Lacedæmonians, by reason of my exile I could, at leasure the better learn the truth of all that passed.

D The quarrels therefore, & perturbations of the Peace, after those ten yeeres, & that which followed, according as from time to time the Warre was carried, I will now pursue.

After the concluding of the 50 yeeres Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of Peloponnesus, to accept the said Peace, were departed from Lacedæmon, the Corinthians (the rest going all to their owne Cities) turning first to Argos, entred into Treaty with some of the Argiue Magistrates, to this purpose, That the Lacedæmonians had made a Peace and League with the Athenians, their heretofore mortall enemies, tending not to the

R r

benefit,

From the beginning to
this end of the Warre
27 yeeres.

The time of this Peace,
not to be esteemed
Peace.

The number of yeeres
which the whole Warre
lasted.

Thucydides for his ill suc-
cesse at Amphipolis, bani-
shed Athens for 20 yeeres.

The Corinthians contriue
with the Argiues to make
a League in Peloponnesus
without the Lacedæmo-
nians.

benefic, but to the enslaving of *Peloponnesus*, it behoued A them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equall trials of Iudgement with theirs, might make a League with the *Argives*, for the one mutually to aide the other, and to assigne them a Few men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with, and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be vnkowne that euer they had made such a motion, affirming that many would B come into this Confederacy vpon hatred, to the *Lacedemonians*. And the *Corinthians*, when they had made this o- uerture, went home. These men of *Argos*, hauing heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magi- strates, & to the People, the *Argives* ordered the same accord- ingly, and elected 12 men, with who it should be lawfull for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argius* People. And thus the *Argives* did the more willing- ly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedemonians* would C make Warre vpon them, (for the Truce betweene them was now vpon expiring) as also because they hoped to haue the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lace- demon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had receiued. And the *Argives* in all points were in good estate, as not hauing concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their reuenue. Thus the *Argives* receiued into League all such *Grecians* as came vnto them.

First of all therefore, came in the *Mantineans*, and their D Confederates, which they did for fear of the *Lacedemonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the warre of *Aibens*, was come vnder the obedience of the *Mantineans*, ouer which, they thought, the *Lacedemonians* now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to comand. And therefore they willingly ioyned with the *Argives*, as being they thought, a great City, euer enemy to the *Lacedemonians*, & gouerned as their owne by *Democracy*. When the *Mantineans* had reuolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also, to muttor amongst them- E selues, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiuing that there was somewhat in it, more then they knew, that made

Twelve men chosen at
Argos to treat about a
League.

The *Mantineans* enter
League with the *Argives*.

The rest of *Peloponnesus*
encline to the same
League.

A made the *Mantineans* to turne, and were also angry with the *Lacedemonians* amongst many other causes, for that it was written in the Article of the *Attique* Peace, That it should be lawfull to adde vnto, or take away from the same, what o- uer should seeme good to the two Cities of the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*. For this was the Article that the most troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a ieaousie that the *Lacedemonians* might haue a purpose ioyning with the *Athenians* to bring them into subiection. For in iustice the power of changing the Articles, ought to haue bene B ascribed to all the Confederates in generall. Whereupon, many fearing such an intention, applyed themselves to the *Argives*, euerie one seuerally struing to come into their League.

The *Lacedemonians* perceiuing this stirre to begin in *Pe- loponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the contri- uers of it, and entred themselves also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors vnto *Corinth*, with intention to preuent the sequell of it, and accused them, both for the whole designe, and for their owne reuolt in particular, C which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argives*, saying that they should therein infringe their oath, and that they had already done vniuistly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*, for as much as it is an Ar- ticle of their * League, that what the maior part of the Confederates should conclude, vnlesse it were hindred by some God or Heroe, the same was to stand good. But the *Co- rinthians* (those Confederates which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*, for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedemonians*, did not D openly alledge the wrongs they had receiued; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Solium*, nor *Anactorium*, nor any thing else they had in this Warre lost, but pretended not to betray those of *Thrace*, for that they had in particular ca- ken an oath vnto them, both when (together with *Potidea*) they first reuolted and also another afterwards. And there- fore they said they did not breake the oath of their League, by reiecting the Peace with *Aibens*. For hauing sworne vnto them by the Gods, they should in betraying them, of- fend the Gods. And whereas it is said, Vnlesse some God or E Heroe hinder it. This appeareth to be a Diuine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

R 1 2

Then,

The Article of adding
and altering misliked.

The *Lacedemonians* ex-
postulate with the *Corin-
thians*, about this League
with *Argos*.

* The *Peloponnesian*
League against *Aibens*.

The Apologie of the *Co-
rinthians* for their refusing
the Peace.

Their answer touching
their League with *Argos*.

Then, for their League with the *Argives*, they gave this Answer: That when they had advised with their friends, they would do afterwards what should be just. And so the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the same time were present also in *Corinth*, the Ambassadors of *Argos*, to invite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to come againe at their next sitting.

Presently after this, came vnto them an Ambassage also from the *Eleans*. And first, they made a League with the *Corinthians*; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League with the *Argives*, according to the declaration before mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, having heretofore warred on certaine of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to give the moiety of the Land to be won from them, when the Warre was ended, the *Eleans* gave vnto the *Lepreates*, the whole Land to be enjoyed by themselves, with an imposition thereon of a * Talent to be paid to *Iupiter Olympian*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the *Athenian* Warre. But afterwards, vpon pretence of that Warre, giuing ouer the payment, the *Eleans* would haue forced them to it againe. The *Lepreates* for helpe, hauing recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cause being referred to their decision, the *Eleans* afterwards, vpon suspicion that the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renounced the reference, and waisted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The *Lacedæmonians* neuertheless gaue sentence, That the *Lepreates* should be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the *Eleans* did the iniury; and because the *Eleans* had not stood to the reference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garrison of men of Armes. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmonians* had receiued their reuolted City, and producing the Article of their League, That what euery one possessed, when they entred into the Attique Warre, the same they should possess when they gaue it ouer, reuolted to the *Argives*, as wrong'd, and entred league with them, as is before related.

After these, came presently into the *Argive* League, the *Corinthians*, and the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*. The *Bæotians* also, and *Megareans* threatned as much, but because they thought the *Argive* Democracy would not be so commodious

The *Eleans* make a league first with *Corinth*, then with *Argos*.

* The decree of the *Argiues* that any Grecian that would might make a league with them, treating with the 12 Commissioners by them chosen to that purpose.

* 120 pound ten shillings sterling.

Quarrell of the *Eleans* against the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians*, and the *Townes* vpon *Thrace* enter into the league with *Argos*.

ous for them, who were gouerned according to the government of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they stirred no further in it.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Sciône*, slew all that were within it at mans estate, made slaues of the women and children, and gaue their Territory to the *Placæans*.

They also replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in consideration of the defeats they had receiued after their expulsion, and also because the Oracle at *Delphi* had commanded it.

The *Phocæans* and *Locrians* also began a Warre at that time against each other.

And the *Corinthians* and *Argiues* being now leagued, went to *Tegea*, to cause it to reuolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiuing it to be an important piece of *Peloponnesus*, and making account, if they gained it to their side, they should easily obtaine the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refused to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had beene very forward, grew lesse violent, and were afraid, that no more of the rest would come in. Neuertheless they went to the *Bæotians*, and solicited them to enter into league with them, and the *Argiues*, and to doe as they did. And the *Corinthians* further desired the *Bæotians* to goe along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten dayes Truce, to that which was made betweene the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, presently after the making of the fifty yeeres Peace, on the same termes that the *Bæotians* had it; and if the *Athenians* refused, then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* hauing made this request, the *Bæotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argiues* to stay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten dayes Truce, the *Athenians* answering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Neuertheless, the *Bæotians* would not relinquish their ten dayes Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the same, and affirmed that it was so before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a cessation of Armes, but * without solempne ratification.

The same Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power,

The *Athenians* recouer *Sciône*.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

Phocis and *Locris* in Warre.

The *Corinthians* seeke to turne the Cities of *Tegea*, *Phocæus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argiues*.

The *Corinthians* seeke the ten dayes Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bæotians* had it.

The *Bæotians* take time to answer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten dayes Truce to the *Corinthians*.

* Demostoc. The *Lacedæmonians* demolish the Fort of *Cysela*.

power, under the Conduct of *Pleistomanes*, the sonne of *Dausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, made Warre vpon the *Parrhasians* of *Arcadia*, subiects of the *Mantineans*, partly as called in, by occasion of sedition, and partly because they intended, if they could, to demolish a fortification which the *Mantineans* had built, and kept with a Garrison in *Cypsela*, in the Territory of the *Parrhasians*, towards *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore wasted the Territory of the *Parrhasians*. And the *Mantineans* leauing their owne Citie to the Custody of the *Argives*, came forth to aide the *Parrhasians* their Confederates. But being vnable to defend both the Fort of *Cypsela*, and the Cities of the *Parrhasians* too, they went home againe; and the *Lacedæmonians* when they had set the *Parrhasians* at liberty, and demolished the fortification, went home likewise.

The same Summer, when those Souldiers which went out with *Brasidas*, and of which *Clearidas*, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts vpon *Thrace*, the *Lacedæmonians* made a decree, that those *Helots* which had fought vnder *Brasidas*, should receiue their liberty, and inhabite where they thought good; but not long after, they placed them, together with such others as had been newly enfranchised in *Lepreum*, a City standing in the Confines betweene *Laconia*, and the *Eleans*, with whom they were now at variance.

Fearing also lest those Citizens of their owne, which had been taken in the * *Iland*, and had deliuered vp their Armies to the *Athenians*, should vpon apprehension of disgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours, make some innouation in the State, they disabled them, though some of them were in office already; and their disablement was this, That they should neither beare office, nor be capable to buy and sell; yet in time they were againe restored to their former honours.

The same Summer also, the *Diitideans* tooke *Thysium*, a Towne in Mount *Aithos*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*.

This whole Summer there was continuall commerce betweene the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians*; neuertheless they began, both the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to haue each other in suspicion immediately after the Peace, in respect of the places not yet mutually surrendered. For the *Lacedæmonians*, to whose lot it fell to make restitu-

The *Lacedæmonians* put a Garrison into *Lepreum*, of men newly enfranchised.

* *Sphaacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* disabled those that were taken in *Sphaacteria*, to beare office, or to make bargain.

The *Diitideans* take *Thysium* from the *Athenians*.

Jealousie betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

A tion first, had not rendred *Amphipolis*, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, nor by the *Bœotians*, nor *Corinthians*, though they had euer professed, that in case they refused, they would ioyne with the *Athenians*, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies vnto both. The *Athenians* therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention and thereupon refused to render *Pylus*, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had deliuered vp the prisoners they tooke in the *Iland*, and detained the rest of the Townes they then held, till the *Lacedæmonians* should haue performed the conditions on their part also. The *Lacedæmonians*, to this alleged, That they had done what they were able to doe. For they had deliuered the *Athenian* prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdraue their Souldiers from the parts vpon *Thrace*, and whatsoever else was in their owne power to performe. But *Amphipolis* they said, was not in their power to surrender. That they would endeavour to bring the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, to accept the Peace, and to get *Panactum* restored, and all the *Athenian* prisoners in *Bœotia*, to be sent home. And therefore desired them to make restitution of *Pylus*, or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the *Messenians* and *Helotes* (as they for their part had drawne their Garrisons out of the Townes vpon *Thrace*) and if they thought good, to keepe it with a Garrison of *Athenians*. After diuers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so farre preuailed with the *Athenians*, at the last, as they drew thence, all the *Messenians*, and *Helotes*, and all other *Laconian* fugitives, and placed them in *Cranj*, a City of *Cephalenia*. So for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other *Ephores* in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadors being come from the Confederates; and the *Athenian*, *Bœotian*, and *Corinthian* Ambassadors being already there, and hauing had much conference together, but concluded nothing, *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares*, *Ephores* that most desired the dissolution of the Peace; when the rest of the Ambassadors were gone home, entred into priuate Conference with

Amphipolis not yet rendered, nor the Peace accepted in the parts about *Thrace*, nor by the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*.

The *Athenians* refuse to render *Pylus*.

The Apologie of the *Lacedæmonians* for not performing the Articles.

The *Athenians* draw the *Messenians* and *Helotes* out of *Pylus*.

The end of the eleventh Summer.

The *Lacedæmonian Ephores* endeavour to dissolve the peace.

A proposition of a league
betwene the Lacedæmo-
nians, Argives, Bœotians
and Corinthians.

with the Bœotians and Corinthians, exhorting them to A
runne both the same course; and aduised the Bœotians, to
endouour first to make a League themselves with the
Argives, and then to get the Argives together with
themselves, into a League with the Lacedæmonians. For
that they might by this meanes auoyd the necessity of ac-
cepting the Peace with Athens. For the Lacedæmonians
would more regard the friendship and League of the Ar-
gives, then the enmitie and dissolution of the Peace with
the Athenians. For heeknew the Lacedæmonians had euer
desired to haue Argos their friend vpon any reasonable con- B
ditions, because they knew that their Warre without
Peloponnesus, would thereby bee a great deale the easier.
Wherefore they entreated the Bœotians to put Panactum
into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, to the end that if they
could get Pylus for it in exchange, they might make War
against the Athenians the more commodiously.

The Bœotians and Corinthians being dismissed by Xenares
and Cleobulus, and all the other Lacedæmonians of that Fa-
ction, with these points to be deliuered to their Common-
wealths, went to their seuerall Cities. And two men of C
Argos, of principall authority in that Citie, hauing wait-
ted for, and met with them by the way, entred into a trea-
ty with them, about a League betweene the Argives and
the Bœotians; as there was betweene them and the Corinthi-
ans, and the Eleans, and Mantineans already. For they
thought, if it succeeded, they might the more easily haue
either Warre or Peace, (forasmuch as the cause would
now bee common) either with the Lacedæmonians, or
whomsoever else it should be needfull.

Whē the Bœotian Ambassadors heard this, they were wel D
pleased. For as it chanced, the Argives requested the same
things of them, that they, by their friends in Lacedæmon,
had beene sent to procure of the Argives. These men there-
fore of Argos, when they saw that the Bœotians accepted of
the motion, promised to send Ambassadors to the Bœoti-
ans about it, and so departed.

When the Bœotians were come home, they related there
what they had heard, both at Lacedæmon, and by the way,
from the Argives. The Gouvernours of Bœotia were glad
thereof, and much more forward in it now, then formerly E
they had beene, seeing that not onely their friends in La-
cedæmon

And promise to send
Ambassadors into Bœo-
tia to that purpose.

A Lacedæmon desired, but the Argives themselves hastned to
haue done the selfe-same thing. Not long after this, the
Ambassadors came to them from Argos, to sollicit the dis-
patch of the businesse before propounded, but the gouer-
nours of Bœotia commended onely the proposition, and dis-
missed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the
League to Argos. In the meane time the Gouvernours of
Bœotia thought fit, that an oath should first be taken by
themselves, and by the Ambassadors from Corinth, Megara,
and the Confederates vpon Thrace, to giue mutuall assi-
stance vpon any occasion to them that should require it, B
and neither to make War nor Peace without the common
consent. And next that the Bœotians and Megareans, (for
these two ran the same course) should make a League with
the Argives. But before this oath was to be taken, the Go-
uernours of Bœotia communicated the busines to the 4 Bœotian
Councils, in the which the whole authority of the State
consisteth, and withall presented their aduice, That any Ci-
ty that would, might ioyne with them, in the like oath for mutuall
assistance. But they that were of these Councils approued C
not the proposition, because they feared to offend the Lacedæ-
monians in being sworne to the Corinthians, that had reuol-
ted from their confederacy: For the Gouvernours of Bœotia had
not reported vnto them, what had past at Lacedæmon, how
Cleobulus, and Xenares the Ephores, and their friends there, had
aduised them, to enter first into league with the Argives, and
Corinthians, and then afterwards to make the same league
with the Lacedæmonians. For they thought that the Coun-
cels, though this had neuer been told them, would haue de-
creed it no otherwise then they vpon premeditation should
aduise. So the businesse was checked, and the Ambassa-
dors from Corinth, and from the Cities vpon Thrace, depa-
rted without effect. And the Gouvernours of Bœotia, that were
before minded, if they had gotten this done, to haue leagued
themselves also with the Argives, made no mention of the
Argives in the Councils at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to
Argos, as they had before promised, but a kind of carelesse-
nelle and delay possessed the whole businesse.

The same Winter the Olynthians tooke Mecyberne, held
with a Garrison of the Athenians by assault.

E After this the Lacedæmonians (for the conferences be-
twene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians about restitu-
tion

The Bœotians propound
an oath betwene them-
selves, the Corinthians,
Chalcidians, and Megareans,
of mutuall assistance.

The Argive league with
the Bœotians, falleth off.

Mecyberne taken from the
Athenians by assault.

The Lacedæmonians enter
into a League with the
Bœotians, knowing it to be
against iustice.

tion reciprocal continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtaine from the *Bœotians*, *Panaetum*; that then they also should recouer *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Bœotians*, which request that *Panaetum*, and the *Athenian* prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Bœotians* answered, that vnlesse the *Lacedæmonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not doe it. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the Articles, that neither party should make either League, or Warre, without the others consent, yet such was their desire to get *Panaetum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall, they that longed to breake the Peace with *Athens*, were so eager in it, that at last they concluded a league with the *Bœotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panaetum* was presently passed downe to the ground. So ended the eleuenth yeere of this Warre.

THE TWELFTH
YEERE.
The Argines seeke Peace
with the Lacedæmonians.

In the Spring following, the *Argines*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Bœotians* promised to send vnto them, came not, and that *Panaetum* was razed, and that also there was a private league made betweene the *Bœotians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandonied, and that the Confederates would all goe to the *Lacedæmonians*. For they apprehended that the *Bœotians* had been induced, both to raze *Panaetum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace, by the *Lacedæmonians*; and that the *Athenians*, were priuie to the same. So that now they had no meanes to make league with the *Athenians* neither, whereas before they made account that if their truce with the *Lacedæmonians* continued not, they might vpon these differences, haue ioyned themselues to the *Athenians*. The *Argines* being therfore at a stand, and fearing to haue Warre all at once with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeates*, *Bœotians*, and *Athenians*, as hating formerly refused the truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, and imagined to themselues the principality of all *Peloponnesus*, they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Busirophus* & *Eson* persons, as they thought most acceptable vnto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as for their present estate they might, how soeuer the world went, they should at least liue at quiet.

When

A When these Ambassadors were there, they fell to treat of the Articles vpon which the agreement should be made. And at first the *Argines* desired to haue the matter referred, either to some priuate man, or to some City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they haue alwayes differed, as lying on the borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyreca* and *Asthena*, and is possessed by the *Lacedæmonians*) But afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* not suffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would haue the Truce goe on as it did before, they might, the *Argine* Ambassadors, got them to yeeld to this, That for the present, an accord should be made for fifty yeeres; but withall, that it should be lawfull neuer thelesse, (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for *Lacedæmon*, and *Argos* to try their Titles to this Territory by battell, so that there were in neither City, the Plague or a Warre to excuse them; (as once before they had done, when as both sides thought they had the victory.) And that it should not be lawfull for one part to follow the chase of the other further then to the bounds either of *Lacedæmon* or *Argos*.

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels betweene *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

An odde condition of a Truce.

C And though this seemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at first to be but a foolish proposition, yet afterwards, (because they desired by all meanes to haue friendship with the *Argines*) they agreed vnto it, and put into writing what they required. How soeuer, before the *Lacedæmonians* would make any full conclusion of the same, they willed them to returne first to *Argos*, and to make the People acquainted with it, and then, if it were accepted, to returne at the *Hyacinthian* Feast and sweare it. So these departed.

Whilest the *Argines* were treating about this, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phadimius*, and *Antimenidas*, Commissioners for receiuing of *Panaetum*, and the prisoners from the *Bœotians*, to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panaetum* was demolished, and that their pretext was this, That there had been anciently an Oath by occasion of difference betweene the *Athenians* and them, That neither part should inhabite the place solely, but ioyntly both. But for the *Athenian* prisoners, as many as the *Bœotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* receiued, conuoyed and deliuered them vnto the *Athenians*; and withall told them of the razing of *Panaetum*, alledging it as rendred, in that, no enemy of *Athens* should dwell in it hereafter.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panaetum*.

S f 2

But

The Athenians take in euill part, both the razing of *Panactum*, and the League made with the *Bœotians*.

The *Argives* make League with *Athens*, by meanes of *Alcibiades*.

The cause why *Alcibiades* desireth to breake with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Alcibiades sendeth for the *Argives*, to *Athens* to make League.

But when this was told them, the *Athenians* made it a **A** haynous matter, for that they conceived that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them wrong, both in the matter of *Panactum* which was pulled downe, and should haue benee rendred standing; and because also they had heard of the priuate League made with the *Bœotians*, whereas they had promised to ioyne with the *Athenians* in compelling such to accept of the Peace, as had refused it; withall they weighed whatsoeuer other points the *Lacedæmonians* had benee short in, touching the performance of the *Articles*, and thought themselues abused; so that they answered the **B** *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors roughly, and dismissed them.

This difference arising betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, it was presently wrought vpon by such also of *Athens*, as desired to haue the Peace dissolved.

Amongst the rest was *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, a man though yong in yeeres, yet in the dignity of his Ancestors honoured as much as any man of what Citie soeuer: Who was of opinion, that it was better to ioyne with the *Argives*; not onely for the matter it selfe, but also out of stomacke, labouring to crosse the *Lacedæmonians*, because they had made the Peace by the meanes of *Nicias*, and *Laches*, without him; whom for his youth they had neglected, and not honoured, as for the ancient hospitality betweene his house and them, had been requisite, which his father had indeed renounced, but he himselfe by good Offices done to those prisoners, which were brought from the Iland, had a purpose to haue renewed. But supposing himselfe on all hands disparaged, he both opposed the Peace at first, alledging that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be constant; and that they had made the Peace, onely **D** to get the *Argives* by that meanes away from them, and afterwards to invade the *Athenians* againe, when they should be destitute of their friends; And also as soone as this difference was on foote, he sent presently to *Argos* of himselfe, willing them with all speed to come to *Athens*, as being thereunto inuited; and to bring with them the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to enter with the *Athenians* into a League, the opportunity now seruing; and promising that he would helpe them all he could.

The *Argives* hauing heard the message, and knowing **E** that the *Athenians* had made no League with the *Bœotians*,

A *tians*, and that they were at great quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians*, neglected the Ambassadors they had then in *Lacedæmon*, (whom they had sent about the Truce) and applied themselues to the *Athenians*, with this thought; that if they should haue Warre, they should by this meanes be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, gouerned like their owne by *Democracy*, and of greatest power by Sea. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to make a League; and together with theirs, went also the Ambassadors of the *Eleans*, and **B** *Mantineans*. Thither also with all speed came the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Philocharidas*, *Leon*, and *Endius*, persons accounted most gracious with the *Athenians*, for feare, left in their passion, they should make a League with the *Argives*; and withall to require the restitution of *Pylus* for *Panactum*, and to excuse themselues concerning their League with the *Bœotians*, as not made for any harme intended to the *Athenians*.

Now speaking of these things before the Councell, and how that they were come thither with full power to make agreement concerning all Controuersies betwixt them, they put *Alcibiades* into feare, lest, if they should say the same before the people, the multitude would be drawne vnto their side, and so the *Argive* League fall off. But *Alcibiades* deuisech against them this plot. He perswadeth the *Lacedæmonians* not to confesse their plenary power before the people, and giueth them his faith, that then *Pylus* should be rendred; (for he said he would perswade the *Athenians* to it, as much as he now opposed it) and that the rest of their differences should be compounded. **D** This he did to alienate them from *Nicias*, and that by accusing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning; nor euer spake one and the same thing, he might bring on the league with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, & *Mantineans*. And it came to passe accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the question, whether they had full power of concluding, had (contrary to what they had said in Councell) answered no, the *Athenians* would no longer endure them, but gaue eare to *Alcibiades*, that exclaimd against the *Lacedæmonians* farre more now then ouer. **E** And were ready then presently to haue the *Argives*, and those others with them brought in; and to make the League.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors come in haste to *Athens*, to prevent their League with the *Argives*.

Alcibiades perswadeth the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

Alcibiades inuiceth against the *Lacedæmonians*.

Nicias endeavoureth to have the Peace goe on with the Lacedæmonians.

Nicias is sent Ambassadour to Lacedæmon to get satisfaction about performance of the Articles.

Nicias was the Author of the Peace betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, and that Peace was therefore called Nicias.

League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing A was concluded, the assembly was adiourned. In the next dayes meeting, Nicias, though the Lacedæmonians had been abused, and he himselfe also deceiued, touching their coming with full power to conclude, yet he persisted to asseme, that it was their best course to be friends with the Lacedæmonians, and to deferre the Argives businesse, till they had sent to the Lacedæmonians againe to be assured of their intention; saying, that it was honour vnto themselves, and dishonour to the Lacedæmonians to have the Warre put off. For, for themselves, being in estate of prosperity, it B was best to preserve their good fortune, as long as they might; whereas to the other side, who were in euill estate, it should be in place of gaine to put things as soone as they could to the hazzard. So he perswaded them to send Ambassadours, whereof himselfe was one, to require the Lacedæmonians, (if they meant sincerely) to render Panactum standing, and also Amphipolis: and if the Boeotians would not accept of the Peace, then to vndoe their League with them, according to the Article, That the one should not make league with any, without the consent of the other. They willed him to say further; That they themselves C also, if they had had the will to doe wrong, had ere this made a league with the Argives, who were present then at Athens, for the same purpose. And whatsoever they had to accuse the Lacedæmonians of besides, they instructed Nicias in it, and sent him and the other, his fellow Ambassadours, away. When they were arrived, and had deliuered what they had in charge, and this last of all, That the Athenians would make League with the Argives, unless the Lacedæmonians would renounce their League with the Boeotians, if the Boeotians accepted not the Peace, the Lacedæmonians denied to renounce their league with the Boeotians, (for Xenares the Ephore, and the rest of that faction carried it) but at the request of Nicias, they renewed their former Oath. For Nicias was afraid he should returne with nothing done, and be carped at (as after also it fell out) as** author of the Lacedæmonian Peace.

At his returne, when the Athenians vnderstood that nothing was effected at Lacedæmon, they grew presently into choler, and apprehending iniury (the Argives, and their Confederates being there present, brought in by Alcibiades) E

Alcibiades, they made a Peace, and a League with them, in these words.

The Athenians, and Argives, and Mantineans, and Eleans, for themselves, and for the Confederates commanded by every of them, have made an accord for 100 yeeres without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.

It shall not be lawfull for the Argives nor Eleans, nor Mantineans, nor their Confederates to beare Armes against the Athenians, or the * Confederates vnder the command of the Athenians, or their Confederates, by any fraud or machination whatsoever. And

B the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, have made League with each other for 100 yeeres on these termes.

If any enemy shall invade the Territory of the Athenians, then the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans shall goe vnto Athens, to assist them according as the Athenians shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after hee have spoyle the Territory shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy to the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and Athenians, and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities. And it shall not be lawfull for any of those Cities to give over the C Warre, without the consent of all the rest.

And if an enemy shall invade the Territory, either of the Argives, or of the Eleans, or of the Mantineans, then the Athenians shall come vnto Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, to assist them, in such sort as those Cities shall send them word to doe, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after hee hath wasted their Territory, shall be gone backe, then their Citie shall be held as an enemy, both to the Athenians, and also to the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, and Warre shall be made against it, by all those Cities; and it shall not be lawfull for any of them to give over the Warre against that Citie, without the consent of all the rest.

There shall no armed men be suffered to passe through the Dominions either of themselves, or of any the Confederates vnder their several commands to make Warre in any place whatsoever, unless by the suffrage of all the Cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, their passage be allowed.

To such as come to assist any of the other Cities, that Citie which sendeth them shall give maintenance for thirtie dayes after they shall arrive in the Citie that sent for them; and the like at their going away. But if they will use the Army for a longer time, then the Citie that E sends for them, shall find them maintenance, at the rate of three Oboles of Ægina a day for a man of Armes, and of a Drachma of Ægina for a horseman.

The

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS AND THE ARGIVES, &c.

* Confederates were of two sorts, such as on equall termes entered League with other, and such as served other in the Warre by compulsion, or as subiects, both called in the Greeke, *συνεταίροι*, properly, but not properly Confederates.

The Cities which sendeth for the aydes shall haue the leading, and A command of them, whilest the Warre is in their owne Territory: But if it shall seeme good vnto these Cities to make a Warre in common, then all the Cities shall equally participate of the command.

The Athenians shall sweare vnto the Articles both for themselves, and for their Confederates; and the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and the Confederates of these shall euery one sweare vnto them Cite by Cite, and their oath shall be the greatest that by custome of the senerall Cities is vsed, and with most perfect * hostes; and in these words: I will stand to this League according to the Articles thereof, iustly, innocently, and sincerely, and not B transgresse the same by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

This oath shall be taken at Athens, by the Senate, and the Officers of the Commons, and administred by the Prytaneis. At Argos it shall be taken by the Senate, and the Councell of Eighty, and by the Artynæ, and administred by the Councell of Eighty. At Mantinea it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Senate, and by the rest of the Magistrates, and administred by the Theori, and by the Tribunes of the Souldiers. At Elis it shall be taken by the procurators of the people, and by the Officers of the Treasury, and by the Councell of 600, and administred by the Procurators of the People, and by the Keepers of the Law.

This oath shall be renued by the Athenians, who shall goe to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos, thirty dayes before the Olympian Games; and by the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, who shall come to Athens, ten dayes before the Panathenæan Holydayes.

The Articles of this League and Peace and the oath, shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone; by the Athenians in the Cittadell; by the D Argives in their Market place, within the Precinct of the Temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their Market place, within the precinct of the Temple of Iupiter. And at the Olympian Games now at hand, there shall be erected ioyntly by them all, a brazen pillar in Olympia, [with the same inscription.]

If it shall seeme good to these Cities to adde any thing to these Articles; whatsoeuer shall be determined by them all in common Councell, the same shall stand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before betweene the Lacedæmonians & the Athenians, was notwithstanding, by neither side renounced. E

But

A But the Corinthians, although they were the Confederats of the Argives, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, betweene them and the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, that where one, there all, should haue Warre, or Peace, yet they refused to sweare to it; but said that their League defensiu was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in inuading. So the Corinthians fell off from their Confederates, and inclined againe to the Lacedæmonians.

B This Summer were celebrated the Olympian Games, in which Androthenes an Arcadian, was the first time Victor in the exercise called * Pancratium. And the Lacedæmonians were by the Eleans prohibited the Temple there; so as they might neither sacrifice, nor contend for the prizes, amongst the rest; for that they had not payed the Fine set vpon them, (according to an Olympique Law) by the Eleans, that laide to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of Phyrcon, and into Lepreum in the time of the Olympique Truce.

C The Fine amounted vnto * 2000 Minae, which was * two Minae for euery man of Armes, according to the Law. But the Lacedæmonians by their Ambassadors which they sent thither, made answer, That they had bene vnjustly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not published in Lacedæmon, when their Souldiers were sent out.

To this the Eleans said againe, That the Truce was already begunne amongst themselves, who vsed to publish it first in their owne Dominion, and thereupon, whilest they lay still, and expected no such matter, as in time of Truce, the Lacedæmonians did them D the injury at vnawares.

The Lacedæmonians hereunto replied, That it was not necessary to proceed to the publishing of the truce in Lacedæmon at all, if they thought themselves wronged already; but rather, if they thought themselves not wronged yet, then to doe it by way of prevention, that they should not Arme against them afterwards.

The Eleans stood stiffely in their first Argument; that they would neuer be perswaded but injury had been done them; but were neuertheless contented, if they would render Lepreum, both to remit their own part of the money, and also to pay that part for them which was due vnto the God.

Tt

When

The Corinthians still refuse the League with Athens, and incline againe to the Lacedæmonians.

The Olympian Games.

* Pancratium consisted of wrestling and fighting with fists. The Lacedæmonians forbidden the exercises, and why.

* 625 pound sterling.
* 6 pound 5 shillings sterling.

Contention between the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, before the Greeks, at Olympia, about a mulct set vpon the Lacedæmonians, by the Eleans, for breaking the Olympique Truce.

When this would not be agreed vnto, they required A this, not that they should render *Leprum* vnlesse they would, but that then they should come to the Altar of *Iupiter Olympian*, seeing they desired to haue free vse of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* take an oath, to pay the fine at least hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refused that also, they were excluded the Temple, the sacrifices, and the games, and sacrificed at home; But the rest of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be spectators. Neuerthelesse, the *Eleans* fearing lest they would come and sacrifice thereby force, kept a guard there B of their yongest men, in Armes, to whom were added *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, of either Citie 1000, and certaine *Athenian* horsemen, who were then at *Argos*, waiting the celebration of the Feast. For a great feare possessed all the Assembly, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should come vpon them with an Army; and the rather, because *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants vpon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the prize, after Proclamation made, that the Chariot of the *Bæotian* State had wonne it (because he himselfe was not C admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariotier, to make knowne that the Chariot was his owne. This added much vnto their feare, and they verily expected some accident to follow. Neuerthelesse, the *Lacedæmonians* stirred not, and the Feast passed ouer.

After the *Olympian* Games, the *Argiues* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors chanced to be there also; and after much conference, and nothing concluded, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, they brake off the D conference, and returned euery one to his owne Citie. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachia*, fought a battell against the *Ænians*, *Dolopians*, *Melians*, and certaine *Thessalians*. For the neighbour Cities, were enemies to this Citie, as built to the preiudice onely of them, and both opposed the same from the time it was first founded, annoying it what they could, and also in this battell ouercame them, and slew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with some others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this E Winter, and the twelfth yeere of this Warre.

In

Lichas a *Lacedæmonian* whipped vpon the *Olympian* Race.

The twelfth Summer.

A In the very beginning of the next Summer, the *Bæotians* tooke *Heraclea* miserably afflicted, into their owne hands, and put *Hegesippidas* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it, for his euill gouernment. They tooke it, because they feared, lest whilest the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponnesus*, it should haue bene taken in by the *Athenians*. Neuerthelesse the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The same Summer *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, being Generall of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argiues*, B and their Confederates, went into *Peloponnesus*, and hauing with him a few men of Armes, and Archers of *Athens*, and some of the Confederates which he tooke vp there, as he passed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered such affaires by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and comming to the *Patreans*, perswaded them to build their walls downe to the Sea-side, and purposed to raise another wall himselfe towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and such others as this wall would haue preiudiced, came forth and hindred him.

C The same Summer fell out a Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and the *Argiues*; the pretext thereof was about a Beast for sacrifice; which the *Epidaurians* ought to haue sent, in consideration of their pastures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argiues* being the principall owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades*, and the *Argiues* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all, both that the *Corinthians* might not stirre, and also that they might bring the *Athenian* succours from *Ægina*, into those parts a neerer way, then by compassing the Promontory of *Scyllæum*. And therefore the *Argiues* prepared, as of D themselues, to exact the sacrifice by inuasion.

About the same time also, the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole forces, came forth as farre as *Leuctra*, in the Confines of their owne Territory towards *Lyceum*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis*, the sonne of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew against what place they intended the Warre; No not the Cities themselues out of which they were leuyed. But when in the sacrifices which they made for their passage, the tokens obserued were vn lucky, they went home again, and sent word about to their Confederates (being now E the moneth * *Carneiu*) to prepare themselues after the next

T c 2

* Feast

Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and *Argiues*.

* Their holy moneth, in which they kept a Feast to *Apollo*.

* Inquiries.

* July.

Ambassadors meet about
Peace, but cannot agree.

* Feast of the New Moone (kept by the Dorians,) to be againe vpon their march. The Argives, who set forth the 26 day of the moneth before * Carneus, though they celebrated the same day, yet all the time they continued inuading and wasting Epidauria. And the Epidaurians called in their Confederates to helpe them, whereof some excused themselves vpon the quality of the moneth, and others came but to the Confines of Epidauria, and there stayed. Whilst the Argives were in Epidauria, the Ambassadors of diuers Cities, solicited by the Athenians, met together at Mantineia, where in a conference amongst them, Ephamidas of Corinth said, That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whilst they were sitting there to treat of a Peace, the Epidaurians with their Confederates, and the Argives stood armed in the meane time against each other in order of battell. That it was therefore fit that some body should goe first vnto the Armies from either side, and dissolue them, and then come againe and dispute of Peace.

This aduice being approued, they departed, and withdrew the Argives from Epidauria; and meeting afterwards againe in the same place, they could not for all that agree; and the Argives againe inuaded and wasted Epidauria.

The Lacedemonians also drew forth their Army against Caryæ, but then againe their sacrifice for passage, being not to their mind, they returned. And the Argives, when they had spoyled about the third part of Epidauria, went home likewise. They had the assistance of one thousand men of Armes of Athens, and Alcibiades their Commander, but these hearing that the Lacedemonians were in the field, and seeing now there was no longer need of them, departed and so passed this Summer.

The next Winter the Lacedemonians vnkowne to the Athenians, put 300 Garrison Soldiers vnder the Command of Agessippidas, into Epidaurus by Sea. For which cause the Argives came and expostulated with the Athenians, that whereas it was written in the Articles of the League, that no enemy should be suffered to passe through either of their Dominions, yet had they suffered the Lacedemonians to passe by * Sea; and said they had wrong, vlesse the Athenians would againe put the Messenians, and Helotes into Pylus against the Lacedemonians. Hereupon the Athenians, at the perswasion of Alcibiades, wrote vpon the * Lacedemonian pillar

* The Argives acknowledge
the Sea on their owne coast,
to be of the Dominion of A-
thens.

* It hath beene noted for the
Articles of the Peace to be
written in.

A pillar [vnder the inscription of the Peace] that the Lacedemonians had violated their oath, and they drew the Helotes out of * Crani, and put them againe into Pylus, to infect the Territory with druing of booties, but did no more.

All this Winter, though there was Warre betweene the Argives and Epidaurians, yet was there no set battell, but onely Ambushes and Skirmishes, wherein were slaine on both sides, such as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the Argives came to Epidaurus with Ladders, as destitute of men by reason of the Warre, thinking to haue wonne it by assault, but returned againe with their labour lost. And so ended this Winter, and the thirteenth yeere of this Warre.

In the middle of the next Summer, the Lacedemonians seeing that the Epidaurians, their Confederates, were tyred, and that of the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus, some had already reuolted, and others were but in euill termes; and apprehending that if they prevented it not, the mischiefe would spread still farther, put themselves into the field with all their owne forces, both of themselves and their Helotes, to make Warre against Argos, vnder the Conduct of Agis the sonne of Archidamus their King. The Tegæates went also with them, and of the rest of Arcadia, all that were in the Lacedemonian League. But the rest of their Confederates both within Peloponnesus, and without, were to meet together at Pylus. That is to say, of the Boeotians 5000 men of Armes, and as many Light-armed, 500 horse, and to euery * horseman, another man on foot, which holding the horses Mane, ran by with equall speed. Of Corinthians, 2000 men of Armes, and of the rest more or lesse, as they were. But the Phliasians, because the Army was assembled in their owne Territory, put forth their whole power. The Argives hauing had notice both formerly of the preparation of the Lacedemonians, and afterward of their marching out to ioine with the rest at Pylus, brought their Army likewise into the field. They had with them the aides of the Mantineans, and their Confederates, and 3000 men of Armes of the Eleans; and marching forward, met the * Lacedemonians at Methydrium, a Towne of Arcadia, each side seazing on a hill. And the Argives prepared to giue battell to the Lacedemonians, whiles they

were

* In Cephalonia where
they had before placed them.

THE FOURTEENTH YEERE.

Preparation of the Lacedemonians against Argos.

* The Lacedemonians,
Tegæates, and some Arcadians,
not the whole League,
which was not yet united.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates meet at Pblus.
The Argives go to meet them at the Forrest of Nemea.

The Lacedæmonians come into the Plaines before Argos.

The Argives enclosed between the Lacedæmonians and the Boeotians.

And the Lacedæmonians enclosed between the army of the Argives and their Citie.

He that lodged, the Lacedæmonians when any of them came to Argos.

were single. But Agis dislodging his Army by night, marched on to Pblus to the rest of the Confederates, vnseene. Vpon knowledge hereof, the Argives betimes in the morning retyred first to Argos, and afterwards to the Forrest of Nemea, by which they thought the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates would fall in. But Agis came not the way which they expected, but with the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians, and Epidaurians, whom he acquainted with his purpose, tooke another more difficult way to passe, and came downe into the Argive Plaines. The Corinthians also, and Pellenians, and Pblians, marched another troublesome way; Onely the Boeotians, Megareans, and Sicyonians, were appointed to come downe by the way of the Forrest of Nemea, in which the Argives were incamped; to the end that if the Argives should turne head against the Lacedæmonians, these might set vpon them at the backe with their horse.

Thus ordered, Agis entred into the Plaines, and spoyled Saminthus, and some other Townes thereabouts. Which when the Argives vnderstood, they came out of the Forrest somewhat after breake of day to oppose them, and lighting among the Pblians and Corinthians, slew some few of the Pblians, but had more slaine of their owne, by the Corinthians, though not many. The Boeotians, Megareans, and Sicyonians, marched forward towards Nemea, and found that the Argives were departed. For when they came downe, and saw their Country wasted, they put themselves into order of battell; and the Lacedæmonians, on the other side did the same; and the Argives stood intercepted in the midst of their enemies. For in the Plaine between them and the City, stood the Lacedæmonians, and those with them; aboue them were the Corinthians, Pblians, and Pellenians; and towards Nemea were the Boeotians, Sicyonians, and Megareans. And horsemen they had none, for the Athenians alone, of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the Argives, and their Confederates, did not thinke the danger present so great, as indeed it was, but rather that the aduantage in the battell would be their own, and that the Lacedæmonians were intercepted, not onely in the Argives Territory, but also hard by the Citie. But two men of Argos, Thrasylus, one of the five Commanders of the Army, and Alcipbron, *entertay-

ner

A ner of the Lacedæmonians, when the Armies were euen ready to ioyne, went vnto Agis, and dealt with him to haue the battell put off, for as much as the Argives were content and ready, both to propound, and accept of equall Arbitrators, in whatsoeuer the Lacedæmonians should charge them withall, and in the meane time, to haue peace with them solemnely confirmed.

This these Argives said of themselves, without the command of the generality; and Agis, of himselfe likewise, accepting their proposition, without deliberation had with the maior part, and hauing communicated it onely to some one more of those that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for foure moneths; in which space, they were to performe the things agreed vpon betwixt them. And then presently he withdrew his Armie, without giuing account to any of the rest of the League why he did so. The Lacedæmonians, and the Confederates followed Agis, according to the Law, as being their General, but amongst themselves taxed him exceedingly, for that hauing a very faire occasion of battell, the Argives being inclosed on all sides, both by their Horse and Foot, hee yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the fairest Army that euer the Grecians had in the field vnto this day; but it was most to be seene, when they were *altogether in the Forrest of Nemea. Where the Lacedæmonians were with their whole Forces, besides the Arcadians, Boeotians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Pblians, and Megareans; and these all chosen men of their seuerall Cities, and such as were thought a match, not onely for the League of the Argives, but for such another added to it. The Army thus offended with Agis, departed, and were dissolued, every man to his home. The Argives were much more offended with those of their Citie, which without the consent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they also supposing that the Lacedæmonians had escaped their hands in such an aduantage, as they neuer had the like before; in that the battell was to haue been fought vnder their City walls, and with the assistance of many and good Confederates. And in their returne, they began to stone E Thrasylus, at the Charadrum, (the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from warfare, vse to haue their

Propositions of Peace made by two priuate men of Argos.

And accepted by Agis, without the knowledge of the rest of the Commanders.

Agis withdrew his Army, and is censured for it by the Confederates.

* That is, going home, for still then they were neuer altogether in Nemea.

Thrasylus punished for propounding the Peace.

The Athenians infligate the Argives to breake the Truce.

their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar, A
saue himselfe, neuertheless they confiscated his goods.

After this, the Athenians comming in, with the ayde of
1000 men of Armes, and 300 Horse, vnder the Conduct of
Lach. s and Nicostratus, the Argives (for they were afraid for
all this, to breake the Truce with the Lacedæmonians) wil-
led them to be gone againe, and when they desired to treat,
would not present them to the People, till such time as
the Mantineans, and Eleas (who were not yet gone) forced
them vnto it by their importunity. Then the Athenians, in
the presence of Alcibiades, that was Ambassadour there, B
spake vnto the Argives, and their Confederates, saying, That
the Truce was vnduely made, without the assent of the rest of their
Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they
ought to fall againe to the Warre, and did by their words so
preuaile with the Confederates, that they all, saue the Ar-
gives, presently marched against * Orchomenus of Arcadia.

And these, though satisfied, stayed behind at first, but
afterwards they also went; and sitting downe before Or-
chomenus, ioyntly besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring
to take it in, as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the
Hostages which the Arcadians had giuen to the Lacedæmo- C
nians, were there in custody. The Orchomenians fearing the
weaknesse of their wals, and the greatnesse of the Army,
and lest they should perish, before any reliefe arriued, yeel-
ded vp the Towne on conditions: To be receiued into the
League; to giue Hostages for themselves; and to surrender the Ho-
stages, h. l. l. there by the Lacedæmonians, into the hands of the
Mantineans.

The Confederates after this, hauing gotten Orchomenus,
sate in Councell, about what Towne they should proceed
against next. The Eleas gaue aduice to goe against * Lep- D
reum, but the Mantineans, against Tegea. And the Argives
and Athenians concurred in opinion with the Mantineans.
But the Eleas taking it in euill part, that they did not de-
ceare to goe against Lepreum, went home; but the rest pre-
pared themselves at Mantinea, to goe against Tegea, which
also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

The Lacedæmonians, after their returne from Argos with
their foure moneths Truce, seuerely questioned Agis, for
that vpon so faire an opportunity, as they neuer had be- E
fore, he subdued not Argos to the State; for so many and so
good

The Argives breake the Truce, and besiege Orchomenus.

* There was another Orchomenus in Boetia.

Orchomenus yeelded.

* As being in particular hosti- lity with it.

The Argives goe next a- gainst Tegea, which dis- pleaseth the Eleas, and they goe home.

The Lacedæmonians ques- tion their King, for sus- pecting the Argives to goe off vnfoughten.

A good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together
again at one time. But when also the newes came of the
taking of Orchomenus, there was their indignation much
greater, and they presently resolved, contrary to their
owne custome, in their passion, to raze his house; and fine
him in the summe of * 10000 Drachinates. But he be-
sought them that they would doe neither of these things
yet, and promised that leading out the Armie againe, he
would by some valiant action, cancell those accusations;
or, if not, they might proceed afterwards to doe with
him whatsoeuer they thought good. So they forbore
both the Fine, and the razing of his house; but made a
decree for that present, such as had neuer beene before,
that tenne Spartans should bee elected and ioyned with
him as Councillours, without whom it should not be
lawfull for him to leade the Army into the field.

In the meane time came newes from their side in Tegea,
that vnlesse they came presently with aide, the Tegeans
would reuolt to the Argives, and their Confederates; and
that they wanted little of being reuolted already.

Vpon this, the Lacedæmonians with speed leuyed all
their forces, both of themselves, and their Helotes, in such
number, as they had neuer done before, and marched vnto
Orestium in Manalia, and appointed the Arcadians, such as
were of their League, to assemble, and follow them at
the heeles to Tegea.

The Lacedæmonians being come entire to Orestium, from
thence sent backe the sixt part of their Armie (in which
they put both the yongest and the eldest sort) for the
custody of the Citie, and with the rest marched on to Te-
gea; and not long after, arriued also their Confederates of
Arcadia.

They sent also to Corinth, and to the Boeotians, Phocæans,
and Locrians, to come with their aydes with all speed to
Mantinea. But these had too short a warning, nor was it
easie for them, vnlesse they came altogether, and stayed
for one another, to come through the enemies Countrey,
which lay betweene, and barred them of passage. Neuer-
theless, they made what hast they could. And the Lacedæ-
nians taking with them, their Arcadian Confederates present,
E, entred into the Territory of Mantinea, and pitching their
Camp by the Temple of Hercules, wasted the Territory about.

Vu

The

* 212 pound : of billings
sterling.

The Lacedæmonians put
their Army into the field
to rescue Tegea.

The Lacedæmonians waste
the Territory of Mani-
nea.

The *Argives*, and their Confederates, as soone as they A came in sight, leazed on a certaine place fortified by nature, and of hard acceffe, and put themselves into battell array. And the *Lacedæmonians* marched presently towards them, and came vp within a stone or a darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cryed out vnto *Agis*, seeing him to goe on against a place of that strength, that he went about to amend one fault with another, signifying that he intended to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which hee was questioned for, with his now vnseasonable forwardnesse. But he, B whether it were vpon that increpation, or some other sudden apprehension of his owne, presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching vnto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the water into the Territory of *Mantineia*; touching which water, because into what part soeuer it had his course, it did much harme to the Countrey, the *Mantineans*, and *Tegeates* were at Warres. Now his drift was, by the turning of that water, to prouoke those *Argives*, and their Confederates which kept the hill, when they should heare of it, to come down, and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plaine. And by that time he had stayed about the water a day, he had diuerted the streame. The *Argives*, & their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat, from so neere them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in fight, and that they themselves lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their C Commanders, both for suffering the *Lacedæmonians* to depart formerly, when they had them inclosed at so faire an advantage before *Argos*; and now againe, for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giuing them leaue to saue themselves, & betraying the Army. The Commanders for the present, were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew downe the Armie from the Hill, and comming forth into the Plaine, encamped, as to goe against the enemy. The next day the *Argives* and their Confederates put themselves into such order as (if occasion serued) they meant to fight in, & the *Lacedæmonians* returning frō the water to the temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly E encamped, perceiue the enemies to be all of the in order of battell

The *Argives* come downe from their aduantage, to seeke the enemy.

A battell hard by them, come downe already from the hill. Certainly the *Lacedæmonians* were more affrighted at this time, then euer they had beene to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themselves was exceeding short, and such was their diligence that every man fell immediately into his owne Rank, *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whilest the King hath the Army in the field, all things are commanded by him, and he signifieth what is to be done, to the * *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagi*, these to the *P. niecontateres*, and these againe to the *Enomatachi*, who laityly make it knowne, euery one to his owne *Enomatia*. In this manner, when they would haue any thing to be done, their commands passe through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almost all the *Lacedæmonian* Army, saue a very few, are Captaines of Captaines, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lyeth vpon many. Now their left Wing consisted of the * *Sciritæ*, which amongst the *Lacedæmonians* haue euer alone that place. Next to these were placed the *Brasidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrace*, and with them, * those that had been newly made free. C After them in order, the rest of the *Lacedæmonians*, Band after Band, and by them *Arcadians*, first the *Heræans*, after these the *Menaliars*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedæmonians* in the point of the same Wing. And vpon the out side of either Wing, the horsemen. So stood the *Lacedæmonians*. Opposite to them, in the right Wing, stood the *Mantineans*, because it was vpon their owne Territory, and with them such *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 chosen *Argives* which D the City had for a long time caused to be trayned for the Warres, at the publique charge; and next to them the rest of the *Argives*. After these the *Cleonæans*, and *Orneates*, their Confederates. And lastly, the *Athenians* with the Horsemen (which were also theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedæmonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either side, or in generall, I could not exactly write. E For the number of the *Lacedæmonians*, agreeable to the secrecy of that State, was vnknowne, and of the other side, for

The *Lacedæmonians* put themselves in order hastily.

* *Polemarchi* Maritall of the fleet. The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels. *Pentecontateres*, Capt. vnes of companies. *Enomatachi*, Captaines of the fourth part of Company. An *Enomatia*, was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.

* A Band of the *Lacedæmonians* so called, perhaps from *Scirus* a Towne in *Laconia*.

* *Sciritæ* *Sciritæ*.

The order of the battell of the *Argives*.

the ostentation vsuall with all men, touching the number A of themselves was vnbeleueed. Neuertheless the number of the Lacedæmonians may be attained by computing thus. Besides the Sciritæ, which were 600. there fought in all seuen * Regiments, in euery Regiment were foure * Companies, in each Company were foure * Enomatiæ, and of euery Enomatiæ, there stood in Front, foure; but they were not ranged all alike in File, but as the Captaines of Bands thought it necessary. But the Army in generall was so ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the first Ranke of the whole, besides the Sciritæ, consisted of 448 B Souldiers.

Now when they were ready to ioyne, the Commanders made their hortatines, euery one to those that were vnder his owne command. To the Mantineans it was said, *That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their liberty, and seruitude, that the former might not be taken from them, and that they might not againe taste of the later.* The Argiues were admonished, *That whereas anciently they had the leading of Peloponnesus, and in it an equal share, they should not now suffer themselves to be deprived of it for ever; and that withall, they should reuenge the many iniuries of a City, their neighbour and enemy.* To the Athenians it was remembered, *how honourable a thing it would be for them, in company of so many and good Confederates, to be inferior to none of them; and that if they had once vanquished the Lacedæmonians in Peloponnesus, their owne Dominion would become both the more assured, and the larger by it, and that no others would inuade their Territory hereafter.* Thus much was said to the Argiues and their Confederates. But the Lacedæmonians encouraged one another, both of themselves, and also by the * manner of their Discipline in the Warres, taking encouragement, being valiant men, by the commemoration of what they already knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actuall experience, conferred more to their safety, then any short verbal exhortation, though neuer so well deliuered. After this followed the battell.

The Argiues and their Confederates, marched to the charge with great violence, and fury. But the Lacedæmonians, slowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Military Discipline, not as a point of Religion, but that marching euenly, and by measure, their Rankes might not be distracted,

* 26, 21, less then ordinary Regiments with vs, more then ordinary Companies.

* Companies of 50, but more or lesse in them as occasion served.

* Enomatiæ, the fourth part of a Pentecostye. By this account euery Enomatiæ had 33. euery Pentecostye 128. euery Band or 20, 21, 512. the whole Army besides the Sciritæ 3584. and with the Sciritæ which are 600. 4184. which number vsed also by 8, 448 in ranke 8 in File, make 3584, and then the 600 Sciritæ, as before, make 4184. light-armed Souldiers, which usually far exceed the number of men of Armes are not reckoned. The hortatiue to the Argiues, and their Confederates.

The Lacedæmonians encourage one another. * They used before battell to sing Songs containing encouragement, to dye for their Country.

The fight.

A distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the face of the Enemy vse to be.

Whilest they were yet marching vp, Agis the King thought of this course. All Armies doe thus; In the Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it commeth in vpon the Flanke of the left Wing of the enemy; and this happeneth for that, that euery one through feare seeketh all he can to couer his vnarmed side, with the Shield of him that standeth next him on his right hand, conceiuing, that to be so locked together, is their best defence. The beginning hereof, is in the leader of the first File on the right hand, who euer striving to shift his vnarmed side from the enemy, the rest vpon like feare follow after. And at this time, the Mantineans in the right Wing, had farre encompassed the Sciritæ: and the Lacedæmonians on the other side, and the Tegeates, were come in, yet farther, vpon the Flanke of the Athenians, by as much as they had the greater Army. Wherefore Agis fearing lest his left Wing should be encompassed, & supposing the Mantineans to be come in farre, signified vnto the Sciritæ and Brasidians, to draw out part of their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing, to the right Wing of the Mantineans, and into the void space, he commanded to come vp Hipponoidas, and Aristocles, two Colonels with their Bands, out of the right Wing, and to fall in there, and make vp the breach: Conceiuing that more then enough would be still remaining in their right Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the Mantineans, would be the stronger. But it happened, (for he commanded it in the very onset, and on the sodaine) both that Aristocles, and Hipponoidas refused to go to the place commanded (for which they were afterwards banished Sparta, as thought to haue disobeyed out of cowardise) and that the enemy had in the meane time also charged. And when those which he commanded to goe to the place of the Sciritæ, went not, they could no more reunite themselves, nor close againe the empty space. But the Lacedæmonians, though they had the worst at this time in euery point, for skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselves superior. For after the fight was once begun, notwithstanding that the right Wing of the Mantineans did put to flight the Sciritæ & Brasidians, and that the Mantineans, together with their Confederates, and those 1000 chosen men of

The Lacedæmonians haue the disadvantage for order, but advantage of valour.

The Lacedæmonians have the victory.

of Argos, falling vpon them in Flanke, by the breach not A yet clozed vp, killed many of the Lacedæmonians, and put to flight, and chased them to their Carriages, slaying also certaine of the elder sort, left there for a guard, so as in this part the Lacedæmonians were ouercome. But with the rest of the Army, and especially the middle battell, where Agis was himselfe, and those which are called, the 300 horsemen, about him, they charged vpon the eldest of the Argiues, and vpon those which are named, the five Cohorts, and vpon the Cleonæans, and Orneates, and certaine Athenians aranged amongst them, and put them all to flight. In such sort, as B many of them neuer stooke stroake, but as soone as the Lacedæmonians charged, gaue ground presently, and some for feare to be ouertaken, were trodden vnder foot. As soone as the Army of the Argiues and their Confederates had in this part giuen ground, they began also to breake, on either side. The right Wing of the Lacedæmonians and Tegeates had now with their surplusage of number hemmed the Athenians in, so as they had the danger on all hands, being within the circle, pend vp; and without it, already vanquished. And they had been the most distressed part C of all the Army had not their horsemen come in to helpe them. Withall it fell out that Agis when he perceiued the left Wing of his owne Army to labour, namely, that which was opposed to the Mantineans, and to those thousand Argiues, commanded the whole Army to goe and relieue the part ouercome. By which meanes the Athenians, and such of the Argiues as together with them, were ouerlaid whilst the Army passed by and declined them, faued themselves at leasure. And the Mantineans with their Confederates, and those chosen Argiues, had no more mind D now of pressing vpon their enemies, but seeing their side was ouercome, and the Lacedæmonians approaching them, presently turned their backs. Of the Mantineans the greatest part were slaine, but of those chosen Argiues, the most were saued, by reason the flight, and going off, was neither hasty nor long. For the Lacedæmonians fight long and constantly till they haue made the enemy to turne his backe, but that done, they follow him not farre.

The Lacedæmonians pursue not the enemy farre.

Thus or neere thus, went the battell, the greatest that E has been of a long time betweene Grecians, and Grecians, and of two the most famous Cities. The Lacedæmonians laying

Number of the dead.

A laying together the Armes of their slaine enemies, presently erected a Trophie, and rifled their dead bodies. Their owne dead they tooke vp, and carried them to Tegea, where they were also buried, and deliuered to the Enemies theirs, vnder truce. Of the Argiues, and Orneates, and Cleonæans were slaine 700. of the Mantineans, 200. and of the Athenians, with the Egimæa, likewise 200. and both the Captaines. The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians were neuer pressed, and therefore their losse was not worth mentioning. And of the Lacedæmonians themselves, it is B hard to know the certaintie, but it is said there were slaine three hundred.

When it was certaine they would fight, Pleistoanax the other King of the Lacedæmonians, and with him both old and yong, came out of the Citie to haue ayded the Armie, and came forth as farre as Tegea, but being aduertised of the Victory, they returned. And the Lacedæmonians sent out to turne backe also those Confederates of theirs which were comming to them from Corinthe, and from without the Isthmus. And then they also went home C themselves, and hauing dismissed their Confederates (for now were the Carneian Holidayes) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battell they wiped off their disgrace with the Grecians: for they had beene taxed both with cowardise, for the blow they receiued in the Iland, and with imprudence and slacknesse in other occasions. But after this, their miscarriage was imputed to Fortune, and for their mindes, they were esteemed to haue been euer the same they had beene.

The Lacedæmonians recover their reputation.

The day before this Battell, it chanced also that the D Epidaurians with their whole power invaded the Territory of Argos, as being emptied much of men; and whilst the Argiues were abroad, killed many of those that were left behinde to defend it.

The Epidaurians enter the territory of Argos.

Also three thousand men of Elis, and a thousand Athenians, besides those which had beene sent before, being come after the Battell to ayde the Mantineans, marched presently all, to Epidaurus, & lay before it all the while the Lacedæmonians were celebrating the Carneian Holidayes: and assigning to euery one his part, began to take in the Citie with E a Wall. But the rest gaue ouer; only the Athenians quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their taske) wherein stood

The Athenians build a Fort before Epidaurus.

The end of the twelfth Summer.
Peace concluded between the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

stood the Temple of Juno. In it, amongst them all they A left a Garrison; and went home every one to his owne City. And so this Summer ended.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the Lacedæmonians, presently after the end of the Carthian Holidays, drew out their Armie into the Field, and being come to Tegea, sent certaine propositions of agreement before to Argos. There were before this time many Citizens in Argos, well affected to the Lacedæmonians; and that desired the deposing of the Argive People, and now after the Battell, they were better able by much to perswade the people to composition, then they formerly were. And their designe was, first, to get a Peate made with the Lacedæmonians; and after that a League, and then at last to set vpon the Commons.

There went thither, Lichas the sonne of Archefilaus, entertainer of the Argives in Lacedæmon, and brought to Argos two propositions; one of Warre, if the Warre were to proceed; another of Peace, if they would haue Peace. And after much contradiction, (for Alcibiades was also there) the Lacedæmonian Faction, that boldly now discovered themselves, prequailed with the Argives to accept the proposition of Peace, which was this.

THE ARTICLES.

It seemeth good to the Councell of the Lacedæmonians, to accord with the Argives on these Articles:

The Argives shall redeliuer vnto the Orchomenians their * children, and vnto the Mænalians their * men, and vnto the Lacedæmonians those * men that are at Mantinea.

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from Epidaurus, and raze the Fortification there. And if the Athenians depart not D from Epidaurus likewise, they shall bee held as Enemies both to the Argives and to the Lacedæmonians, and also to the Confederates of them both.

If the Lacedæmonians haue any men of theirs in custody, they shall deliuer them every one to his owne Citie.

And for so much as concerneth the * God, the Argives shall accept composition with the Epidaurians, vpon an * Oath which they shall sweare, touching that controuersie, and the Argives shall giue the forme of that Oath.

All the Cities of Peloponnesus, both small and great, shall bee E free, according to their parriall Lawes.

If

A If any without Peloponnesus shall enter into it, to doe it harme, the Argives shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Councell shall by the Peloponnesians be thought reasonable.

The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, without Peloponnesus, shall haue the same conditions which the Confederates of the Argives, and of the Lacedæmonians haue, every one holding his owne.

This composition is to hold from the time, that they shall both parts haue shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their B consent.

And if it shall seeme good to either part to adde or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent vnto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the Argives accepted at first, and the Army of the Lacedæmonians returned from Tegea, to their owne City. But shortly after, when they had commerce together, the * same men went further, and so wrought, that the Argives renouncing their League with the Mantinians, Eleans, and Athenians, made league and alliance with the C Lacedæmonians in this forme.

It seemeth good to the Lacedæmonians and Argives, to make League and alliance for fifty yeeres, on these Articles:

That either side shall allow vnto the other, equal and like trials of Iudgement, after the forme used in their Cities.

That the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus (this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be * free, both from the lawes, and payments of any other City then their owne, holding what they haue, and affording equal and like tryals of iudgement, according to the forme used in their seuerall Cities.

D That every of the Cities, Confederate with the Lacedæmonians without Peloponnesus, shall be in the same condition with the Lacedæmonians, and the Confederates of the Argives, in the same with the Argives, every one holding his owne.

That if at any time there shall need an expedition to be undertaken in common, the Lacedæmonians, and the Argives shall consult thereof, and decree, as shall stand most with equity towards the Confederates; and that if any Controuersie arise betwene any of the Cities either within, or without Peloponnesus, about limits or other matter, they also shall decide it.

That if any Confederate Citie bee at contention with another

* The Lacedæmonian faction.

The League betweene the Argives and Lacedæmonians.

* Antiquosus et antiquissimus.

* Hostages which they tooke of the Orchomenians.

* Hostages of the Mænalians.

* Apollo, to whom the Epidaurians should haue sent a heast for sacrifice, in name of their pastures, but not doing it, the Argives went about to force the to it.

* An Oath to send the heast for sacrifice hereafter.

X x

another, it shall haue recourse to that City, which they both shall A
thinks most indifferent; but the particular men of any one City, shall
be iudged according to the Law of the same.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and what-
soever one had taken from other in the Warre, or what foe-
uer, one had against another otherwise, was all acquitted.

Now when they were together settling their businesse,
they ordered, that the *Argiues* should neither admit Herald
or Ambassage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out
of *Peloponnesus*, and had quit the Fortification, nor should
make Peace or Warre with any, without consent of the B
rest.

And amongst other things which they did in this heat,
they sent Ambassadors from both their Cities, to the
Townes lying vpon *Thrace*, and vnto *Perdiccas*, whom they
also perswaded to sweare himselfe of the same League.
Yet he reuolted not from the *Athenians* presently; but in-
tended it, because he saw the *Argiues* had done so; and was
himselfe also anciently descended out of *Argos*. They like-
wise renewed their old oath with the *Chalcidians*; and
tooke another besides it.

The *Argiues* sent Ambassadors also to *Athens*, requiring
them to abandon the Fortification they had made against
Epidaurus. And the *Athenians* considering that the Souldi-
ers they had in it, were but few, in respect of the many o-
ther that were with them in the same, sent *Demosthenes* thi-
ther to fetch them away. He, when he was come, and had
exhibited for a pretence, a certaine exercise of naked men
without the Fort, when the rest of the Garrison were
gone forth to see it, made fast the Gates, and afterwards
hauing renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the A-D
Athenians by themselves put the Fort into their hands.

After the reuolt of the *Argiues* from the League, the
Mantineans also, though they withstood it at first, yet being
too weake without the *Argiues*, made their Peace with the
Lacedemonians, and laid downe their command ouer the
* other Cities. And the *Lacedemonians* and *Argiues*, with
a thousand men of either City, hauing ioyned their Armes,
the *Lacedemonians* first, with their single power, reduced
the government of *Sicyon* to a smaller number, and then they
both together dissolued the Democracy at *Argos*. E

And the Oligarchy was established conformable to the
State

The *Argiues* and *Lacede-
monians* make an order
that the *Athenians* shall
quit the Fort.

They sollicite the townes
vpon *Thrace* to reuolt
from the *Athenians*.

Demosthenes being sent to
fetch their Souldiers
from the Fort, deliue-
reth the same by a wile
to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Mantineans* forsake
the League of *Athens*.

* Which they had the leading
of in *Arcadia*.

Sicyon, and *Argos* reduced
to Oligarchies.

A State of *Lacedemon*. These things passed in the end of
Winter, and neere the Spring. And so ended the four-
teenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer the *Distidians* seated in Mount *Aibos*,
reuolted from the *Athenians*, to the *Chalcidians*.

And the *Lacedemonians* ordered the State of *Achaia*, after
their owne forme, which before was otherwise. But the
Argiues, after they had by little and little assembled them-
selves, and recovered heart, taking their time when the *La-
cedemonians* were celebrating their exercises of the naked
B youth, assaulted the *Few*, and in a battell fought within
the City, the Commons had the victory, & some they slew,
other they draue into exile. The *Lacedemonians*, though
those of their faction in *Argos* sent for them, went not a
long time after, yet at last they adiourned the exercises, and
came forth with intention to giue them aid, but hearing by
the way, at *Tegea*, that the *Few* were overcome, they could
not be entreated, by such as had escaped thence, to goe on,
but returning, went on with the celebration of their exer-
cises. But afterwards, when there came Ambassadors vnto
C them, both from the *Argiues* in the City, & from them that
were driuen out, there being present also their Confederates,
and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last,
that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to
goe against *Argos* with their Army; but many delayes pas-
sed, and much time was spent betweene. In the meane time
the common people of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedemonians*, &
regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiuing the same
would turne to their very great aduantage, raise long walls
from their City, downe to the Sea-shore; to the end that
D if they were shut vp by Land, they might yet, with the
helpe of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City
by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of
Peloponnesus were also acquainted. And the *Argiues*, vniuer-
sally themselves, and wiues, and seruants, wrought at the
wal; and had workemen, and hewers of stone from *Athens*.
So this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the *Lacedemonians* vnderstanding, that
they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they
and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*; & some pra-
E ctice they had beside, within the City it selfe of *Argos*. The
Army was commanded by *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*,
X x 2 King

THE FIFTEENTH
YEERE.
The *Distidians* reuolt
from *Athens*.
Achaia Oligarchized.
Argos repleiseth into a
Democracy.

The *Argiues* come againe
to the League of *Athens*,
and with long walls take
in a way from their City
to the Sea.

The end of the fifteenth
Summer.

The *Lacedemonians* Army
comes to *Argos*, and ra-
zeth the walls which they
were building.

They take *Hysia* a Towne
in *Argos*.

The *Argives* spoyle the
Territory of *Phliasia*.

The *Athenians* quarrell
Perdiccas, and barre him
the vie of the Sea.

THE SIXTEENTH
YEERE.
Alcibiades fetcheth away
300 Citizens of *Argos* for
Laundering.

The *Athenians* warre
against the Ile of *Melos*.

King of the *Lacedæmonians*. But those things which were **A**
practizing in *Argos*, and supposed to haue beene already
mature, did not then succeed. Neuerthelesse they tooke
the walles that were then in building, and razed them to
the ground; and then after they had taken *Hysia*, a towne in
the *Argive* Territory, and slaine all the freemen in it, they
went home, and were dissolued euery one to his owne City.

After this, the *Argives* went with an Army into *Phlia-*
sia, which when they had wasted, they went backe. They
did it, because the men of *Phlius* had receiued their Out-
lawes; for there the greatest part of them dwelt. **B**

The same Winter the *Athenians* shut vp *Perdiccas* in *Ma-*
cedonia, from the vse of the Sea; Obiecting that hee had
sworne the League of the *Argives*, and *Lacedæmonians*, and
that when they had prepared an Army, vnder the com-
mand of *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, to goe against the
Chalcidians vpon *Thrace*, and against *Amphipolis*, he had bro-
ken the League made betwixt them, and him; and by his
departure, was the principall cause of the dissolution of
that Army, and was therefore an enemy. And so this
Winter ended, and the fifteenth yeere of this Warre. **C**

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos*, with
twenty Gallies, and tooke thence the suspected *Argives*,
and such as seemed to fauour of the *Lacedæmonian* faction,
to the number of 300, and put them into the neereſt of the
Ilands subiect to the *Athenian* State.

The *Athenians* made Warre also against the Ile of *Melos*,
with 30 Gallies of their owne, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*.
Wherein were of their owne, 1200 men of Armes, 300
Archers, and 20 Archers on horsebacke, and of their Confe-
derates and Ilanders, about 1500 men of Armes. The *Me-*
lians are a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore re-
fused to be subiect, as the rest of the Ilands were, vnto the *A-*
thenians; but rested at the first newtrall, and afterwards
when the *Athenians* put them to it, by wasting of their
Land, they entred into open Warre. **D**

Now the *Athenian* Commanders *Cleomenes* the sonne of
Lycomedes, and *Licias* the sonne of *Lisimachus*, being encamped
vpon their Land with these forces, before they would hurt
the same, sent Ambassadors to deale with them first by
way of conference. These Ambassadors the *Melians* re-
fused to bring before the multitude, but commanded them **E**

10

A to deliuer their message before the *Magistrates*, and the *Few*,
and they accordingly said as followeth.

DIALOGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath.

Since we may not speake to the multitude, for feare lest when they
heare our perswasive and vnanswerable Arguments, all at
once in a continued Oration, they should chance to bee seduced,
(for we know that this is the scope of your bringing vs to audience
before the Few) make surer yet that point, you that sit heere; answer
you also to euery particular, not in a set speech, but presently inter-
rupting vs, whensoever any thing shall bee said by vs, which shall
seeme vnto you to be otherwise. And first answer vs, whether you
like this motion, or not?

Wherevnto the Councell of the *Melians* answered;

Mel. The equity of a leasurely debate is not to be found fault
withall; but this preparation of warre, not future, but already heere
present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are
come to bee Iudges of the conference, and that the issue of it, if we bee
superiour in argument, and therefore yeeld not, is likely to bring vs
Warre; and if we yeeld, seruitude. **C**

Ath. Nay if you be come together to reckon vp suspicions of what may
bee, or to any other purpose, then to take aduice vpon what is present;
and before your eyes, how to saue your Citie from destruction, let vs
giue ouer. But if this be the point, let vs speake to it.

Mel. It is reason, and pardonable for men in our cases, to turne both
their words and thoughts vpon diuers things: Howsoever, this con-
sultation being held onely vpon the point of our safety, we are content,
if you thinke good, to goe on with the course you haue propounded.

D *Ath.* As we, therefore, will not, for our parts, with faire pre-
tences, (as that hauing defeated the *Medes*, our raigne is therefore
lawfull, or That we come against you for intury done) make a long
discourse without being beleened; so would we haue you also not expect
to preuaile, by saying, either, That you therefore tooke not our parts,
because you were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*; or, that you
haue done vs no intury; but one of those things which we both of vs
doe really thinke, let vs goe through, with that which is feasible, both
you, and wee, knowing, that in humane disposition, iustice is thin-
ly agreed on, when the necessity is equall. Whereas they that haue
E odds of power, exact as much as they can, and the weak yeeld to such
conditions as they can get.

Mel.

Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of profit in the place A of that of Iustice) we hold it profitable for our selues, not to overthrow a generall profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they plead reason, and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compassse of Iustice, yet it ought euer to doe them good; And the same most of all concerneth you, forasmuch as you shall else giue an example vnto others, of the greatest reuenge that can bee taken, if you chance to miscarry.

Ath. As for vs, though our dominion should cease, yet wee feare not the sequell. For not they that command, as doe the Lacedæmonians, are cruell to those that are vanquished by them, (yet wee haue B nothing to doe now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as hauing bene in subiection, haue assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the victory. But let the danger of that be to our selues. In the meane time, wee tell you this, that wee are here now, both to enlarge our owne dominion, and also to conserue about the sauing of your Citie. For wee would haue dominion ouer you, without oppressing you, and preserue you, to the profit of vs both.

Mel. But how can it be profitable for vs to serue, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying, shall saue your selues from extremity; and wee not destroying you, shall reape profit by you. C

Mel. But will you not accept that wee remaine quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before wee were your enemies,) and take part with neither?

Ath. No. For your enmity doth not so much hurt vs, as your friendship will be an argument of our weaknesse, and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we beare rule ouer.

Mel. Why? Doe your Subiects measure equity so, as to put those that neuer had to doe with you, and themselves, who for the most part haue bene your owne Colonies, and some of them after reuolt D conquered, into one and the same consideration?

Ath. Why not? For they thinke they haue reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborne, are so through our feare. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion ouer so many more Subiects, we shall also assure it the more ouer those we had before, especially being masters of the Sea, and you Islanders, and weaker (except you can get the victory) then others whom we haue subdued already.

Mel. Doe you thinke then that there is no assurance in that which E we propounded? For here againe (since driving vs from the plea of equity,

A equity, you perswade vs to submit to your profit) when we haue shewed you what is good for vs, we must endeavour to draw you to the same, as far forth as it shall be good for you also. As many therefore as now are neutrall what doe you but make them your enemies. When beholding these your proceedings, they looke that hereafter you will also turne your Armes vpon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you haue already, and to make others your Enemies euen against their wills, that would not else haue bene so?

Ath. We doe not thinke that they shall be euer the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will bee long ere B they so much as keepe guard vpon their liberty against vs. But Islanders vn subdued, as you bee, or Islanders offended with the necessity of subiection which they are already in, these may indeed, by vnadvised courses, put both themselves and vs into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retaine your command, and your vassals, to get loose from you, will vndergoe the utmost of danger, would it not in vs that be already free, be great basenesse and cowardise, if we should not incounter any thing whatsoever, rather then suffer our selues to be brought into bondage?

Ath. No; if you aduise rightly. For you haue not in hand a match C of valour vpon equall termes, wherein to forget your honour, but rather a consultation vpon your safety, that you resist not such as be so furre your ouermatches.

Mel. But wee know, that in matter of Warre, the euent is soetimes otherwise then according to the difference of the number in sides. And that if we yeeld presently, all our hope is lost; whereas, if wee hold out, we haue yet a hope to keepe our selues vp.

Ath. Hope, the comfort of danger, when such vse it as haue to spare, though it hurt them, yet it destroyes them not. But so such as set their rest vpon it, (for it is a thing by nature prodigall) it at once by failing maketh it selfe knowne; and knowne, leaueth no place D for future caution. Which let not be your owne case you that are but weak. and haue no more but this one stake. Nor bee you like vnto many men, who though they may presently saue themselves by humane meanes, will yet when (vpon pressure of the Enemy) their most apparent hopes faile them, betake themselves to blinde ones, as Divination, Oracles, and other such things, which with hopes destroy men.

Mel. Wee thinke it (you well know) a hard matter for vs to combat your power and fortune, vnlesse wee might doe it on equall E termes. Neuerthelesse we beleeeue, that for fortune wee shall bee nothing inferiour, as hauing the Gods on our side, because wee stand innocent,

innocent, against men unjust. And for power, what is wanting in A
us, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who
are of necessity obliged if for no other cause, yet for consanguinities
sake, and for their owne honour to defend vs. So that we are confi-
dent, not altogether so much without reason, as you thinke.

Ath. As for the fauour of the Gods, we expect to haue it as
well as you, for we neither doe, nor require any thing contrary to what
mankind hath decreed, either concerning the worship of the Gods, or
concerning themselves. For of the Gods we thinke, according to the
common opinion, and of men, that for certaine, by necessity of Nature,
they will euery where raigne ouer such as they be to strong for. Nei- B
ther, did we make this Law, nor are we the first that vse it made, but
as we found it, and shall leaue it to posterity for euer so also we vse it.
Knowing that you likewise, and others that should haue the same
power which we haue, would doe the same. So that for as much as
toucheth the fauour of the Gods, we haue in reason no feare of being
inferiour. And as for the opinion you haue of the Lacedæmonians,
in that you beleue they will helpe you for their owne honour, wee
blesse your innocent mindes, but affect not your folly. For the Lacedæ-
monians, though in respect of themselves, and the constitutions of
their owne Countrey, they are wont for the most part, to be generous, C
yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest
way one might say it all thus, That most apparantly of all men, they
hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for iust, that which
profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd
meanes of safety.

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather be-
leue that they will not betray their owne Colony, the Melians; and
thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends,
and beneficiall to such as be their enemies.

Ath. You thinke not then that what is profitable, must bee also D
safe, and that which is iust and honourable, must be performed vvith
danger, vvhich commonly the Lacedæmonians are least vvilling of
all men, to vndergoe for others.

Mel. But vve suppose that they vvill vndertake danger for vs,
rather then for any other; and that they thinke that vve vvill be more
assured vnto them, then vnto any other; because for action vvee be
neere to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithfull then
others for our neere nesse of kinne.

Ath. The security of such as are at Warres, consisteth not in the
good vvill of those that are called to their aide, but in the power of E
those meanes they excell in. And this the Lacedæmonians
them-

A themselves vse to consider more then any; and therefore out of diffi-
dence in their owne forces, they take many of their Confederates with
them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Where-
fore it is not likely, we being Masters of the sea, that they will euer
passe ouer into an Iland.

Mel. Yea, but they may haue others to send; and the Cretique
sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of
it, then it is for him that will steale by, to saue himselfe. And if this
course faile, they may turne their Armies against your owne Territory,
or those of your Confederates not inuaded by Brasidas. And then you
B shall haue to trouble your selues, no more about a Territory that you
haue nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also
may find by experience, and not be ignorant that the Athenians, ne-
uer yet gaue ouer siege, for feare of any diuersion vpon others. But
we obserue that whereas you said you would consult of your safety you
haue not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying
on, could hope to be preserued by. The strongest arguments you vse,
are but future hopes and your present power, is too short to defend you
against the forces already aranged against you. You shall therefore
C take very absurd counsaile, vnlesse excluding vs, you make amongst
your selues, some more discreet conclusion; For when you are by your
selues, you will no more set your thoughts vpon shame, which, when
dishonour and danger stand before mens eyes for the most part vndo-
eth them. For many, when they haue foreseene into what dangers
they were entring, haue neuerthelesse beene so ouercome by that forcible
word, dishonour, that that which is but called dishonour, hath
caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities & so to draw
vpon themselves, really by their owne madnesse, a greater dishonour
then could haue befallne them by fortune. Which you, if you deliberate
D wisely, will take heed of, and not thinke shame to submit to a most po-
tent Citie, and that vpon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of
enioying your owne, vnder tribute. And seeing choise is giuen you of
Warre, or safety, doe not out of peeuishnesse take the worse. For such
doe take the best course, who though they giue no way to their equals,
yet doe fairly accomodate to their superiours, and towards their infe-
riours, vse moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilest we stand off,
and haue often in your minde, that you deliberate of your Countrey,
which is to be happy or miserable in & by this one consultation. So the
Athenians went aside from the conference; and the Melians
E after they had decreed the very same things which before
they had spoken, made answer vnto them in this manner.

Y y

Mel.

Mel. Men of Athens, our resolution is no other then what A
you haue heard before ; nor will we in a small portion of time, ouer-
throw that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of
700 yeeres since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune
by which the Gods haue preserued it hetherto, and vnto the helpe
of men, that is, of the Lacedæmonians, wee will doe our best to
maintaine the same. But this we offer ; To be your friends ;
Enemies to neither side ; and you to depart out of our
Land after agreement , such as we shall both thinke fit.
Thus the Melians answered ; to which the Athenians , the
conference being already broken off, replied thus.

Ath. You are the onely men, (as it seemeth to vs by this 'con-
sultation) that thinke future things more certaine , then things seene,
and behold things doubtfull, through desire to haue them true, as if
they were already come to passe. As you attribute and trust the
most, vnto the Lacedæmonians, and to Fortune, and Hopes ;
So will you be the most deceived. This said, the Athenian Am-
bassadors departed to their Campe, and the Commanders,
seeing that the Melians stood out, fell presently to the War,
and diuiding the worke among the seuerall Cities, encom-
passed the City of the Melians with a wall. The Athe- C
nians afterwards ; left some forces of their owne , and of
their Confederates, for a guard , both by Sea and Land,
and with the greatest part of their Army, went home. The
rest that were left, besieged the place.

About the same time, the Argiues, making a Road into
Phliasia, lost about 80 of their men, by ambush laid for them
by the men of Phliu, and the outlawes of their owne City.

And the Athenians that lay in Pylus, fetched in thither a
great booty from the Lacedæmonians ; notwithstanding
which the Lacedæmonians did not warre vpon them , as re- D
nouncing the Peace, but gave leaue by Edict onely , to any
of their people that would to take booties reciprocally in
the Territory of the Athenians.

The Corinthians also made Warre vpon the Athenians,
but it was for certaine controuerfies of their owne , and
the rest of Peloponnesus stirred not.

The Melians also tooke that part of the wall of the A-
thenians by an assault in the night , which looked towards
the Market place, and hauing slaine the men that guarded
it, brought into the Towne both Corne, and other prouisi- E
on whatsoeuer they could buy for money, and so returned
and

The Athenians and Melians agree not.

The City of Melos besieged.

The Argiues loose 80 men by an Ambushment of the Phliasians.

The Athenians in Pylus inflict Læstia.

The Corinthians Warre on the Athenians.

The Melians teleue their Towne.

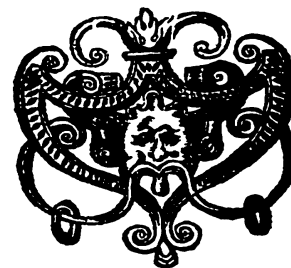
A and lay still. And the Athenians from thenceforth kept a
better watch. And so this Summer ended.

The Winter following, the Lacedæmonians being about
to enter with their Army into the Territory of the Ar-
giues, when they perceiued that the sacrifices which they
made on the border, for their passage, were not acceptable,
returned. And the Argiues, hauing some of their owne Ci-
tie in suspition, in regard of this designe of the Lacedæmo-
nians, apprehended some of them, and some escaped.

About the same time, the Melians tooke another part
B of the wall of the Athenians, they that kept the siege , be-
ing then not many. But this done, there came afterwards
fresh forces from Athens, vnder the Conduct of Philocrates
the sonne of Demeas. And the Towne being now strongly
besieged, there being also within some that practised to
haue it giuen vp, they yeelded themselves to the discre-
tion of the Athenians, who slew all the men of Mili-
tary age, made slaues of the women and children,
and inhabited the place with a Colony sent
thither afterwards , of five hundred
men of their owne.

* * *

Y y 2



The end of the fifteenth Summer.

D

E

MARE THYRSNUM

ANTIENT SICILY
ACCORDING TO THE
Description of
Philip Chisevius



Aegades
infulae
Phorbas
Bucina
Aegadiana
Aegula
Capra
Lilybaeum
promont

MARE LYBICUM.



Æoliæ insulæ

SICULUM

MARE.

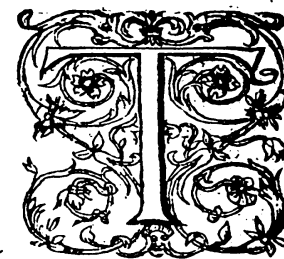
Pachynum
promont



THE
SIXTH BOOKE
OF THE HISTORY OF
THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Sicily described. The causes and pretences of the Sicilian Warre, with the consultation and preparation for the same. Alcibiades, one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of Mercury, is suffered for that present to depart with the Armie. The Athenian Army commeth to Rhegium, thence to Catana. From thence Alcibiades is sent for home, to make answer to his accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to Lacedæmon. Nicias encampeth neere Syracuse, and hauing ouercome the Armie of the Syracusians in Battell, returneth to Catana. The Syracusians procure aydes amongst the rest of the Sicilians. Alcibiades instigateth and instructeth the Lacedæmonians against his Countrey. Nicias returneth from Catana to Syracuse, and encamping in Epipolæ, besiegeth the Citie, and beginneth to encloze them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to perfection in the beginning of the eighteenth yeere of this Warre.



He same Winter the Athenians with greater Forces then they had before sent out with Laches and Eurymedon, resolved to goe againe into Sicily, and if they could wholly to subdue it. Being for the most part ignorant both of the greatnesse of the Iland, and of the multitude of people, as well Greekes as Barbarians that inhabited the same, and that they vnderooke

The Athenians resolve to inuade Sicily.

The greatnesse of Sicily, and the inhabitants.

dertooke a Warre not much lesse then the Warre against A the Peloponnesians.

For the compasse of Sicily is little lesse then eight dayes sayle for a Ship, and though so great, is yet diuided with no more then twenty Furlongs, Sea measure, from the Continent.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and these were the Nations that held it. The most ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are said to haue been the Cyclopes, and Lastrigones, of whose Stocke, and whence they came, or to what place they remoued, I haue nothing to say. Let that suffice which the Poets haue spoken, and which euery particular man hath learned of them. B

After them, the first that appeare to haue dwelt therein, are the Sicanians, as they say themselves; nay, before the other, as being the * naturall breed of the Island. But the truth is, they were Iberians, and driuen away by the Ligians from the banks of Sicanus, a Riuer on which they were seated in Iberia. And the Island from them came to be called Sicania, which was before Trinacria. And these two inhabit yet in the Westerne parts of Sicily. C

After the taking of Ilium, certaine Troians, escaping the hands of the Grecians, landed with small Boats in Sicily, and hauing planted themselves on the borders of the Sicanians, both the Nations in one were called Elymi, and their Cities were Eryx, and Egesta.

Hard by these came and dwelled also certaine Phoceans, who comming from Troy, were by tempest carried first into Africke, and thence into Sicily. But the Siculi passed out of Italy, (for there they inhabited) flying from the Opici, hauing, as is most likely, and as it is reported, obserued the Straight, and with a fore-wind, gotten ouer, in Boats which they made suddenly on the occasion, or perhaps by some other meanes.

There is at this day a people in Italy, called Siculi. And Italy it selfe got that name after the same manner, from a King of Arcadia, called Italus. Of these a great Army crossing ouer into Sicily, ouerthrew the Sicanians in battell, and draue them into the South, and West parts of the same; and in stead of Sicania, caused the Island to be called Sicilia, and held and inhabited the best of the Land, for E neere 300 yeeres after their going ouer, and before any of the

* Siculi.

Cyclopes and Lastrigones.

Sicanians.

* naturall.

Sicania, Trinacria.

Troians.

Siculi.

A the Grecians came thither. And till now, they possesse the midland, and North parts of the Island.

Also the Phœnicians inhabited the Coast of Sicily on all sides, hauing taken possession of certaine Promontories, and little Islands adiacent, for Trades sake with the Sicilians. But after that many Grecians were come in by Sea, the Phœnicians abandoned most of their former habitations, and vniting themselves, dwelt in Motya, and Soloeis, and Panormus, vpon the borders of the Elymi; as relying vpon their League with the Elymi, and because also, from thence; lay the shortest Cut ouer vnto Carthage. These were the Barbarians, and thus they inhabited Sicily. B

Now for Grecians, first a Colony of Chalcideans, vnder Thucles their Conductor, going from Eubœa, built Naxos, and the Altar of Apollo * Archegetes, now standing, without the City, vpon which the * Ambassadors employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from Sicily, are accustomed to offer their first sacrifice. The next yeere Archias, a man of the Herculean Family, carried a Colony from Corinth, and became Founder of Syracuse, where first he draue the Siculi out of that * Island, in which the inner part of the City now standeth, not now enuironed wholly with the Sea, as it was then. And in proceffe of time, when the City also that is without, was taken in with a wall, it became a populous Citie. C

In the fifth yeere after the building of Syracuse, Thucles, and the Chalcideans, going from Naxos, built Leontium, expelling thence the Siculi, and after that Catana, but they that went to Catana, chose Euarchus for their Founder. About the same time arriued in Sicily, also Lamia, with a Colony from Megara, and first built a certaine Towne called Trotilus, vpon the Riuer Pantacius, where for a while after he gouerned the estate of his Colony in common with the Chalcideans of Leontium. But afterwards, when he was by them thrust out, and had builded Thapsus, he dyed, and the rest going from Thapsus, vnder the Conduct of Hyblon, a King of the Siculi, built Megara, called Megara-Hyblea. And after they had there inhabited 245 yeeres, they were by Gelon a Tyrant of Syracuse, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driuen thence, namely, 100 D yeeres after they had built it, they sent out Pannilius, and built the Citie of Selinus. This Pannilius came to them from

Phœnicians.

Chalcideans.

* Id est, Chief guide.

* Oligoi.

Corinthians.

* Naxos, Orygia, an Island part of the Citie of Syracuse.

Megareans.

Rhodians and Cretans.

Messana first built by Pirates of Cumæ.

Eubœans.

Samiens and other Ionians.

Rhegium.

Acra, Chasmene.

Camarina.

from *Megara*, their owne Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. *Gela* was built in the 45 yeere after *Syracuse*, by *Antiphemus*, that brought a Colony out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus*, that did the like out of *Crete*, ioyntly. This City was named after the name of the Riuer, *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth, and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindij*. And the Lawes which they established, were the *Dorique*. About 108 yeeres after their owne foundation, they of *Gela* built the Citie of *Acragante*, calling the City after the name of the Riuer, and for their Conductors, choze *Aristonous*, and *Pythilus*, and gaue vnto them the Lawes of *Gela*. *Zancle* was first built by *Pirates*, that came from *Cumæ*, a *Chalcidean* City in *Orcia*; but afterwards there came a multitude and helped to people it, out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of *Eubœa*; and their Conductors were *Priæres*, and *Cratæmenes*; one of *Cumæ*, the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians*, because it hath the forme of a Sicke, and the *Sicilians* call a Sicke, *Zancle*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards chased thence by the *Samiens*, and other people of *Ionia*, that in their flight from the *Medes*, fell vpon *Sicily*.

After this, *Anaxilas*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*, draue out the *Samiens*, and peopling the City with a mixt people of them, and his owne, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by the name of his owne Countrey from whence he was anciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle*, was built *Himera*, by *Euclides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colony were *Chalcideans*; but there were also amongst them certain Outlawes of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedition, called the *Myletids*. Their language grew to a Meane betwene the *Chalcidean*, and *Dorique*; but the lawes of the *Chalcidean* preuailed. *Acra*, and *Chasmene*, were built by the *Syracusians*. *Acra* 20 yeeres after *Syracuse*; and *Chasmene*, almost 20 after *Acra*. *Camarina* was at first built by the *Syracusians*, very neere the 135 yeere of their owne Citie, *Dascon*, and *Mencolus*, being the Conductors. But the *Camarinians* having been by the *Syracusians* driuen from their seat by Warre, for reuolt, *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, in proesse of time, taking of the *Syracusians*, that Territory for ranome of certain *Syracusian* prisoners, became their Founder, and placed them in *Camarina* againe.

After

A After this againe, hauing beene driuen thence by *Gelon*, they were planted the third time in the same Citie. These were the Nations, *Greekes* and *Barbarians*, that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Armie against it, out of a desire to bring it all vnder their subiection (which was the true motive) but as hauing withall this faire pretext of aiding their kindred & new Confederates: But principally they were instigated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at

B *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the territory of the *Selinuntians*, they had begun a War about certain things, concerning marriage, & about a piece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians*, hauing leagued theselues with the *Syracusians*, inflicted them with War both by Sea and by Land. Inso much as the *Egestians* putting the *Athenians* in minde of their former League with the *Leontines*, made by *Eaches*, prayed them to send a Fleet thither in their ayde, alleging amongst many other things, this as principall, That

C if the *Syracusians* who had driuen the *Leontines* from their seat, should passe without reuenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands; it would be dangerous, lest hereafter some time or other, being *Doreans*, they should with great Forces ayde the *Doreans* for affinity, and being a Colonie of the *Peloponnesians*, ioyne with the *Peloponnesians*, that sent them out, to pull downe the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdom therfore, with those Confederates they yet remain, to make head

D against the *Syracusians*, and the rather, because for the defraying of the Warre, the *Egestians* would furnish money sufficient, of themselves. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies, from the mouths of the *Egestian* Ambassadors, and of their Advocates and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta*, to see first, whether there were in their Treasury, or Temples, so much wealth as they said there was, and to bring word in what termes the War stood betwene their City and the *Selinuntians*; & Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

E The same Winter, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, hauing drawn out their forces

The cause and pretence of the *Athenians* to invade it.

THE CAUSE AND PRETENCE OF THE ATHENIANS TO INVADIT.

The *Lacedæmonians* waste part of *Argolis*, and put the Outlawes of *Argos* into *Orce*.

Z z

into

into the Territory of the *Argives*, wasted a small part of A their fields, and carried away certaine Cart-loads of their Corne. Thence they went to *Ornea*, and hauing placed there the *Argive* Outlawes, left with them a few others of the rest of the Armie, and then making a composition for a certaine time, that they of *Ornea* and those *Argives* should not wrong each other, they carried their Armie home. But the *Athenians* arriuing not long after with 30. Gallies, and 600. men of Armes, the people of *Argos* came also forth with their whole power, and ioyning with them, fate downe betimes in the morning before *Ornea*. But B when at night the Army went somewhat farre off to lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argives* the next day perceiuing it, pulled *Ornea* to the ground, and went home; and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their Gallies,

The *Athenians* waite vpon *Macedonia*.

Also the *Athenians* transported certaine Horsemen by Sea, part of their owne, and part *Macedonian* fugitiues, that liued with them, into *Methone*, and rauaged the Territorie of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent vnto the *Chalcidians* vpon *Thrace*, who held Peace with the *Athenians* from ten dayes to ten dayes, appointing them to ayde *Perdiccas*. But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the sixteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*. C

THE SEVENTH YEERE.
The *Athenians* decree the Voyage of *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* for Generals.

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors of *Egesta* with them, and brought, in siluer vncoined, sixtie Talents, for a moneths pay of sixtie Gallies, which they would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athenians* hauing called an Assembly, and heard both from the *Egestæan* and their own Ambassadors, amongst other perswasive, but vntrue Allegations, touching their Money, how they had great store ready, both in their Treasure and Temples, decreed the sending of sixtie Gallies into *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Lamachus* the sonne of *Xenophanes*, for Commanders, with authority absolute, the which were to ayde the people of *Egesta* against the *Selinuntians*, and withall, if they had time spare, to plant the *Leontines* anew in their Citie, and to order all other the affaires of *Sicily*, as they should thinke most for the profit E of the *Athenians*.

Fiuc

A Euen dayes after this the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this *Armada* in readinesse, and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition. But *Nicias* hauing heard that himselfe was chosen for one of the Generals, and conceiuing that the State had not well resolved, but affected the Conquest of all *Sicily*, a great matter vpon small and superficiall pretences, stood forth, desiring to haue altered this the *Athenians* purpose, and spake as followeth.

B THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

T Hough this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, & of the maner how to set forth our Fleet for *Sicily*; yet to me it seemeth, that we ought rather, once againe, to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then vpon a short deliberation in so weighty an affaire, and vpon the credit of strangers, to draw vpon our selues an impertinent Warre. For my owne part, C I haue honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteeme it the least of all men, not but that I thinke him a good member of the Common-wealth, that hath regard also to his owne person and estate: for such a man especially will desire the publike to prosper, for his owne sake. But as I haue neuer spoken heretofore, so nor now will I speake any thing that is against my conscience, for gaining to my selfe a prebeminence of honour; but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I goe about to perswade you to preserue what you already hold; and not to bazarde things certaine, for vncertaine and future, my words will bee too D weake to preuaile against your humour; yet this I must needs let you know, that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desires easie to be atchieued. For I say, that going thither, you leaue many Enemies beere behinde you, and more you endeuour to draw hither. You perhaps thinke that the League will bee firme, that you haue made with the *Lacedæmonians*, which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in name, (for so some haue made it of our owne side) yet if any considerable forces of ours chance to miscarry, our enemies will soone renew the Warre, as hauing made the peace, constrained by calamities, and vpon termes of more dishonor E and necessity then our selues. Besides, in the League it selfe, we haue many things controuerted; and some there be, that refuse utterly

Zx2

to

* The Corinthians.

* The Boeotians.

to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof * some are now in A
open Warre against vs, and * others, because the Lacedæmonians
stir not, maintaine onely a Truce with vs from ten to ten dayes; and
so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peradventure when they
shall heare that our power is distracted (which is the thing wee
now hasten to doe) they will bee glad to ioyne in the Warre with
the Sicilians against vs, the confederacy of whom they would here-
tofore haue valued aboue many other. It behoueth vs therefore to
consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the
state of our owne Citie hangeth vnsettled, nor seeke a new dominion,
before we assure that which we already haue. For the Chalcideans B
of Thrace, after so many yeeres revolt, are yet vnreduced: and from
others in diuers parts of the Continent, we haue but doubtfull obedi-
ence. But the Egestæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and
wronged, they in all haste must be ayded; though to right vs on those
by whom we haue a long time our selues beene wronged, that wee de-
ferre. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subiection,
wee could easily also keepe them so. But the Sicilians, though wee
vanquish them, yet being many, and farre off, wee should haue much a-
doe to hold them in obedience. Now it were madnesse to inuade such,
whom conquering, you cannot keepe, and failing, should lose the meanes C
for euer, after to attempt the same againe. As for the Sicilians, it
seemeth vnto me, at least, as things now stand, that they shall bee of
lesse danger to vs, if they fall vnder the Dominion of the Syracu-
sians, then they are now; And yet this is it that the Egestæans would
most affright vs with: for now the States of Sicily in seuerall, may
perhaps be induced, in fauour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part
against vs: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely
they would hazard with vs state against state. For by the same meanes
that they, ioyning with the Peloponnesians may pull downe our Do-
minion, by the same it would bee likely that the Peloponnesians D
would subuert theirs. The Grecians there will feare vs most, if
we goe not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly
away. But if any misfortune befall vs, they will presently despise vs,
and ioyne with the Grecians here to inuade vs. For wee all know,
that those things are most admired which are farthest off, and which
least come to giue prooffe of the opinion conceined of them. And this
(Athenians) is your owne case now with the Lacedæmonians,
and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you haue ouer-
come, in those things for which at first you feared them, you now in
contempt of them, turne your Armes vpon Sicily. But we ought not E
to be puffed vp vpon the misfortunes of our enemies, but to bee confident
then

A then onely, when we haue mastered their designs. Nor ought wee
to thinke that the Lacedæmonians set their mindes on any thing
else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repaire their reputation,
if they can by our ouerthrow, and the rather because they haue so much,
and so long laboured to win an opinion in the world of their valour.
The question with vs therefore (if we be well aduised will not be of the
Egestæans in Sicily, but how we may speedily defend our Citie, a-
gainst the insidiation of them that fauour the Oligarchy. Wee must
remember also that we haue had now some short recreation from a
late great Plague, and great Warre, and thereby are improued both
B in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here vpon
our selues, and not vpon these Outlawes which seeke for aide. Seeing
it maketh for them, to tell vs a specious lye; who contributing onely
words, whilst their friends beare all the danger, if they speed well, shall
be disoblighd of thanks, if ill, vndo their friends for company. Now
if there be any * man here; that, for ends of his owne, as being glad to
be Generall, especially being yet too yong to haue charge in chiefe, shall
adviseth the expedition, to the end he may haue admiration for his ex-
pence vpon horses, and helpe from his place to defray that expence,
suffer him not to purchase his private honour and splendor with the
C danger of the publike fortune. Beleeue rather that such men though
they robbe the publike, doe neuerthelesse consume also their private
wealth. Besides the matter it selfe is full of great difficulties, such
as it is not fit for a yong man to consult of; much lesse hastily to
take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by, and abette the
same man, am fearefull of them, and doe on the other side exhort the
elder sort (if any of them sit neere those other) not to be ashamed to
deliuer their minds freely; as fearing, that if they giue their voyce
against the Warre, they should be esteemed cowards; nor to doate, (as
they doe) vpon things absent, knowing that by passion the fewest atti-
D ons, and by reason the most doe prosper; but rather for the benefit of
their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger, then euer be-
fore, to hold vp their hands on the other side, and decree, That the
Sicilians, within the limits they now enioy, not misliked by
you, and with liberty to saile by the shoare, in the Ionian
Gulfe, and in the maine of the Sicilian Sea, shall possesse
their owne, and compound their differences within them-
selues. And for the Egestæans, to answer them in particular,
thus; That as without the Athenians they had begun the
War against the Selinuntians, so they should without them
E likewise end it. And, that we shall no more hereafter, as wee
haue vsed to doe, make such men our Confederates, as
when

* Heglaxothai Alcibiades.

when they doe iniury, we must maintaine it, and when we A
require their assistance, cannot haue it. And you the President; (if you thinke it your office to take care of the Common-wealth,
and desire to be a good member of the same) put these things once more
to the question, and let the Athenians: speake to it againe.
I thinke (if you be afraid to infringe the orders of the Assembly) that be-
fore so many witnesse, it will not be made a crime, but that you shall be
rather thought a Physician of your Country, that hath swallowed down
euill counsell. And he truly dischargeth the duty of a President, who
laboureth to doe his Countrey the most good, or at least will not wil-
lingly doe it hurt. Thus spake Nicias. B

The motives of Alcibiades
to further his voyage.

But the most of the Athenians that spake after him, were
of opinion, that the voyage ought to proceed, the Decree
already made, not to be reuerled. Yet some there were that
said to the contrary. But the expediton was most of all
pressed by Alcibiades the sonne of Clinias, both out of desire
he had to crosse Nicias, with whom he was likewise at
oddes in other points of State, and also for that he had
glanced at him inuidiously in his Oration, but principally
for that he affected to haue charge, hoping that himselfe C
should be the man, to subdue both Sicily and Carthage, to
the State of Athens, and withall, if it succeeded, to increase
his owne priuate wealth and glory. For being in great
estimation with the Citizens, his desires were more vaste,
then for the proportion of his estate, both in maintaining
of horses, and other his expences, was meet. Which pro-
ued afterwards none of the least causes of the subuerfion
of the Athenian Common-wealth. For most men fearing
him, both for his excesse in things that concerned his per-
son, and forme of life, and for the greatnesse of his spirit, in D
euery particular action he undertooke, as one that aspired
to the Tyranny, they became his enemy; And although
for the publique, he excellently managed the Warre, yet
euery man priuately displeased with his course of life, gaue
the charge of the Warres to others, and thereby, not long
after, ouerthrew the State; Alcibiades at this time stood
forth, and spake to this effect.

THE E

A

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

MEN of Athens, It bosh belongeth vnto me, more then to
any other, to haue this charge, and withall, I thinke my selfe
(for I must needs begin with this, as hauing beene touched
by Nicias,) to be worthy of the same. For those things, for which
I am so much spoken of, doe indeed purchase glory to my progeni-
tors, and my selfe, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both
B glory and profit. For the Grecians haue thought our Citie, a
mighty one, euen about the truth, by reason of my braue appearance
at the Olympian Games; whereas before they thought easily to
haue warred it downe. For I brought thither seuen Chariots,
and not onely wonne the first, second, and fourth prize, but carri-
ed also in all other things, a magnificence worthy the honour of the
victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be sup-
posed, according to the Law; so is there also a power conceiued, vpon
fight of the thing done. As for my expences in the Citie, vpon set-
ting forth of shewes, or whatsoever else is remarkable in me, though
C naturally it procure enuy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers, this
also is an Argument of our greatnesse. Now, it is no vnprofitable
course of life, when a man shall at his priuate cost; not onely benefit
himselfe, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth
himselfe high vpon his owne worth, and refuseth to make him-
selfe fellow with the rest, wrong the rest; for if he were in distresse, he
should not finde any man that would share with him in his calamity.
Therefore, as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery;
so let them likewise be content to be contemned of vs when we flou-
rish; or if they require equality, let them also giue it. I know that
D such men; or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing
whatsoever, shall as long as he liueth be enuied, principally of his
equals, and then also of others, amongst whom he conuerseth; but with
posterity, they shall haue kindred claimed of them, though there be none;
and his Countrey will boast of him, not as of a stranger, or one that had
been a man of leud life, but as their owne Citizen, and one that had at-
chieued worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I aime at,
and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the
publique the worse for it or not. For hauing reconciled vnto you the
most potent States of Peloponnesus without much, either danger, or
E cost, I compelled the Lacedaemonians to stake all that euer they
had, vpon the Fortune of one day of Mantinea.

* 200 p. / 42, the exhibition of
masks, Games or other festi-
ual spectacles.

And

And this hath my youth and Madnesse, supposed to haue bene very mad esse, with familiar and fit words, wrought vpon the power of the Peloponnesians, and sheping reason for my passion, made my madnesse now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you use of both our seruices. And abrogate not your Decree touching the voyage into Sicily, as though the power were great you are to encounter withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but of promiscuous Nations, easily shifting, and easily admitting new comers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the defence of their bodies, nor furnished, as the custome of the place appointeth, to fight for their Countrey. But what any of them thinkes hee may get by faire speech, or snatch from the Publike by sedition, that onely he looks after, with purpose if he faile, to runne the Countrey. And it is not likely, that such a rabble, should either with one consent giue eare to what is told them, or vnite themselues for the administration of their affaires in common; but if they heare of faire offers, they will one after one, be easily induced to come in; especially, if there be seditions amongst them, as we heare there are. And the truth is, there are neither so many men of Armes as they boast of; nor doth it appeare, that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the seuerall Cities haue euery one reckoned for their owne number. Nay, euen Greece hath much belied it selfe, and was scarce sufficiently armed in all this Warre past. So that the business there, for all that I can by Name vnderstand, is, euen as I haue told you, and will yet bee easier. For we shall haue many of the Barbarians, vpon hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and if wee consider the case aright, there will bee nothing to hinder vs at home. For our Ancestors hauing the same Enimies which they say we leaue behinde vs now in our voyage, to Sicily, and the Persian besides, did neuerthelesse erect the Empire wee now haue, by our onely oddes of strength at Sea.

And the hope of the Peloponnesians against vs, was neuer lesse then now it is, though their power were also as great as euer; for they would bee able to invade our Land, though wee went not into Sicily; and by Sea they can doe vs no harme, though wee goe; for we shall leaue a Navie sufficient to oppose theirs, behinde vs. What therefore can wee alleadge with any probability for our backwardnesse? or what can wee pretend vnto our Confederates, for denying them assistance? vpon whom wee ought to defend; were it but because wee haue sworne it to them; without obiecting that they haue not reciprocally ayded vs. For wee tooke them not into League, that they

A they should come hither with their aydes; but that by troubling our enemies there, they might hinder them from coming hither against vs. And the way whereby we, and whoeuer else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath euer bene the theerfull succouring of their associates that required it, whether they were Greekes or Barbarians. For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choyce, which were fit to be assisted, and which not, we should haue little vnder our government of the estates of other men, but rather hazard our owne. For when one is growne mightier then the rest, men use not onely to defend themselues against him, when he shall invade, but to anticipate him, that he invade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our owne caruers, how much we will haue subiect to vs; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for vs to seeke to subdue those that are not vnder our Dominion, as to keepe so, those that are: Lest if others be not subiect to vs, we fall in danger of being subiected vnto them. Nor are we to weigh quietnesse in the same ballance that others doe; vnlesse also the institution of this State, were like vnto that of other States. Let vs rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad; to encrease our power at home, and proceed in our voyage; that we may cast downe the haughty conceit of the Peloponnesians, and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by undertaking this our expedition in to Sicily. Wherby either conquering those States, wee shall become masters of all Greece, or weaken the Syracusians, to the benefit of our selues, and our Confederates. And for our security to stay; (if any City shall come to our side) or to come away (if otherwise our Gallies will afford it. For in that we shall be at our owne liberty, though all the Sicilians together were against it. Let not the speech of Nicias, tending onely to lazinesse, and to the stirring of debate betweene the yong men, and the old, auert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors consulting yong and old together, haue brought our Dominion to the present height, endeavour you likewise to enlarge the same. And thinke not that youth, or age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest iudgements tempered together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, weare out of it selfe, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of Warre, experience will continually increase, and the Citie will get a habit of resisting the enemy, not with words, but action. In summe this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to bee active, if it once grow idle, will quickly be subiected by the change; and that they of all men are most surely

A a a
planted.

planted, that with most unity observe the present Lawes and customes, *A* though not alwaies of the best. Thus spake Alcibiades.

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Egestians and Leontines, who beeing then present, entreated, and (objecting to them their Oath) begged their helpe in forme of Suppliants, were farre more earnestly bent vpon the Iourney then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought hee might perhaps put them from it by the greatnesse of the prouision, if he should require it with the most, stood forth againe, and said in this manner.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

MEN of Athens, Forasmuch as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Nevertheless I shall now deliuer my opinion vpon the matter, as it yet standeth, as farre as we vnderstand by report, we set out against *C* great Cities, not subiect one to another, nor needing innouation, whereby they should be glad, out of hard seruitude, to admit of easier Masters; nor such as are likely to preferre our gouernment before their owne liberty: but many, (as for one Iland) and those Greeke Cities. For besides Naxos and Catana, (which two I hope will ioyne with vs; for their affinity with the Leontines,) there are other seuen furnished in all respects after the manner of our owne Army, and especially those two, against which wee bend our Forces most, Selinus, and Syracuse. For there are in them, many men of Armes, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men *D* to man them. They haue also store of money, both amongst priuate men, and in their Temples. This haue the Selinuncians. The Syracusians haue a Tribute beside coming in from some of the Barbarians. But that wherein they exceed vs most, is this, that they abound in Horses, and haue Corne of their owne, not fetcht in from other places. Against such a power, we shall therefore neede not a Fleet only, and with it a small Army, but there must great Forces goe along of Land-souldiers, if we meane to do any thing worthy our designe, and not to be kept by their many horsemen from landing; especially if the Cities there, terrified by vs, should now hold all together, & none but the Egestians proue our friends, & furnish vs with a Caualtery to resist them. *E*

And

A And it would be a shame either to come backe with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if wee had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must goe sufficiently provided from hence as knowing that we goe farre from home, and are to make War in a place of disadvantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to ayde some of our Subiects here at home, where wee had easie bringing in of necessaries to the Campe, from the Territories of Friends. But we goe farre off, and into a Countrey of none but strangers, and from whence in Winter, there can hardly come a messenger vnto vs in so little as foure moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought *B* to take with vs many men of Armes, of our owne, of our Confederates, and of our Subiects; and also out of Peloponnesus as many as wee can get, either for loue or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Caualtery; and much spare Shipping, for the more easie bringing in of prouision. Also our corne, I meane, wheate and Barly parched, we must carry with vs from hence in * Ships; and Bakers from the Milles, hired, and made to worke by turnes, that the Armie, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of victuall. For being so great, it will not bee for euery Citie to receiue it. And so for all things else, we must as much as wee can, provide them our *C* selues, and not rely on others.

Above all, we must take hence as much money as we can; for as for that which is said to bee ready at Egesta, thinke it ready in words, but not in deed: For although wee goe thither with an Army not onely equall vnto theirs, but also, (excepting their men of Armes for Battell) in euery thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able, both to ouercome them, and withall to preferue our owne. We must also make account, that wee goe to inhabite some City in that forraigne and hostile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither, to bee presently *D* Masters of the Field, or failing, bee assured to finde all in hostility against vs. Which fearing, and knowing that the businesse requires much good aduice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, being we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my selfe to Fortune as little as I may, and take with me an Armie, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceiue to be both the surest course for the Citie in generall, and the safest for vs that goe the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resigne him my place.

Thus spake Nicias, imagining that either the Athenians would, vpon the multitude of the things required, abandon *E* the Enterprize: or if he were forced to goe, he might goe thus with the more security.

A a a 2

But

* Large Ships of the round building, going onely with sayles, without oares after the fashion of our Ships. In distinction from Gallies.

The Athenians vpon this speech, made to desire them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

But the Athenians gaue not over the desire they had of A the voyage, for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to haue it proceed; and the contrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approved his counsell, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and eutry one alike fell in loue with the enterprize. The old men, vpon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least, so great a power could not miscarry; and the yong men, vpon desire to see a forraigne Countrey, and to gaze, making little doubt but to returne with safety.

As for the common sort, and the Souldiers, they made account to gaine by it, not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplifie the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for euer. So that through the vehement desire thereunto of the most, they also that liked it not, for feare, (if they held vp their hands against it) to be thought euill affected to the State, were content to let it passe.

And in the end a certaine Athenian stood vp, and calling vpon Nicias, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the businesse any longer, but to declare there before them all, what forces he would haue the Athenians to decree him. To which, vnwillingly, he answered, and said, hee would consider of it first with his fellow-Commanders; Neuerthelesse, for so much as he could iudge vpon the sudden, he said, there would need no lesse then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Armes, so many of the Athenians owne, as they themselues should thinke meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Armes, in all, of their owne, and of their Confederates, there would be requisite no lesse then 5000 but rather more, if they could be gotten, and other prouision proportionable. As for Archers, both from hence, and from Crete, and Slingers, and whatsoeuer else should seeme necessary, they would prouide it themselues, and take it with them.

When the Athenians had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should haue absolute authority, both touching the greatnesse of the preparation, and the whole voyage, to doe therein, as should seeme best vnto E them for the Common-wealth. And after this, they went

B

C

D

in

A in hand with the preparation accordingly, and both sent vnto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time recovered her selfe from the sicknesse, and from their continuall Warres, both in number of men fit for the Warres, growne vp after the ceasing of the Plague, and in store of money gathered together by meanes of the Peace; whereby they made their prouisions with much ease. And thus were they employed in preparation for the voyage.

In the meane time the Mercuries of Stone, throughout B the whole City of Athens, (now there were many of these of square-stone, set vp, by the Law of the place, and many in the porches of priuate houses, & in the Temples) had in one night, most of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treasury had been propounded to the discouersers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other profanation, he might boldly declare the same, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they tooke the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall, vpon C conspiracy, for alteration of the State, and dissolution of the Democracie.

Hereupon, certaine Strangers dwelling in the City, and certaine Seruing-men, reuealed something, not about the Mercuries, but of the paring of the Statues of some other of the Gods, committed formerly, through wantonnesse, and too much Wine, by yong men, and withall, how they had in priuate houses, acted the Mysteries of their Religion, in mockery; amongst whom they also accused Alcibiades. This, they that most enuyed Alcibiades, because he stood in D their way, that they could not constantly beare chiefe sway with the people, making account to haue the Primacy, if they could thrust him out, tooke hold of, and exceedingly aggrauated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Mysteries, and the paring of the Mercuries, tended to the deposing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alleaging for argument, his other excesse, in the ordinary course of his life, not conuenient in a popular estate. He, at that present, made his Apologie, and was there ready, if he had done any such thing, to answer it, before he went the voyage, (for by this time, all E their preparation was in readinesse) and to suffer Iustice, if

The faces of all the Images of Mercury, throughout Athens, pared plaine.

Alcibiades accused for ha-
uing in mockery, acted
the celebration of the
Mysteries of their Reli-
gion.

he

carry with them, and of private men, what enery one had A bestowed vpon his person, and every Captaine on his Gallie, besides what every one was likely, ouer and aboue his allowance from the State, to bestow on prouision for so long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him for Traffique, he will finde the whole summe carried out of the Citie, to amount to a great many Talents. And the Fleet was no lesse noysed amongst thole against whom it was to goe, for the strange boldnesse of the attempt, and gloriousnesse of the show, then it was for the excessive report of their number, for the length of the voyage, B and for that it was vndertaken with so vast future hopes, in respect of their present power.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had beene carried about to the whole Army, and All, aswell the Generals as the Souldiers, had* drunke a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in euery Galley apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the C company from the shoare, both of the Citie, and whosoeuer else wished them well, prayed with them. And when they had sung the *Peane*, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And hauing at first gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally, they after went a vic by *Agina*. Thus halted these to be at *Corcyra*; to which place also the other Armie of the Confederates were assembling.

At *Syracuse* they had aduertisement of the Voyage from diuers places; neuerthelesse it was long ere any thing would be beleued. Nay, an Assembly beeing there called, D Orations were made, such as follow, on both parts, aswell by them that beleued the report touching the Athenian Armie to be true, as by others that affirmed the contrary. And *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermion*, as one that thought hee knew the certainty, stood forth, and spake to this effect.

THE E

A THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

C Concerning the truth of this Inuasion, though perhaps I shall bee thought as well as other men, to deliuer a thing incredible; and though I know that such as bee either the Authors or relaters of matter incredible, shall not onely not perswade, but bee also accounted fooles; neuerthelesse I will not for feare thereof, hold my tongue, as long as the Common Wealth is in danger; being confident that I know the truth heereof somewhat more certainly then others doe. The

B Athenians are bent to come, euen against vs, (which you verily wonder at) and that vvith great Forces, both for the Sea and Land, vvith pretence indeed to ayde their Confederates, the *Egestians*, and to replant the *Leontines*, but in truth they aspire to the dominion of all Sicily, and especially of this Citie of ours, vvhich obtained, they make account to get the rest vvith ease. Seeing then they will presently bee vpon vs, aduise vvith your present means, how you may vvith most honour make head against them, that you may not bee taken vnprouided through contempt, nor be carelesse through incredulity; and that such as beleuee it, may not be dismayed with their audaciousnes and power. For

C they are not more able to doe hurt vnto vs, then we be vnto them; neither indeed is the greatnes of their Fleet vvithout some aduantage vnto vs. Nay, it will be much the better for vs, in respect of the rest of the Sicilians; for being terrified by them, they will the rather league with vs. And if we either vanquish or repulse them vvithout obtaining what they come for (for I feare not at all the effecting of their purpose) verily it will bee a great honour to vs, and in my opinion not vvlikely to come to passe. For in truth there haue beene few great Fleets, whether of Grecians or Barbarians, sent far from home, that haue not prospered ill. Neither are these that come against vs, more in number then our selues, and the neighbouring Cities: for surely we shall all hold together vpon feare. And if for want of necessities in a strange Territorie they chance to miscarry, the honour of it will be left to vs against whom they bend their counsels, though the greatest cause of their ouerthrow should consist in their owne errours. Which was also the case of these very Athenians, who raised themselves by the misfortune of the Medes, (though it happened for the most part contrary to reason) because in name they went only against the Athenians. And that the same shall now happen vnto vs, is not vvithout probability.

E Let vs therefore vvith courage put in readinesse our owne forces, E let vs send to the *Siculi*, to confirme those we haue, and to make peace and league with others; and let vs send Ambassadors to the rest of Si-

Bbb

cily,

* *caridoset*. It was a forme amongst the Grecians, and other Nations then, both before great Enterprizes to wish good fortune; and at the making of League and Peace, to ratifie what they did, by drinking one to another.

The *Syracusians*, vpon the fame of their coming, doe some beleuee it, and some not.

Cily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy, to get A them into our League, or at least that they receive not the Athenians. And in my iudgement, it were our best course to send also to Carthage; for euen they are not without expectation of the same danger. Nay, they are in a continuall feare, that the Athenians will bring the Warre vpon them also, euen to their Citie. So that vpon apprehension that if they neglect vs, the trouble will come home to their owne doore, they will perhaps, either secretly, or openly, or some way assist vs. And of all that now are, they are the best able to doe it, if they please. For they haue the most gold and siluer, by which both the Wars, and all things else are the best expedited. Let vs also send to Lacedæmon and B to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their succours hither with speed, but also to set on foot the Warre there. But that which I thinke the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will hardly be brought to it, I will neuertheless now tell you what it is. If the Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if wee, and most of the rest, would draw together our whole Nauie, and with 2. moneths provision goe and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory of Iapygia, and let them see, that they must fight for their passage ouer the Ionian Gulfe, before they fight for Sicily, it would both terrifie them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we, as C the Watchmen of our Countrey, come vpon them out of an amicable Territory, (for we shall be receiued at Tarentum) whereas they themselves haue a great deale of Sea to passe with all their preparations, and cannot keepe themselves in their order for the length of the voyage. And that for vs, it will be an easie matter to assaile them, comming vp as they doe, slowly and thine. Again, if lightning their Gallies, they shall come vp to vs more nimbly, and more close together, we shall charge vpon them already wearied, or we may, if we please, retire againe into Tarentum. Where as they, if they come ouer but with a part of their prouision, as to fight at Sea, shall bee driuen into D want of victuals in those desert parts, and either staying be there besieged, or attempting to go by, leave behind them the rest of their prouision, and be deiected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will receive them or not. I am therefore of opinion, that dismayd with this reckoning, they will either not put ouer at all from Corcyra, or whilst they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to explore, how many, and in what place wee are, the season will bee lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our vnlooked for opposition, they will giue ouer the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I heare) E the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, hath the charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to returne, if

A he saw any considerable stop made by vs, in the way. And I am assured, we should be voyced amongst them to the utmost. And as the reports are; so are mens minds; and they feare more such, as they heare will begin with them, then such as giue out, that they will no more but defend themselves. Because then they thinke the danger equall. Which would be now the case of the Athenians. For they come against vs with an opinion that we will not fight, deservedly contemning vs, because we ioynd not with the Lacedæmonians to put them downe. But if they should see vs once bolder then they look for, they would be terrified more with the vnexpectednes, then with B the truth of our power it selfe. Be perswaded therefore, principally to dare to doe this, or if not this, yet speedily to make your selues otherwise ready for the War; and euery man to remember, that though to shew contempt of the enemy be best in the heate of fight, yet those preparations are the surest, that are made with feare and opinion of danger. As for the Athenians, they come, and I am sure are already in the way, and want onely, that they are not now bere. Thus spake Hermocrates.

But the people of Syracuse were at much strife amongst themselves, some contending, that the Athenians would by no meanes come, and that the reports were not true; and others, that if they came, they would doe no more harme, then they were likely againe to receive. Some contended and laughed at the matter: but some few there were, that beleueed Hermocrates, and feared the euents. But Athenagoras, who was chiefe Magistrate of the People, and at that time most powerfull with the Commons, spake as followeth:

THE ORATION OF

ATHENAGORAS.

D H E is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, who so euer he be, that wilbeth the Athenians nor to be so mad, as comming hither, to fall into our power. As for them, that report such things as these, and put you into feare, though I wonder not at their boldnesse, yet I wonder at their folly, if they thinke their ends not seene. For they that are afraid of any thing themselves, will put the Citie into affright, that they may shadow their owne with the Common feare. And this may the report doe at this time, not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as alwaies trouble the State. But if you meane to deliberate wisely, make not your reckoning by the reports of these men,

but by that which wisemen, and men of great experience, (such as A I hold the Athenians to bee) are likely to doe. For it is not probable, that leauing the Peloponnesians, and the Warre there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new Warre, no lesse then the former; Seeing, in my opinion, they may bee glad that wee inuade not them, so many, and so great Cities, as wee are. And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I thinke Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the Warre, then Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our owne Citie, is much stronger then the Armie which they say is now coming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know, they B neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any heere, saue onely a few from the Egestians, nor haue men of Armes, so many as wee, in that they are to bring them by Sea. For it is a hard matter to come so farre as this by Sea, though they carried no men of Armes in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessities; which cannot be small against so great a Citie. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I thinke the Athenians, though they had here another Citie as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should from thence make their Warre, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed: euery man of them; much C lesse now, when all Sicily is their enemy. For in their Campe, fenced with their Gallies, they shall be comped vpon, and from their Tents, and forced munition, neuer be able to stirre farre abroad, without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I thinke they shall neuer be able to get landing, so much above theirs do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will looke vnto their owne; and our men talke here of things that neither are, nor euer will bee; who I know haue desired, not onely now, but euer, by such reports as these, or by worse, or by their actions, to put the multitude in feare, that they D themselues might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for vs, we are too poore spirited, either to foresee if ere it be done, or fore-seeing to prevent it. By this meanes our Citie is seldome quiet, but subject to sedition and contention not so much against the enemy, as within it selfe; and sometimes also to Tyranny and Pseurpation. Which I will endeuour (if you will second me) so to prevent hereafter, as nothing more of this kinde shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I finde them in the action, (for it will be a hard to E take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot doe.

A doe. For one must not onely take reuenge vpon an Enemy for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his euill purpose; For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the Few, I shall in somewhat reprocue them, in somewhat haue an eye to them, and in somewhat aduise them. For this I thinke will be the best course to auert them from their bad intentions. Tell me, forsooth, (I haue asked this question often) you that are the younger sort, what would you haue? would you now beare office? the Law allowes it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for government, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But B forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Iustice is it, that the same men should not haue the same priuiledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well governed nor a iust State, and that the most wealthy, are aptest to make the best government. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole, Oligarchy, but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keepe the Treasure, yet the wise are the best Counsellors, and the Multitude, vpon hearing, the best Iudge. Now in a Democracy all these, both ioyntly and severally participate equally priuiledges. But in the Oligarchy they allow indeed to the Multitude, a C participation of all dangers; but in matters of profit, they not onely incroach vpon the Multitude, but take from them, and keepe the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich, and the Younger sort affect, but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most contrary of all men, vnlesse you know that what you affect, is ill, and if you know not that you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know; or ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare doe this: yet I say, informe your selues better, or change your purpose; and help to amplify the common good of the Citie, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely haue an equality, but a greater share therein D then the rest of the multitude. Whereas if you will needes haue all, you shall runne the hazard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as disordered, and not allowed. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it selfe with hardihood. And we haue Generals to looke to that matter. And if they come not (which I rather beleeeue) it will not vpon the report of your reports, make choyce of you for Commanders, and cast it selfe into voluntary seruitude. But taking direction of it selfe, it both indulgeth your words, virtually as facts, and will not ripen words yet. goe to. preserve liberty, but endeuour to preserve it, by not committing the same actually to E your discretion. Thus said Aristides, and the multitude was content.

Then

Then one of their Generals rising up, forbade any other A
to stand forth, and spake himselfe to the matter in hand,
to this effect: *It is no wisdom neither for the speakers to utter such calumnies
one against another, nor for the hearers to receive them. We should ra-
ther consider in respect of these reports, how we may in the best man-
ner, both every one in particular, and the City in generall, be prepared
to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to fur-
nish the Citie with Horses, and Armes, and other Habilitments of War
can doe vs no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the musters, we will
look to it; and will send men abroad, both to the Cities, and for spials, B
and doe what soever else is requisite. Somewhat we have done already,
and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to
time report unto you. Which when the Generall had said,
the Syracusians dissolved the Assembly.*
The Athenians were now all in Coreyra, both they and
their Confederates. And first the Generals took a view
of the whole Army, and put them into the order wheroin
they were to Anchor, and make their Nauall Campe, and
hauing diuided them into three Squadrons, to each Squa-
dron they assigned a Captaine by lot, to the end that being C
at Sea, they might not come into want of water, or har-
bors, or any other necessities, where they chanced to stay, &
that they might otherwise be the more easie to be gover-
ned, when every Squadron had his proper Commander.
After this they sent before them three Gallies, into Italy,
and Sicily, to bring them word what Cities in those parts
would receive them, whom they appointed to come backe
and meet them, that they might know whether they
might be receiued or no, before they put in. This done,
the Athenians with all their provisions put out from Cor- D
cyra, towards Sicily, hauing with them in all 134 Gallies,
and two Rhodian Long-boats of fifty Oares a peece. Of
these, a hundred were of Athens it selfe, whereof sixty were
expedite the other forty, for transportation of Souldiers.
The rest of the Navy belonged to the Sicilians, and other
the Confederates. Of men of Armes they had in all
5100. Of these, three were of the Athenians themselves
1500 enrolled, and 1000 more of the poorer sort, called
Theatines, for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of
their Confederates, some of them being their subjects. Of E
Argives there were 500. Of Mantineans and Mercenaries,
1000.

A 200. Their Archers in all, 480. Of which 80 were Cre-
tians. Rhodian Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed
Megarians fugitiues 120, and in one vessell made for tran-
sportation of horses, 30 horsemen. These were the forces
that went ouer to the Warre at first. With these went
also 30 Ships, carrying necessities, wherein went also the
Bakers, and Masons, and Carpenters, and all Toolles
of vse in fortification. And with these 30 Ships went
100 Boates, by constraint, and many other Ships and Boats
that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade, which
B then passed altogether from Coreyra ouer the Ionian Gulfe.
And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of
Iapygia, and to Tarentum, and such other places as euery one
could recouer, they went on by the coast of Italy, neither
receaued of the States there, into any Citie, nor allowed
any Market, hauing onely the liberty of Anchorage and
water, (and that also at Tarentum, and Locri denied them)
till they were at Rhegium, where they all came together
again, and settled their Campe in the Temple of Diana,
(for neither there were they suffered to come in) without
C the Citie, where the Rhegians allowed them a Market.
And when they had drawne their Gallies to Land, they
lay still. Being here, they dealt with the Rhegians, who
where Chalcideans; to aid the Leontines, Chalcideans likewise.
To which was answered, that they would take part with
neither, but what the rest of the Italians should conclude,
that also they would doe. So the Athenians lay still, medi-
tating on their Sicilian businesse, how they might carry it
the best; and withall expected the returne from Egesta, of
the three Gallies which they had sent before them, desiring
D to know if so much money were there or not, as was repor-
ted by their messengers at Athens.

The Syracusians in the meane time from diuers parts, and
also from their spies, had certaine intelligence, that the
Fleet was now at Rhegium, and therefore made their pre-
parations with all diligence, and were no longer incredu-
lous; but sent vnto the Siculi, to some Cities, men to keepe
them from reuolting; to others, Ambassadors; and into
such places as lay vpon the Sea, Garrisons; And exami-
ned the forces of their owne City, by a view taken of the
E Armes and Horse, whether they were complete or not and
ordered all things as for a Warre at hand, and onely not al-
ready present.

The hope of the Athenians
of money from Egesta fru-
strated.

The fraud of the Egeste-
ans.

* Eryx was a City neere E-
gesta, and subiect to it.

The severall opinions of
the Generals, touching
how to proceed. The
opinion of Nicias.

The three Gallies sent before to *Egesta*, returned to the Athenians at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the rest of the money promised there was none, onely there appeared thirty Talents. At this, the Generals were presently discouraged, both because this first hope was crossed, and because also the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to perswade to their League, and whom it was most likely they should have wonne, as being of kinne to the *Leontines*, and alwayes heretofore favourable to the Athenian State, now refused. And though to *Nicias* this newes from the *Egesteans* was no more then he expected, yet to the other two, it was extreme strange. But the *Egesteans*, when the first Ambassadors from *Athens* went to see their Treasure, had thus deceived them. They brought them into the Temple of *Venus*, in * *Eryx*, and shewed them the holy Treasure, Goblets, Flagons, Censers, and other Furniture, in no small quantity, which being but silver, appeared to the eye a great deale above their true value in money. Then they feasted such as came with them, in their private houses, and at those feastings exhibited all the gold and silver vessell they could get together, either in the Citie of *Egesta* it selfe, or could borrow in other, as well *Phenician*, as *Grecian* Cities, for their owne. So all of them in a manner, making vse of the same Plate; and much appearing in euery of those houses, it put those which came with the Ambassadors, into a very great admiration, in so much as at their returne to *Athens*, they stroue who should first proclaime, what wealth they had seene. These men, hauing both been abused themselues, and hauing abused others, when it was told that there was no such wealth in *Egesta*, were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals went to counsell vpon the businesse in hand.

Nicias was of this opinion, That it was best to goe presently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, against which they were chiefly set forth; and if the *Egesteans* would furnish them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate further vpo the occasiō, if not, then to require maintenance for the 60 Gallies set forth at their own request, & staying with them, by force or composition, to bring the *Selinuntians* and them to a Peace. And thence passing along by other of those Cities, to make a shew of the power of the Athenian State, and of their readinesse to helpe their friends

A friends and Confederates, and so to goe home, vnlesse they could light on some quicke and vnthought of meanes, to doe some good for the *Leontines*, or gaine some of the other Cities to their owne League, and not to put the Commonwealth in danger at her owne charges.

Alcibiades said it would not doe well to haue come out from *Athens* with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to goe home againe. But rather to send *Heralds* to euery City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to reuolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the Athenians, that they might ayde them with men and victuall. And first to deale with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for comming in; and hauing a Port and Harbour sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what helpe they were to haue in the Warre, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*; vnlesse these would agree with the *Egesteans*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion, that it was best to goe directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soone as they could, at their City, whilest they were yet vnfurnished, and their feare at the greatest. For that an Army is alwaies most terrible at first; But if it stay long ere it come in sight, men recollect their spirits, and contemne it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come vpon them suddenly, while they expect it with feare, it would the more easily get the Victory, and euerything would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appeare most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battell. And that it was likely; that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleeuing they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being master of the Field, and sitting downe before the City, could want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguings with the *Syracusians*, and ioynē with the Athenians, no longer standing off, and spying who should haue the better. And for a place to retire vnto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being distant, and not far from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this, but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

C c c

After

The opinion of Alcibiades.

The opinion of Lamachus.

Alcibiades seeketh league
with the *Messanians*, but
is denied.

The *Athenians* goe with
part of their Fleet to
Naxos.

And to *Catana*.

They send tenne Gallies
to view *Syracuse*, and the
Hauen.

Catana surprized.

The *Athenians* goe to *Camarina*,
but are not recei-
ued.

After this, *Alcibiades* with his owne Gallie hauing pas-
sed ouer to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League,
and not preuailed, they answering, that they would not
let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market with-
out the Walles, returned backe to *Rhegium*. And present-
ly the Generals hauing out of the whole Fleet manned
threescore Gallies, and taken provision aboard, went a-
long the shore to *Naxos*, hauing left the rest of the Ar-
mie with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians*
hauing receiued them into the City, they went on by the
Coast, to *Catana*. B

But the *Cataneans* receiuing them not, (for there were
some within that fauoured the *Syracusians*) they entred the
Riuer of *Torias*, and hauing stayed there all that night,
went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leasurely with the
rest of their Gallies; but tenne they sent before into the
great Hauen, not to stay, but to discover if they had lan-
ched any Fleet there, and to proclaime from their Gal-
lies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines*
on their owne, according to League and affinity, and that
therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should
without feare goe forth to the *Athenians*, as to their friends
and benefactors. C

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well con-
sidered the Citie, and the Hauen, and the region where they
were to seate themselves for the Warre, they returned to
Catana.

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they re-
fused to receiue the Army, they admitted the Generals, and
willed them to speake their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades*,
was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assemblie,
the Souldiers hauing secretly pulled downe a little Gate,
which was but weakly built, entred the City, and were
walking vp and downe in the Market. And the *Catana-
ans*, such as fauoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army
within, for feare stole presently out of the Towne, being
not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athe-
nians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army
from *Rhegium*. After this, the *Athenians* went backe to
Rhegium, and rising from thence, came to *Catana* with their
whole Army together. D

Now they had newes from *Camarina*, that if they would
come E

A come thither, the *Camariuans* would receiue them, and
than the *Syracusians* were minding their Navy. Whereupon
with the whole Army they went along the Coast, first to
Syracuse, where not finding any Navy manned, they
went on to *Camarina*. And being come close vnder the
shore, they sent a Herald vnto them, but the *Camariuans*
would not receiue the Army, alledging that they had taken
an Oath, not to receiue the *Athenians*, which more than one
Gallie, vnlesse they should haue sent for more, not their
owne accord. Hauing lost their labour, they departed, and
B landed in a part of the Territorie of *Syracuse*, and had got-
ten some booty. But the *Syracusians* Horsemen coming
out, and killing some stragglers of the light-armed, they
returned againe to *Catana*.

Here they finde the Gallie called *Salaminitis*, come
thither from *Astus*, both for *Alcibiades*, who was com-
manded to come home, to purge himselfe of such things
as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for o-
ther Souldiers, that were with him, whereof some were
accused for profanation of the Mysteries, and some also
C for the *Mercuries*. For the *Athenians*, after the Fleet
was put to Sea, proceeded neuertheless in the search of
those that were culpable, both concerning the Mysteries,
and the *Mercuries*. And making no enquire into the
persons of the informers, but through ieaousie, admitting
of all sorts, vpon the report of euill men, apprehended ve-
ry good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosing ra-
ther to examine the fact, and finde the truth by torments,
then that any man, how good soeuer in estimation, be-
ing once accused, should escape vnquestioned.

D For the People hauing by fame vnderstood, that the
Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sonnes, was heauie in
the latter end, and withall, that neither themselves,
nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedemonians* ouerthrew it,
were euer fearefull, and apprehended euery thing suspi-
ciously.

For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was vnderaken
vpon an accident of loue, which vnfoling at large, I shall
make appeare, that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* the-
selves, report any certaintie, either of their owne Tyrants,
E or of the fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny,
not *Hipparchus*, (as the most thinke) but *Hippias*, who was

Ccc2

his

Alcibiades called home, to
answer about the *Mercuries*.

Digression touching the
deposing of the Tyranny
of *Pisistratus* and his sonne.

his eldest sonne, succeeded in the government. Now *Harmodius*, which in the flower of his youth, of great beaunie, was in the power of some *Aristogoras*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his Luver. This *Harmodius* having beene solicited by *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, and not yielding, discovered the same varol *Aristogiton*. Hee apprehending it (as Luvers use) with a great deal of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, lest hee should take him away by force, felt presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriving how to pull downe the Tyranny. In the meane time, *Hipparchus*, hailing a B gaine attempted *Harmodius*, and not prevailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in secret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause, to doe him some disgrace. For neither was the government otherwise heavy till then, but carried without their cuill will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held vertue and wisdom in great account for a long time; and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their revenues, adorned the Citie, managed their Warres, and administered their religion worthily. In other points they were governed by the Lawes formerly C established, save that these tooke a care ever, to preferre to the Magistracy, men of their owne adherence. And amongst many that had the annuall office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the sonne of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelve Gods in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription, yet that vpon the Altar that is in the D Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to bee scene still, though in Letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATVS the sonne of **HIPPIAS**
erected this to stand
in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*,
witness of his command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the government, I can affirme, as knowing it by a more exact E relati-

A relation then other men. And it may be knowne also by this, it appeares that of all the legitimate birthren this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar, which for a testimony of the iniustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadell. In which there is no mention of any sonne of *Thessalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of five sonnes of *Hippias*, which he had by *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias* the sonne of *Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his fathers, was the first, not without reason, as being both next him in age, and having also enioyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* have easily taken on him the government, on a sudden if his brother had dyed; seized of the Tyranny, and he been the same day to settle it on himselfe. Where as he retained the same with abundant security, both for the customary feare in the people, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to fecke, like a younger brother, to whom the government had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his misfortune, and thereby grew an opinion afterwards, that he was also C Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denyed his sute, hee disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a sister of his a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Procession, they rejected her againe when she came, and said, that they had neuer warned her at all, as holding her unworthy the honour. This was taken heauily by *Harmodius*, but *Aristogiton*, for his sake, was farre more exasperated then he. Whereupon, with the rest of D the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the designe. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenae*, vpon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Procession, might without suspicion be armed in good number. And they were to begin the fact themselves, but the rest were to helpe them against the * Halbardiers.

Now the Conspirators for their better security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not priue to it, if they saw it once vnderaken, being vpon this E occasion, armed, would assist, in the recovery of their owne liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out.

* The Guard of *Hippias* the Tyrant.

out of the Citie, into the place called *Ceramicum*, with this A
guard of Halbardiers; & was ordering the procession, how
it was to goe. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with each of
them a Dagger, proceeded to the fact. But when they
saw one of the Conspirators, familiarly talking with *Hippias*
(for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were
afraid, and believed that they were discovered, and must
presently have been apprehended. They resolved there-
fore, if it were possible, to be ranged first upon him
that had done them the wrong, and for whose sake they
had undergone all this danger; and, furnished as they were, B
ran furiously into the Citie, and finding *Hipparchus*, at a
place called *Decesterium*, without all regard of themselves,
fell upon him, and with all the anger in the world, one upon
one, the other upon disgrace, strooke, and slew him.
Aristogiton, for the present, by meanes of the great conflu-
ence of people, escaped thorow the Guard, but taken after-
wards, was vngently handled; but *Harmodius* was slaine up-
on the place.

The newes being brought to *Hippias*, in the * *Ceramicum*,
he went not towards the place where the fact was com- C
mitted, but presently vnto those that were armed for the
solemnity of the shewes, and were farre off, that he might
be with them before they heard of it; and composing his
countenance, as well as he could, to dissemble the calamity,
pointed to a certaine place, and commanded them to re-
paire thither, without their Armes. Which they did ac-
cordingly, expecting that he would haue told them some-
what. But hauing commanded his Guard to take those
Armes away, he then fell presently to picking out of such D
as he meant to question, and whoeuer else was found a-
mongst them with a Dagger. For with Shields and
Speares, to be in the head of the Procession, was of cus-
tome.

Thus was the enterprize first vnderaken vpon quarrell
of Loue, and then vpon a sudden feare, followed this vnad-
uised aduenture of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after
this time the Tyranny grew sorer to the *Athenians*, then it
had been before. And *Hippias* standing more in feare, not
only put many of the Citizens to death, but also cast his
eye on the States abroad, to see if he might get any security E
from them, in this alteration at home. Hee therefore
afterwards

* A street without the walls
of Athens, where they used
to bury their slain in the
warres. Lib. 1. so named
from *Kerameus*, a Potter, or
as Paul, from one *Cera-*
mus.

Afterwards, (* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lampfacen*) gave
his daughter *Archedice* vnto *Aantidas* the sonne of *Hippocles*,
Tyrant of *Lampfacus*, knowing that the *Lampfacens* were in
great fauour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is
yet to be seene, with this Inscription.

Archedice, the Daughter of King Hippias,
who in his time,

Of all the Potentates of Greece was prime,
this dust doth hide.

B Daughter, Wife, Sister, Mother vnto Kings she was,
yet free from pride.

And *Hippias*, after he had reigned three yeeres more in
Athens, and was in the fourth deposed by the *Lacedaemonians*,
and the exiled * *Alcmaonides*, went vnder Truce to *Sigeum*,
and to *Aantidas*, at *Lampfacus*, and thence to King *Darius*,
from whence twenty yeeres after in his old age, he came to
Marathon with the *Median Army*.

The People of *Athens* bearing this in minde, and remem-
C bering all that they had heard concerning them, were ex-
tremely bitter, and full of ieaousie towards those that had
been accused of the *Mysteries*, and thought all to haue been
done vpon some *Oligarchicall* or *Tyrannicall* Conspiracy. And
whilest they were passionate vpon this surmise, many
worthy men had already been cast in prison, and yet they
were not likely so to giue ouer, but grew daily more sal-
uage, and sought to apprehend more still. Whilest they
were at this passe, a prisoner that seemed most to be guil-
ty, was perswaded by one of his fellow prisoners, to ac- D
cuse some body, whether it were true or not true, (for it is
but conjecturall on both sides, nor was there ever, then, or
after, any man that could say certainly, who it was that
did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him, that
though he had not done it, yet he might be sure to saue his
owne life, and should deliuer the City from the present
suspicion. And that he should be more certaine of his
owne safety, by a free confession, then by continuing to his
tryall, if he denied it. Hereupon, he accused both him-
selfe and others for the *Mercuries*.

E The people of *Athens*, gladly receiving the certainty
(as they thought) of the fact: and hauing been much
vexed

* A woman of Athens, a
Cite flourishing for letters
and civility, a man of
Lampfacus, a Cite, in-
famous for barbarity and ty-
ranny.

* A Family descended from a
noble Citizen of Athens, na-
med *Alcmaon*, who being
in exile, solicited the *Lace-*
demonians to expell the
Tyrants of Athens.

* He had five daughters
him to be gone out of the
State of Athens.

The ieaousie and passio-
nate iury of the people,
in enquiry after the au-
thors of the offences,
touching the *Mysteries*
and *Aceremics*.

One of the prisoners is
perswaded by a fellow-
prisoner, to accuse
some man, whether true
or not true, and doth so.

Diuers men accused of
the parring of the *Acer-*
emics.

* But only to some few of the Great men.

vexed before, to thinke that the Conspirators should * ne-
uer perhaps, be discovered to their *Multitude*, presently set
at liberty the accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had
not appeached, but for those that were accused, they ap-
pointed Iudges, and all they apprehended, they executed.
And hauing condemned to dye, such as fled, they ordayned
a summe of money to be giuen to those that should slay
them. And though it were all this while vncertaine,
whether they suffered iustly, or vniustly, yet the rest of the
Citie had a manifest case for the present. But touching
Alcibiades, the *Athenians* tooke it extreme ill, through the
insligation of his enemies, the same that had opposed him
before he went. And seeing it was certaine (as they
thought) for the *Mercuries*, the other crime also concern-
ing the *Mysteries*, whereof he had bene accused, seemed
a great deale the more to haue bin committed by him vpon
the same reason, and conspiracy against the peo-
ple.

Presumptions against
Alcibiades.

For it fell out withall, whilst the City was in a tumult
about this, that an Army of the *Lacedaemonians*, was come as
farre as the *Isthmus*, vpon some deligne against the *Baotians*. C

These therefore they thought were come thither, not
against the *Baotians*, but by appointment of him, and that
if they had not first apprehended, the persons appeached,
the Citie had been betrayed. And one night they watch-
ed all night long in their Armes, in the Temple of *These-*
us, within the Citie. And the friends of *Alcibiades* in *Ar-*
gos, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set vp-
on the People there, whereupon the *Athenians* also deliue-
red vnto the *Argiue* People, those * Hostages which they
held of theirs in the Islands, to be slaine. And there were D

presumptions against *Alcibiades*, on all sides. Infomuch,
as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent, as I
haue said, the Gally called *Salaminia*, into *Sicily*, both for
him, and the rest with him, that had been accused: But
gaue command to those that went, not to apprehend him,
but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; be-
cause they had a care, not to giue occasion of surse, either
amongst their owne, or the enemies Souldiers, but especi-
ally, because they desired, that the *Mantineans*, and the *Ar-*
giues, who they thought followed the Warre by his per-
suasion, might not depart from the Army. So hee, and the E

* 300 in number, lib. 5.

Alcibiades sent for home.

A the rest accused with him in his owne Gallie, in companie
of the *Salaminia*, left *Sicily*, and set saile for *Athens*. But be-
ing at *Thuria*, they followed no further, but left the Gally,
and were no more to be found: fearing indeed to appeare
to the accusation. They of the *Salaminia* made search for
Alcibiades and those that were with him for a while, but
not finding him, followed on their course for *Athens*. *Alcibi-*
ades, now an Out-law, passed shortly after in a small Boat
from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Athenians* proceeding
to iudgement vpon his not appearing, condemned both
B him and them to death.

Alcibiades flight.

After this, the *Athenian* Generals that remained in
Sicily, hauing diuided the Armie into two, and taken
each his part by lot, went with the whole towards
Selinus, and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the
Egesteans would pay them the money, and withall to
get knowledge of the designs of the *Selinuntians*, and
learne the state of their controuersie with the *Egesteans*.
And sayling by the Coast of *Sicily*, hauing it on their
left hand, on that side which lyeth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulfe,
C they came to *Himera*, the onely *Grecian* Citie in that
part of *Sicily*: which not receiuing them, they went
on, and by the way tooke *Hyccara*, a little Towne of
the *Sicanians*, Enemy to the *Egesteans*, and a Sea-
Towne, and hauing made the inhabitants Slaues, deliue-
red the Towne to the *Egesteans*, whose Horse-forces were
there with them.

The *Athenian* Generals
in *Sicily* goe to *Selinus*
and *Egesta*.

They take *Hyccara*.

Thence the *Athenians* with their Landmen returned
through the Territory of the *Siculi*, to *Catana*; and the
Gallies went about with the Captiues. *Nicias* going with
D the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when hee had
dispatched with them his other businesse, and receiued
thirty Talents of Money, returned to the Armie.
The Captiues they ransomed, of which they made 120.
Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confede-
rates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces;
and with the halfe of their owne they came before *Hybla*,
in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City; but tooke it not,
and so ended this Summer.

The next Winter the *Athenians* fell presently to make
E preparation for their journey against *Syracuse*. And the
Syracusans on the other side prepared to invade the *Athe-*
nians.

The end of the seven-
teenth Summer.
The *Syracusans* contriue
the *Athenians*.

nians. For seeing the Athenians had not presently vpon the A first feare, and expectation of their comming, false vpon them, they got euery day more and more heart. And because they went far from them into those other parts of Sicily, and assaunting Hybla, could not take it, they contemned them more then euer: and prayed their Commanders, (as is the manner of the multitude when they bee in courage) seeing the Athenians came not vnto them, to conduct them to Catana. And the Syracusan Horsemen, which were euer abroad for Scowts, spurring vp to the Campe of the Athenians, amongst other scornes, asked them, whether they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another, then to restore the Leontines to their owne?

Nicias his stratagem to get easie landing and encamping by Syracuse.

The Athenian Generals hauing obserued this, and being desirous to draw forth the Syracusians whole power as farre as might bee from the Citie, to bee able in the meane time, without impeachment, going thither in the night, by Sea, to seaze on some conuenient place to encampe in; for they knew they should not bee able to doe it so well in the face of an Enemy prepared, nor if they were knowne to march by Land, for that the Syracusan Horsemen being many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and other multitude, they themselues hauing no Horsemen there: whereas thus they might possesse themselues of a place where the Horse could not doe them any hurt at all to speake of, (now the Syracusan Outlawes that were with them, had told them of a place neere the Temple Olympieum, which also they seazed) I say, the Athenian Generals, to bring this their purpose to effect, contriued the matter thus: They send a man, of whose fidelity they were well assured, and in the opinion of the Syracusan Commanders, no lesse a friend of theirs.

This man was a Catanian, and said he came from Catana, from such and such, whose names they knew, and knew to bee the remnant of their wel-willers in that City. He told them that the Athenians lay euery night within the Towne, and far from their Armes, and that if with the whole power of their Citie, at a day appointed, betimes in a morning, they would come to their Campe, those friends of the Syracusians would shut the Athenians in, and set fire on their Gallies, by which meanes, the Syracusians assaunting the Palizado, might easily winne the Campe. And that the

A the Catanians that were to helpe them herein were many, and those he came from, already prepared for it.

The Syracusan Commanders hauing beene also otherwise encouraged, and hauing intended a preparation to goe against Catana; though this Messenger had not come, did so much the more vnadvisedly beleue the man, and straight wayes being agreed of the day, on which they were to bee there, sent him away. These Commanders (for by this time the Selenuntians, and some other their Confederates were come in) appointed the Syracusians, vniuersally to set

B forwards by a day. And when all their necessities were in readinesse, and the day at hand in which they were to be there, they set forwards toward Catana, and encamped the night following vpon the bankes of the Riuer Simethus, in the Territory of the Leontines. The Athenians vpon aduertisement that they were set forth, rising with their whole Armie, both themselues, and such of the Siculi, and others as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and Boates in the beginning of the night, set sayle for Syracuse. In the morning betimes, the Athenians disembarked ouer against Olympieum, to make their Campe. And the Syracusan Horsemen, who were at Catana before the rest, finding the Campe risen, came backe to the Foot, and told them.

Whereupon they went all together backe to the ayde of the Citie. In the meane time, the way the Syracusians had to goe being long, the Athenians had pitched their Campe at leasure in a place of aduantage, wherein it was in their owne power to beginne Battell when they list, and where, both in and before the Battell, the Syracusan Horsemen could least annoy them. For on one side, there were D Walles, and Houses, and Trees, and a Lake that kept them off; on the other side steepe Rockes, and hauing felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea-side, they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and toward Dascon. And on that part that was most accessible to the Enemy, they made a Fort with stone, (the best they could finde, but vnwrought) and with Wood, and withall pulled downe the Bridge of the Riuer Anapru.

Whilest this was doing, there came none to impeach them from the Citie. The first that came against them, E were the Syracusan Horsemen, and by and by after, all the Foot together. And though at first they came vp

D d d 2

neere

The Athenians land, pitch their Campe, and entrench themselves ere the Syracusians returne.

The Syracusan Army cometh backe.

neere vnto the Campe of the *Athenians*, yet after, seeing the *A* *Athenians* came not out against them, they retired againe, and crossing to the other side of the *Helorine* high-way, stayed there that night.

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* prepare to fight.

The next day the *Athenians* and their Confederates prepared to fight, and were ordered thus: The *Argiues* and the *Mantineans* had the right Wing, the *Athenians* were in the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other Wing. That halfe of the Army which stood foremost, was ordered by eight in File, the other halfe towards their Tents, ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the forme *B* of a long square, and commanded to obserue diligently, where the rest of the Army was in distresse, and to make specially thither. And in the midst of these so arranged, were receiued such as carried the * Weapons and Toolles of the Army.

The *Syracusians* arranged their men of Armes, who were *Syracusians* of all conditions, and as many of their Confederates as were present, by sixteene in File. They that came to ayde them, were chiefly the *Selinuntians*, and then the Horse-men of the *Geloans*, about two hundred; *C* and of the *Camarineans*, about twenty Horsemen, and fifty Archers. The Caualery they placed in the right point of the Battell, being in all no lesse then a thousand two hundred, and with them the Darters. But the *Athenians* intending to begin the Battell, *Nicias* went vp and downe the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to all in generall, he spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his Army.

D **W**hat neede I, sirs, to make a long exhortation, when this Battell is the thing for which we all came hither? For in my opinion, the present preparation is more able to giue you encouragement, then any Oration, how well soeuer made, if with a weake Armie. For where we are together, *Argiues*, *Mantineans*, *Athenians*, and the best of the *Ilanders*, how can we choose, amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceiue great hope of the victory? especially against tagge and ragge, and not chosen men, as wee are our selues, and against *Sicilians*, who though they contemne vs, cannot stand against vs; their skill not being answerable *E*

A **A** table to their courage. It must bee remembered also, that wee be farre from our owne, and not neere to any amicable Territory, but such as we shall acquire by the sword. My exhortation to you (I am certaine) is contrary to that of the enemy. For they say to theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey; I say to you, You are to fight out of your Countrey, where you must either get the victory, or not easily get away. For many Horsemen will be vpon vs. Remember therefore euery man his owne worth, and charge valiantly, and thinke, the present necessity, and streight we are in, to be more formidable then the enemy.

B **B** *Nicias*, hauing thus exhorted the Army, led it presently to the charge. The *Syracusians* expected not to haue fought at that instant, and the Citie being neere, some of them were gone away; and some, for haste, came in running; and though late, yet euery one, as he came, put himselfe in, where was the greatest number. For they wanted neither willingnesse, nor courage, either in this, or any other battell, being no lesse valiant, so farre forth as they had experience, then the *Athenians*. But the want of this, made *C* them, euen against their wils, to abate also somewhat of their courage.

Neuerthelesse, though they thought not the *Athenians* would haue begun the battell, and were thereby constrained to fight on a sudden, yet they resumed their Armes, and came presently forward to the encounter.

And first, the Casters of Stones, and Slingers, and Archers of either side, skirmished in the midst betweene the Armies, mutually chasing each other, as amongst the Light-armed, was not unlikely.

D **D** After this, the Southsayers brought forth their sacrifices according to the Law of the place, and the Trumpets instigated the men of Armes to the battell. And they came on to fight, the *Syracusians* for their Countrey, and their liues for the present, and for their liberty in the future. On the other side, the *Athenians*, to win the Country of another, and make it their owne, and not to weaken their owne by being vanquished. The *Argiues*, and other free Confederates, to helpe the *Athenians* to conquer the Country they came against, and to returne to their owne *E* with Victory. And their Subiect-confederates came also on with great courage, principally, for their better safety.

The battell betweene the *Athenians*, and *Syracusians*.

ty, as desperate, if they ouercame not, and withall vpon the A by, that by helping the *Athenians* to subdue the Countrey of another, their owne subiection might be the easier.

After they were come to handstroakes, they fought long on both sides. But in the meane time there hapned some claps of Thunder, and flashes of Lightning, together with a great showre of Raine; insomuch as it added to the feare of the *Syracusians* that were now fighting their first battell, and not familiar with the Warres; whereas to the other side that had more experience, the season of the yeere seemed to expound that accident; and their greatest feare proceeded from the so-long resistance of their enemies, in that they were not all this while ouercome. When the *Argiues* first, had made the Left Wing of the *Syracusians*, to giue ground, and after them, the *Athenians* also had done the like to those that were arranged against them, then the rest of the *Syracusan* Army was presently broken, and put to flight. But the *Athenians* pursued them not farre, (because the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many, and vnuanquished, whensoever any men of Armes aduanced farre from the body of the Army, charged vpon them, and still draue them in againe) but hauing followed as farre as safely they might in great troopes, they retyred againe, and erected a Trophie. The *Syracusians* hauing rallyed themselves in the *Helorine* way, and recouered their order, as well as they could for that time, sent a guard into *Olympicum*, lest the *Athenians* should take the treasure there, and returned with the rest of the Army into the Citie. The *Athenians* went not to assault the Temple, but gathering together their dead, laid them vpon the funerall fire, and staid that night vpon the place. The next day they gaue Truce to the *Syracusians* to take vp their dead (of whom, and of their Confederates, were slaine about 160.) and gathered vp the bones of their owne. Of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, there dyed about fifty. And thus, hauing rifled the bodies of their dead enemies, they returned to *Catana*. For it was now Winter, and to make War there, they thought it yet vnpossible, before they had sent for Horsemen to *Athens*, and leuyed other amongst their Confederates there in *Sicily*; to the end they might not bee altogether ouer mastered in Horse, and before they had also both leuyed mony there, and receiued more from *Athens*, and

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

A and made League with certaine Cities, which they hoped after this Battell, would the more easily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewise prouided themselves of victuals, and other things necessary, as intending the next Spring to vndertake *Syracuse* againe. With this mind they went to winter at *Naxos* and *Catana*.

The *Syracusians*, after they had buried their dead, called an Assembly, and *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a man not otherwise second to any in wisdom, and in warre, both able for his experience, and eminent for his valour, standing forth, gaue them encouragement, and would not suffer them to be dismayed with that which had hapned. Their courage, he said, was not ouercome, though their want of order had done them hurt. And yet in that, they were not so farre inferior, as it was likely they would haue beene. Especially being (as one may say) home-bred artificers, against the most experienced in the Warre of all the *Grecians*. That they had also beene hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fiftene that commanded in chiefe) and by the many supernumerary Souldiers vnder no command at all. Whereas, if they would make but a few and skilfull Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter, for such as want it, to encrease as much as might be, the number of their men of Armes, and compell them in other things to the exercise of Discipline, in all reason they were to haue the better of the Enemie. For valour they had already, and to keepe their order, would be learnt by practice; and both of these would still grow greater; Skill, by practising with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it selfe, vpon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals, they ought to chuse them few and absolute, and to take an Oath vnto them, to let them lead the Armie whithersoever they thought best. For by this meanes, both the things that require secrecy would the better be concealed, and all things would be put in readinesse with order, and lesse tergiversation.

The *Syracusians*, when they had heard him, decreed all that he aduised, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the sonne of *Lyfimachus*, and *Sicanus* the sonne of *Excegestus*. They sent also Ambassadors to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, as well to obtaine a League with them, as also to perswade the *Lacedæmonians* to make a hotter Warre against the *Athenians*, and to declare themselves in the quarrell of the *Syracusians*, thereby eyther to withdraw them from

Hermocrates encourageth the *Syracusians*, and is chosen Generall with two more.

The *Syracusians* send for ayde into *Peloponnesus*.

The Athenians attempt
Messana, but fail.

from Sicily, or to make them the lesse able to send supply A
to their Army which was there already.

The Athenian Army at Catana, sayled presently to Mes-
sana, to receiue it by Treason of some within, but the plot
came not to effect. For Alcibiades when hee was sent for
from his charge, being resolved to fly, and knowing what
was to bee done, discovered the same to the friends of the
Syracusians in Messana, who with those of their Faction
few such as were accused, and being armed vpon occa-
sion of the Sedition, obtained to haue the Athenians kept
out. And the Athenians, after 13 dayes stay, troubled with B
tempestuous weather, prouision also failing, and nothing
succeeding, returned againe to Naxos; and hauing fortified
their Campe with a Palizado, they wintred there, and dis-
patched a Gallie to Athens for money, and Horsemen to be
with them early in the Spring.

The Syracusians enlarge
the compasse of their
Walles, and burne the
Tents of the Athenians
by Catana.

* The ground belonging to the
Temple of Apollo.

The Syracusians this Winter raised a Wall before their
Citie, all the length of the side towards Epipole, including
* Temenitis; to the end, if they chanced to bee beaten, they
might not bee so easily enclosed, as when they were in a
narrower compasse. And they put a Guard into Megara, C
and another into Olympieum: and made Palizadoes on the
Sea-side, at all the places of landing. And knowing that
the Athenians wintred at Naxos, they marched with all the
power of the Citie vnto Catana, and after they had wasted
the Territory, and burnt the Cabines and Campe where
the Athenians had lodged before, returned home.

Ambassadors both from
the Athenians and Syracu-
sians vnto Camarina, for the
friendship of that City.

And hauing heard that the Athenians had sent Amba-
sadors to Camarina, according to a League made before in
the time of Laches, to try if they could win them to their
side, they also sent Ambassadors to oppose it. For they D
suspected that the Camarinians had sent those succors in the
former Battell with no great good will, and that now they
would take part with them no longer, seeing the Athenians
had the better of the day, but would rather ioyne with the
Athenians vpon the former League. Hermocrates therefore
and others, being come to Camarina from the Syracusians, and
Euphemus and others from the Athenians, when the Assem-
bly was met, Hermocrates, desiring to increase their enuy
to the Athenians, spake vnto them to this effect.

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A

THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

MEN of Camarina, we come not hither, vpon feare that the
Forces of the Athenians here present may affrighte you, but
lest their Speeches which they are about to make, may seduce
you, before you haue also heard what may be said by vs. They are come
into Sicily with that pretence indeed which you heare giuen out, but
with that intention which wee all suspect. And to me they seeme not
to intend the replantation of the Leontines, but rather our supplan-
tation; for surely it holdeth not in reason, that they who subuert the
B Citie yonder, should come to plant any Citie heere; nor that they
should haue such a care of the Leontines, because Chalcideans;
for kindreds sake, when they keepe in seruitude the Chalcideans
themselves of Euboea, of whom these heere are but the Colonies. But
they both hold the Citie there, and attempt those that are here in one
and the same kind. For when the Ionians, and the rest of the Con-
federates, their owne Colonies, had willingly made them their Lea-
ders in the Warre, to auenge them of the Medes, the Athenians
C laying afterwards to their charge, to some, the not sending of their
Forces, to some, their Warre amongst themselves; and so to the rest
the most colourable criminations they could get, subdued them all to
their obedience. And it was not for the liberty of the Grecians,
that these men, nor for the liberty of themselves, that the Grecians
made head against the Medes; but the Athenians did it, to make
them serue, not the Medes, but them, and the Grecians to change
their Master, as they did, not for one lesse wise, but for one worse
wise. But intruth we come not to accuse the Athenian State (though
it be obnoxious enough) before you that know sufficiently the iniuries
D they haue done; but farre rather to accuse our selues, who though we
haue the examples before our eyes, of the Grecians there, brought
into seruitude for want of defending themselves; and though wee see
them now, with the same sophistry of replanting the Leontines, and
their kindred, and ayding of their Confederates the Egeltians, pre-
pare to doe the like vnto vs, doe not yet vnite our selues, and with
better courage, make them to know that we be not Ionians, nor Hel-
lespontines, nor Islanders, that changing, serue alwaies the Mede,
or some other Master; but that wee are Dorians, and free-men,
come to dwell here in Sicily out of Peloponnesus, a free Country.
Shall we stand still till we be taken Citie after Citie? when we know,
that that only way we are conquerable, and when we find them whol-

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ly bent to this, that by drawing some from our alliance with their A words, and causing some to vveare each other out with Warke, vpon hope of their Confederacie, and winning others by other fit language, they may haue the power to doe vs hurt. But we thinke, though one of the same Island perish, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to vs; and before it arriue, we count vnhappy onely him that suffereth before vs. If any therefore be of this opinion, that it is not he, but the Syracusian, that is the Athenians Enemie, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himselfe for the Territorie that is mine, I would haue him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his owne in mine, and with the more safety, B for that I am not destroyed before, and he thereby destitute of my helpe, but stand with him in the Battell. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being enemies to you, but by pretence of mee, to make himselfe the stronger by your friendship. If any man heere enuieth, or also feareth vs, (for the strongest are still lyable vnto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakned; to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their owne safeties sake, that man hath conceived a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same man should be the disposer both of his desires, and of his fortune. And C if his ayde should faile him, he might, deploring his owne misery, peradventure wish to enioy my prosperity againe. But this will not bee possible to him that shall abandon me, and not undertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I doe. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina, that are our borderers, and likely to haue the second place of danger, you should most of all haue foreseene this, and not haue aided vs so dully. You should rather haue come to vs, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need haue implored at our hands, the same you should D now also haue bene seene equally to hearten vs withall, to keepe vs from yeelding. But as yet, neither you, nor any of the rest haue bene so forward. Perhaps vpon feare, you meane to deale euently betweene vs both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should invade you: and by it you are also tyed to ayde the Athenians when others wrong the, but not when as now they wrong their neighbour. For euen the Rhegians, who are Chalcideans, refuse to helpe the in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad action vnder a E faire iustification, are wise without a reason, and you, vpon pretence of reason,

A reason, should ayde your naturall enemies, and helpe them that most hate you, to destroy your more naturall kindred.

But this is no iustice: to fight with them is iustice, and not to stand in feare of their preparation. Which, if wee hold together, is not terrible, but is, if contrarily (which they endeavour) we bee diuined. For neither when they came against vs being none but our selues, and had the vpper hand in Battell, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their wayes. There is no reason therefore wee should bee afraid, when wee are all together, but that wee should haue the better will to v B nire our selues in a League. And this rather, because wee are to haue ayde from Peloponnesus, who euery way excell these men in Militarie sufficiencie. Nor should you thinke that your purpose to ayde neither, as being in League with both, is either iust in respect of vs, or safe for your selues. For it is not so iust in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your ayde, the assailed perish, and the assailant become Victor, what doe you by your neutrality, but leaue the safety of the one vndefended, and suffer the other to doe euill? Whereas it were more noble in you, by ioyning with the wronged, and with your kindred, C both to defend the Common good of Sicily, and keepe the Athenians, as your friends, from an act of iniustice. To be short, wee Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainly, to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but wee pray you, and withall, if you reiect our words, wee protest, that whereas the Ionians, who haue euer bene our enemies, doe take counsell against vs, you that are Dorians as well as wee, betray vs. And if they subdue vs, though it bee by your counsels that they doe it, yet they onely shall haue the honour of it. And for the prize of their victory, they will haue none other but euen the Authors of their victory. But if the victory fall vnto D vs, euen you also, the cause of this our danger, shall vndergoe the penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will haue seruitude without the present danger, or saving your selues with vs, both auoyd the dishonour of being a Master, and escape our enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake Hermocrates.

After him, Euphemus, Ambassadour from the Athenians, spake thus.

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THE ORATION OF

EVENEMVS.

Though our coming were to renew our former League, yet seeing wee are touched by the Syracusan, it will bee necessary wee speake something heere of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimonie of this right he hath himselfe given, in that he said the Ionians were euer enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we haue euer endeouored to finde out some meanes or other, how best to free our selues from subiection to the Peloponnesians, that are Dorians, more in number then wee, and dwelling neere vs. After the Median Warre, hauing gotten vs a Naue, wee were deliuered thereby from the command and leading of the Lacedæmonians; there being no cause why they should rather bee Leaders of vs, then wee of them, save onely that they were then the stronger. And when wee were made Commanders of those Grecians which before liued vnder the King, vvee took vpon vs the gouernment of them; because wee thought, that hauing power in our hands to defend our selues, vvee should thereby be the lesse subiect to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, vvee subiected the Ionians and Ilanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without iust cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother Citie, and for feare of losing their wealth, durst not revolt, as wee did, that abandoned our very Citie. But as they were content to serue, so they would haue imposed the same condition vpon vs. For these causes, vvee take vpon vs our dominion ouer them; both as worthy of the same, in that wee brought the greatest Fleet, and promptest courage to the seruice of the Grecians: whereas they, with the like promptnesse in fauour of the Medes, did vs hurt: and also as being desirous to procure our selues a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other wee will not; seeing wee alone haue pulled downe the Barbarian, (and therefore haue right to command) or at least haue put our selues into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece, and our owne besides. Now to seeke meanes for ones owne preservation is a thing conblameable. And as it is for our owne safetie cause that wee are now heere, so also wee finde that the same will be profitable for you. Which vvee will make plaine, from those very things which they accuse, and you, as most formidable, suspect vs of; being assured, that such as suspect vwith vehement feare, though they may be wonne for the present with the

A the sweetnesse of an Oration, yet where the matter comes to performance, will then doe as shall be most for their turne. Wee haue told you that wee hold our Dominion yonder vpon feare, and that vpon the same cause wee come thither now, by the helpe of our friends; to assure the Cities heere, and not to bring you into subiection, but rather to keepe you from it.

And let no man object, that wee be sollicitous for those that are nothing to vs. For as long as you be persecuted, and able to make head against the Syracusians, wee shall be the lesse annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians. And in this point you are

B very much vnto vs. For the same reason, it is meete also, that vvee replant the Leontines, not to subiect them, as their kindred in Euboea, but to make them as puissant as wee can; that being neere, they may from their owne Territory, weaken the Syracusians in our behalfe. For as for our Warrs at home, wee are a match for our enemies, without their helpe. And the Chalcidean, (whom hauing made a slaue yonder, the Syracusan said, wee absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty heere) is most beneficiall to vs there, without Armes, paying money onely; but the Leontines, and other our friends heere, are the most profitable to vs, when they are most in

C liberty. Now to a Tyrant or Citie that raigneth, nothing can bee thought absurd, if profitable, nor any man a friend, that may not bee trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must bee, according to the severall occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to weaken our friends, but by our friends strength to weaken our enemies. This you must needs beleene, in as much as yonder also, wee so command ouer our Confederates, as enery of them may bee most usefull to vs. The Chians and Methymnians redeeme their liberty, with providing vs some Gallies: the most of the rest, with a Tribute of money, somewhat more pressing.

D Some againe of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Ilanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this: they are situate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore, that heere also, we will so order our affaires, as shall be most for our owne turne, and most according to our feare (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion ouer you; and hauing by aduantage of your suspicion of vs, drawne you to their side, will themselves by force, or (if we goe home without effect) by your want of friends, haue the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you ioyne with them, must of necessity come to passe. For neither

E will it be easie for vs to bring so great Forces againe together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you, if we bee absent.

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Him that thinketh other wise, the thing it selfe conuinceth: for when A you called vs in, to ayde you, at the first, the feare you pretended was onely this, that if we neglected you, the Syracusians would subdue you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were vniust, that the argument you would needs haue to preuaile then with vs, should now haue no effect with your selues; or that you should be iealous of the much strength we bring against the power of the Syracusians, when much rather you should giue the lesse care vnto them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becoming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are unable to bold them, both in respect of the length of the voyage, and for want of B meanes of guarding them, because they be great, and provided after the manner of the Continent. Whereas they, not lodged neere you in a Campe, but inhabiting neere you in a Citie of greater power then this of ours, will be alwayes watching their aduantages against you: And when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities, will be sure not to let it slip. This they haue already made to appeare, both in their proceedings against the Leontines, and also otherwise. And yet haue these the face to moue you against vs that hinder this, and that haue hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands. But we on the other side, inuite you to a farre more reall safety, and C pray you not to betray that safety, which we both of vs hold from one another at this present, but to consider that they by their owne number haue way to you at wages, though without Confederates, whereas you shall seldome haue so great an ayde againe to resist them. Which if through your iealousie, you suffer to goe away without effect, or if it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when their conning can no more doe you good. But (Camarinaeans) bee neither you nor others, moued with their calumnies. We haue told you the very truth, why wee are suspected; and summarily wee will tell it you againe, cleyming to preuaile with you thereby. We say, we com- D mand yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert into liberty the Cities here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things wee are forced to be doing, because many things vve haue to bevvare of. And both now, and before, vve came not vncalled, but called, as Confederates to such of you as suffer vvrong. Make not your selues Iudges of vwhat vve doe, nor goe about as Censors (vvhich vvere now hard to doe) to diuert vs; but as farre as this busie humour, and fashion of ours, may be for your owne seruice, so farre take, and vse it. And thinke not the same hurtfull alike to all, but that the greatest part of the Grecians haue good by it: For in all places, though vve E be not of any side, yet both he that looketh to be wronged, and hee that contriueth

A contriueth to doe the wrong, by the obliuiousnesse of the hope that the one hath of our ayde, and of the feare that the other hath of their owne danger; if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble. Refuse not therefore, the security now present, common both to vs that require it, and to your selues. But doe as others vse to doe; come with vs, and in stead of defending your selues alwayes against the Syracusians, take your turne once, and put them to their guard, as they haue done you. Thus spake Euphemus.

B The Camarinaeans stood thus affected. They bare good will to the Athenians; saue that they thought they meant to subingate Sicily; And were euer at strife with the Syracusians aboute their borders. Yet because they were afraid that the Syracusians that were neere them, might as well get the victory, as the other, they had both formerly sent them some few horse, and also now resolved for the future, to helpe the Syracusians, but vnderhand; and as sparingly as was possible; and wichall, that they might no lesse seeme to fauour the Athenians, then the Syracusians, C especially after they had wome a battell, to giue for the present an equal answer vnto both. So after deliberation had, they answered thus: That for as much as they that warred, were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most agreeable to their oath, for the present, to giue ayde to neither. And so the Ambassadors of both sides went their wayes. And the Syracusians made preparation for the Warre by themselves.

The Athenians being encamped at Naxos, treated with the Siculi, to procure as many of them as they might, to their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plaine, and were subiect to the Syracusians, for the most part, held off; but they that dwelt in the most inland parts of the Iland, being a free people, and euer before dwelling in Villages, presently agreed with the Athenians; and brought Corne into the Army, and some of them also money. To those that held off, the Athenians went with their Army, and some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from receiuing the aydes, and garrisons of the Syracusians. And E hauing brought their Fleet from Naxos, where it had been all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at Catania, and re-erected their Campe formerly burnt by the Syracusians. They

The resolution of the Camarinaeans for Neutrality.

The Athenians seek to winne the Siculi.

They bring their Fleet to Catania.

They send for ayde to Carthage, and into Helim-
us.

And prepare to besiege Syracuse.

The Syracusans pray ayde of the Corinthians and Lacedaemonians.

* Corinth was the mother City of Syracuse.

Alcibiades at Lacedaemon, infliggeth the Lacedaemonians against his Country.

They sent a Gally also to Carthage, to procure amity, A and what helpe they could from thence. And into Helimurria, because some Cities there had of their owne accord promised to take their parts. They sent likewise to the Siculi about them, and to Egasta, appointing them to send in all the Horse they could, and made ready Bricks, and Iron, and whatsoever else was necessary for a Siege, and euery other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the Warre, early in the next Spring.

The Ambassadors of Syracuse, which were sent to Corinth and Lacedaemon, as they sayled by, endeauoured also to moue the Italians, to a regard of this action of the Athenians. Being come to Corinth, they spake vnto them, and demanded ayde, vpon the * Title of consanguinity. The Corinthians hauing forthwith, for their owne part, decreed cheerefully to ayde them, sent also Ambassadors from themselves, along with these to Lacedaemon, to helpe them to perswade the Lacedaemonians, both to make a more open Warre against the Athenians, at home, and to send some forces also into Sicily.

At the same time that these Ambassadors were at C Lacedaemon, from Corinth, Alcibiades was also there, with his fellow fugitiues, who presently vpon their escape, passed ouer from Thuria, first to Cyllene, the Hauens of the Eleans, in a Ship, and afterwards went thence to Lacedaemon, sent for by the Lacedaemonians themselves, vnder publique security. For he feared them for his doings about Mantinea. And it fell out, that in the Assembly of the Lacedaemonians, the Corinthians, Syracusans, and Alcibiades, made all of them the same request. Now the Ephores and Magistrates, though intending to send Ambassadors to Syracuse, to hinder them D from compounding with the Athenians, being yet not forward to send them ayde, Alcibiades stood foorth, and sharpened the Lacedaemonians, inciting them with words to this effect:

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

IT will be necessary that I say something first concerning mine E owne accusation, lest through ielousie of me, you bring a preiudicate eare to the common businesse. My Ancestors hauing on

A certaine quarrell renounced the * office of receiving you, I was the man that restored the same againe, and shewed you all possible respect, both otherwise, and in the * matter of your losse at Pylos. Whilest I persisted in my good will to you, being to make a Peace at Athens, by treating the same with my aduersaries, you inuested them with authority, and me with disgrace. For which cause, if in applying my selfe afterwards to the Mantineans, and Arginæ, or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it iustly. And if any man here were causelessly angry with mee, then, when hee suffered, let him bee now content againe, when hee knowes the true cause of the

B same. Or if any man thinke the worse of mee for enclining to the People, let him acknowledge, that therein also hee is offended, without a cause. For wee haue bene alwayes Enemies to Tyrants, and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a City gouerned by Democracie, it was necessary in most things to follow the present course; neuertheless wee haue endeouored to bee more moderate, then sutch with the now headstrong humour of the People. But others there haue bene, both formerly and now, that haue incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are C those that haue also driuen out mee. But as for vs, when wee had the charge of the whole, wee thought it reason, by what forme it was growne most great and most free, and in which we receiued it, in the same to preserue it. For though such of vs as haue iudgement, doe know well enough what the Democracie is, and no lesse then another, (insomuch as I could inueigh against it; But of confessed madnesse nothing can be said that's new) yet wee thought it not safe to change it, when you our Enemies were soeuer vs. Thus stands the matter touching my own accusation. And concerning what we are to consult of both you and I, If I know any thing, which your selues doe not heare it now. We made this voyage into Sicily, first, (if we could) to subdue the Sicilians; after them the Italians; after them, to assay the dominion of Carthage, & Carthage it selfe. If these or most of these enterprizes succeeded, then next wee would haue vndertaken Peloponnesus, with the accession both of the Greeke Forces there, and with many mercenarie Barbarians, Iberians, and others of those parts, confessed to bee the most warlike of the Barbarians that are now. We should also haue built many Gallies, besides these which we haue already, (there being plenty of Timber in Italy) with the which besieging Peloponnesus round, and also taking the

D E Cities thereof with our Land-forces, vpon such occasions as should arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, wee hoped

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easily

* Alcibiades. The Lacedaemonian Ambassadors that came at any time to Athens, were entertained by his Ancestors; This was the office which they after upon a quarrell renounced, and Alcibiades sought to requite.

* (i) hee favoured their prisoners taken there, and imprisoned at Athens.

easily to have debelled it, and afterwards to have gotten the domination of all Greece. As for Money and Corn to facilitate some points of this, the places wee should haue conquered there, besides what heere wee should haue found, would sufficiently haue furnished vs.

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you haue heard what is the Designe of the Fleete now gone, and vvhich the Generals there, as farre as they can, vvill also put in execution.

Vnderstand next, that vnlesse you ayde them, they yonder cannot possibly hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexpert, if many of them vnite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole power already beaten, and withall kept from the vse of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there, is a thing impossible. And if their Citie should be taken, all Sicily is had, and soone after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not be long ere it fell vpon you. Let no man therefore thinke, that hee now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, vnlesse this bee done with speed. Let the Armie you send bee of such, as being aboard, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I thinke more profitable then the Armie it selfe) send a Spartan for Commander, both to traine the Souldiers already there, and to compell vnto it such as refuse. For thus will your present friends bee the more encouraged, and such as bee doubtfull, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make Warre more openly vpon them heere, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians bee lesse able to send supply to their Armie. You ought likewise to fortifie Decelea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselues most feare, and reckon for the onely euill they haue not yet tasted in this Warre. And the way to hurt an Enemy most, is to know certainly what he most feareth, and to bring the same vpon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as hauing the precise knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selues shall reape, and deprive the Enemy of, by so fortifying, letting much passe, I will summe you up the principall. Whatsoeuer the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it vnto you, partly taken, and partly of its owne accord. The reuenue of the Siluer Mines in Laurium, and whatsoeuer other profit they haue from their Land, or * from their Courts of Iustice, will presently be lost. And, which is worst, their Confederates will be remisse in bringing in their reuenue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they beleue once that you follow the Warre to the vtmost.

That

* As Fees, and Fines, which would cease in the Townes abroad, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, or not be able to be conveyed to the City.

A That any of these things be put in act, steadily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selues: for I am confident, and I thinke I erre not, that all these things are possible to bee done. Now I must craue this, that I bee neither the worse esteemed, for that hauing once bene thought a louer of my Countrey, I goe now amongst the greatest Enemies, of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted, as one that speaketh with the zeale of a Fugitiue. For though I flye from the malice of them that draue mee out, I shall not (if you take my counsell) fly your profit. Nor are you enemies so much, who haue hurt but your enemies, as they are, that haue made enemies of friends. I loue not my Countrey, as wronged by it, but as hauing liued in safety in it. Nor doe I thinke, that I doe heerein goe against any Countrey of mine; but that I farre rather seeke to recouer the Countrey I haue not. And hee is truly a louer of his Countrey, not that refuseth to inuade the Countrey hee hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to bee in it, as by any meanes hee can, hee vvill attempt to recouer it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians) to make vse of my seruice, in whatsoeuer danger or labour, confidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your enemy, I can helpe you much when I am your friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but coniectured at yours. And considering you take now in deliberation vpon a matter of so extreme importance, I pray you thinke not much to send an Armie both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserve the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force, as also to pull downe the power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your selues, and to haue the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntary, and with their good affection.

Thus spake Alcibiades.

And the Lacedæmonians, though before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against Athens, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were deliuered by him, they were a great deale the more confirmed in the same, conceiuing that what they had heard, was from one that evidently knew it. Infomuch as they had set their minds already vpon the fortifying at Decelea, and vpon the sending of some succours into Sicily.

ff 2

for

The Lacedæmonians resolve to send Gylippus into Sicily.

for the present. And having assigned *Gonippus* the sonne A of *Cleandridas*, vnto the *Syracusan* Ambassadors for chiefe Commander, they willed him to consider both with them and the *Corinthians*, how best (for their present meanes) and with greatest speed, some helpe might bee conueyed vnto them in *Sicily*. He thereupon appointed the *Corinthians* to send him two Gallies presently to *Asine*, and to furnish the rest they meant to send, and to haue them ready to saile when occasion should serue. This agreed vpon, they departed from *Lacedemon*.

The Athenians resolue to send prouision and Horsemen.

THE EIGHTH- TEENTH YEERE.

The Athenians burne the Fields of certaine Towns of the *Siculi*, and take *Centoripa*.

In the meane time the Gallie arriued at *Athens*, which B the Generals sent home for money and Horsemen. And the *Athenians* vpon hearing, decreed to send both prouision and Horsemen to the Armie. So the Winter ended, and the seuenteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, departed from *Catana*, and sailed by the Coast to *Megara* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants whereof, in the time of the Tyrant *Gelon*, the *Syracusians*, (as I mentioned before) had driuen out, and now possesse the Territory themselves. Landing heere, they wasted the Fields, and having assaulted a certaine small Fortresse of the *Syracusians*, not taking it, they went presently backe, part by Land, and part by Sea, vnto the Riuer *Tereas*. And landing againe in the plaine Fields, wasted the same, and burnt vp their Corne; and lighting on some *Syracusians*, not many, they slew some of them; and hauing set vp a Trophie, went all againe aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to *Catana*, and tooke in victuall. Then with their whole Army they went to *Centoripa*, a small Citie of the *Siculi*, which yeelding on composition, they departed, and in their way, D burnt vp the Corne of the *Inesseans* and the *Hybleans*. Being come againe to *Catana*, they find there 250 Horsemen, arriued from *Athens*, without Horses, though not without the furniture, supposing to haue Horses there; and 30 Archers on horsebacke, and 300 Talents of siluer.

They receive money and Horsemen from *Athens*.

The *Lacedemonians* inuade *Argia*.

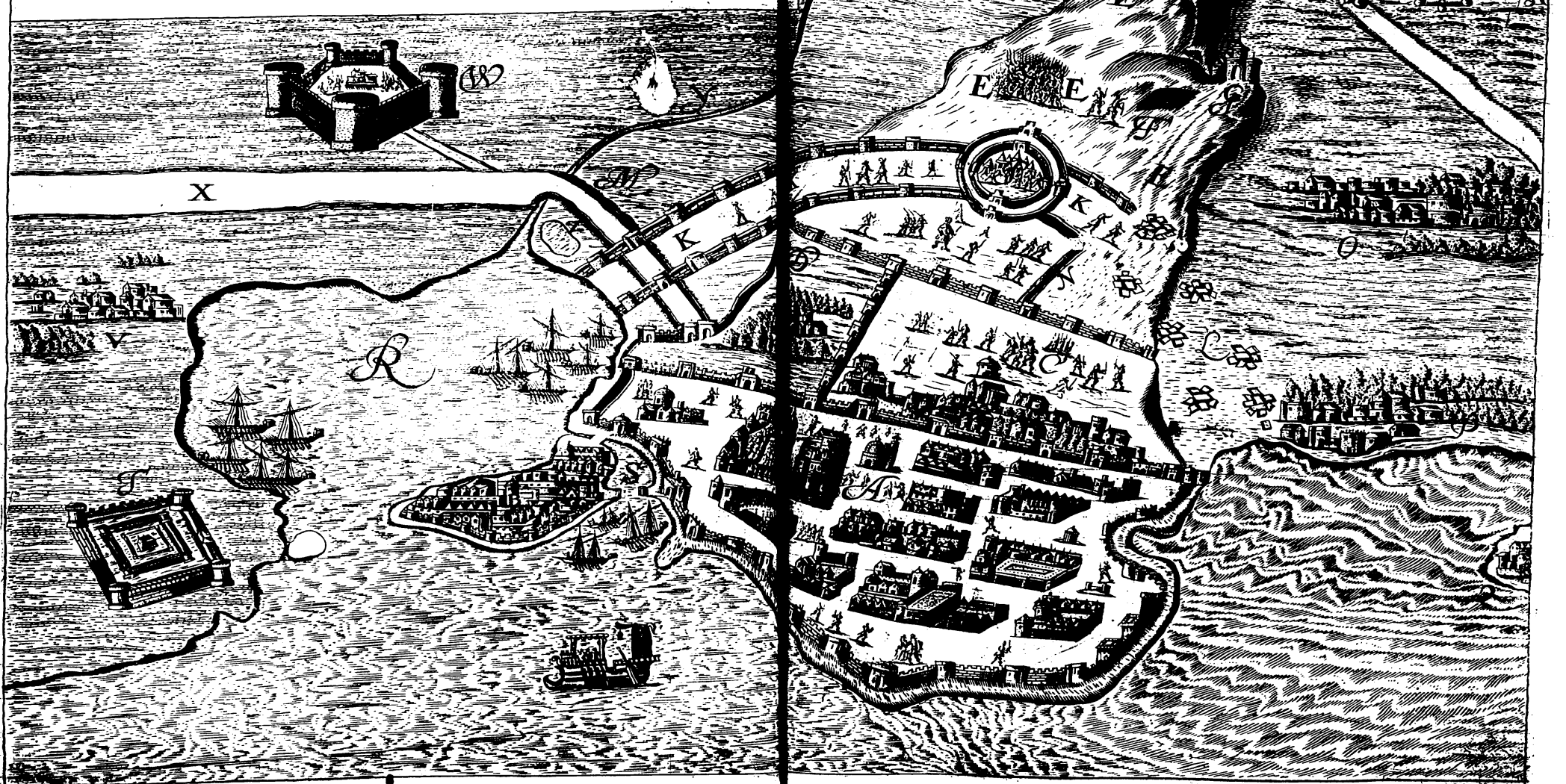
The *Argives* take a great Booty in *Thyreutis*.

* 4717 pound, 10 shillings, 6 pence.

The same Spring the *Lacedemonians* led forth their Army against *Argos*, and went as far as to *Cleonæ*; But an Earthquake hapning, they went home againe. But the *Argives* inuaded the Territory of *Thyreia*, confining on their owne, and tooke a great Booty from the *Lacedemonians*, which E they sold for no lesse then *25 Talents.

Not

A. Acradina. B. Nasos. C. Sycha or Tycha. D. Temenitis. E. Epipole. F. The gate
 and Prison. G. The fort of Iabdalum. H. Euryalus. I. The Campe of y^e Athenians.
 K. The walles made by the Athenians to beseege the City. L. Heapes of Stones
 layd ready for y^e finishing of the wall. M. The Marishes. N. The wall made
 by the Syracusians. O. Leon. P. Trogilus. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Haven
 S. The little Haven. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympicum.
 X. The high way to Helorus. Y. The river Anapus. Z. The lake
 Lysimelia.



SYRACVSE
 BESEEGED BY
 the Athenians

A Not long after, the Commons of *Thespis* set upon them that had the government; but not prevailing, were partly apprehended, and partly escaped to *Athens*, the *Athenians* having also ayded them.

The Commons of *Thespis* set upon the *Few*, but with ill success.

The *Syracusians* the same Summer, when they heard that the *Athenians* had Horsemen sent to them from *Athens*, and that they were ready now to come against them, conceiving, that if the *Athenians* gat not *Epipole*, a rocky ground, and lying iust against the City, they would not bee able, though Masters of the Field, to take in the City with a

B Wall; intended therefore, lest the Enemy should come secretly vp, to keepe the passages by which there was access vnto it, with a Guard. For the rest of the place is to the outside high and steepe, falling to the City by degrees, and on the inside wholly subiect to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracusians*, *Epipole*, because it lyeth aboue the level of the rest. The *Syracusians* comming out of the Citie with their whole power, into a Meddow by the side of the River *Anapus*, betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already received their

Epipole a high ground before the City of *Syracuse*.

C charge) were there taking a view of their Armes; but first they had set apart 700. men of Armes vnder the leading of *Diomilus*, an Outlaw of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipole*, and to be ready togethier quickly, vpon any other occasion wherein there might be vse of their seruice. The *Athenians*, the day following, hauing beene already mustred, came from *Catana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 furlongs from *Epipole*) vnperceiued, and layed their Nauie at Anchor vnder *Thapsus*. *Thapsus* is almost an Island, lying out into

D the Sea, and ioyned to the Land with a narrow *Isthmus*, not farre from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. And the naturall Forces of the *Athenians* hauing made a Palizado acrosse the said *Isthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land-Souldiers marched at high speed toward *Epipole*, & gat vp by *Euryalus*, before the *Syracusians* could come to them from out of the Meddow, where they were mustering. Neuerthelesse they came on, euery one with what speed hee could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 700, but the rest also. They had no lesse to goe from the Meddow, then 25 Furlongs, before

E they could reach the Enemy. The *Syracusians* therefore comming vp in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battell

Diomilus slain.

The Athenians fortifie
Labdalum.*Tyca, or Tycha, it was a
Temple of Fortune, part of
the City of Syracusa.The Athenians begin to
build on the North side
of the Fortification
wherein they lay, the
Wall wherewith to
begirt the City.

that Epipolæ withdrew themselves into this Citie. But A
Diomilus was slain, and so of the rest. The Athenians af-
ter this erected a Trophie, and delivered to the Syracusians
the bodies of their dead vnder Truce, and came downe
the next day to the Citie. But when none came out to giue
them battell, they retired againe, and built a Fort vpon
Labdalum, in the very brinke of the precipices of Epipolæ,
on the side that looketh towards Megara, for a place to
keepe their Vtenfiles and Money in, when they went out
either to fight or to worke.

Not long after, there came vnto them from Egesta three B
hundred Horsemen: and from the Siculi, namely the Na-
xiens, and some others, about one hundred: and the Athe-
nians had of their owne two hundred and fiftie, for which
they had Horses, part from the Egestæans and Cataneans,
and part they bought. So that they had together in the
whole, six hundred and fiftie Horsemen. Having put
a Guard into Labdalum, the Athenians went downe to *Sy-
ca, and raised there a Wall in circle, very quickly, so that
they strooke a terrour into the Syracusians with the celerity
of the worke. Who therefore coining forth, intended C
to haue giuen them Battell, and no longer to haue neg-
lected the matter. But when the Armies were one set a-
gainst the other, the Syracusan Generals perceiuing their
owne to bee in disarray, and not easily to bee embattailed,
led them againe into the Citie, saue onely a certaine part of
their Horsemen, which staying, kept the Athenians from
carrying off Stone, and straggling farre abroad from their
Campe. But the Athenians with one Squadron of men
of Armes, together with their whole number of Horse,
charged the Horsemen of the Syracusians, and put them to D
flight. Of whom they slew a part, and erected a Trophy
for this Battell of Horse.

The next day the Athenians fell to worke vpon their
Wall, to the North side of their circular Wall, some build-
ing, and some fetching Stone and Timber, which they
still laid down toward the place called Trogilus, in the way
by which the Wall should come, with the shortest com-
passe from the great Hauen to the other Sea. The Syra-
cusians, by the perswasion of their Generals, and principal-
ly of Hermocrates, intended not to hazard Battell with their E
whole power against the Athenians any more, but thought
fit

A fit rather in the way where the Athenians were to bring
their wall, to raise a counterwall, which if they could
but doe, before the wall of the Athenians came on, it would
exclude their further building. And if the Athenians
should set vpon them as they were doing it, they might
send part of the Army to defend it, and pre-occupate the
accesses to it with a Palizado. And if they would come
with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they
also be forced to let their owne worke stand still. There-
fore they came out, and beginning at their owne Citie,
B drew a crosse wall beneath the circular Fortification of
the Athenians, and set wooden Turrets vpon it, made of
the Oliue-trees, which they felled in the ground belong-
ing to the Temple. The Athenian Navy was not yet
come about into the great Hauen, from Thapsia, but the
Syracusians were masters of the places neere the Sea; and
the Athenians brought their provision to the Army from
Thapsus, by land.

The Syracusians, when they thought both their Paliza-
doe, and wall sufficient, and considering that the Atheni-
C ans came not to empeach them in the worke, as they that
feared to diuide their Army, and to be thereby the more ea-
sie to be fought withall, & that also hastened to make an end
of their owne wall, wherewith to encompassse the Citie,
left one Squadron for a guard of their workes, and retyred
with the rest, into the Citie. And the Athenians cut off
the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their water to
drinke was conueyed vnder-ground into the Towne.

And hauing obserued also, that about noone the Syracu-
sians kept within their Tents, and that some of them were
D also gone into the Citie, and that such as were remaining
at the Palizado, kept but negligent watch, they com-
manded three hundred chosen men of Armes, and cer-
taine other picked out and Armed from amongst the vn-
armed, to runne suddenly to that Counterwall of the Sy-
racusians. The rest of the Army diuided in two, went one
part with one of the Generals, to stop the succour which
might be sent from the Citie, and the other with the o-
ther Generall, to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the
Counterwall. The three hundred assaulted and tooke
E the Palizado, the guard whereof forsaking it, fled within
the wall into the Temple ground, and with them entred
also

The Syracusians make a
crosse wall in their way.

The Athenians build from their owne Fortification, to the Cragges, towards the great Hauen.

The Athenians take their Palizado againe.

* The Bridge of the River Anapus.

Lamachus slaine.

also their pursuers, but after they were in, were beaten out A againe by the *Syracusians*, and some slaine; both of the *Argives* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Army went back together, and pulled downe the wall, and plucked vp the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried with them to their Campe, and erected a Trophie. The next day the *Athenians* beginning at their Circular wall, built on wards to that Cragge over the Marishes, which on that part of *Epipole*, looketh to the great Hauen, and by which, the way to the Hauen, for their wall to come through the Plaine and Marish, was the shortest. As this B was doing, the *Syracusians* came out againe, and made another Palizado, beginning at the Citie, through the middle of the Marish, and a Ditch at the side of it, to exclude the *Athenians* from bringing their wall to the Sea. But the *Athenians*, when they had finished their worke, as farre as to the Cragge, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the *Syracusians* againe. And hauing commanded their Gallies to be brought about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen of *Syracusa*, about breake of day, went straight downe into the Plaine; and passing through the Marish, where the ground was Clay, and firmeft, and partly vpon Boards, C and Planckes, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but a small part, betimes in the morning, and the rest not long after. And here also they fought; and the victory fell to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right-wing, fled to the City, and they of the Left, to the Riuer. The three hundred chozen *Athenians*, desiring to cut off their passage, marched at high speed towards the * Bridge; but the *Syracusians* fearing to be preuented (for most of the Horsemen were in this number) set vpon these D three hundred, and putting them to flight, draue them vpon the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affrighted also the formost guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* seeing this, came to aide them with a few Archers from the left Wing of their owne, and with all the *Argiues*; and passing ouer a certaine Ditch, hauing but few with him, was deserted and slaine, with some sixe or seuen more. These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched vp, and carried into a place of safety, beyond the Riuer. And when they saw the rest of the *Athenian* Army comming towards them, E they departed. In the meane time they that fled at first to the

Nicias assaulted in his Campe, defendeth it.
* Ten Plethers, 680 cubits, a Plether containing, according to *Sallust*, 68. cubits.

A the Citie, seeing how things went, tooke heart againe, and reuintailed themselves against the *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and withall sent a certaine portion of their Armie against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* vpon *Epipole*, supposing to finde it without defendants, and so to take it. And they tooke and demolished the out-worke tenne * Plethers in length; but the Circle it selfe was defended by *Nicias*, who chanced to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his seruants to set fire on all the Engines; and what soeuer B wooden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible meanes to saue themselves, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire, they came no neerer, but retired. For the *Athenians* hauing by this time beaten backe the Enemie below, were comming vp to relieue the Circle; and their Gallies with all (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen. Which they about perceiuing, speedily made away, they, and the whole Armie of the *Syracusians*, into the Citie, with opinion that they could no longer hinder them; with the strength they now had, from C bringing their Wall through vnto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* their dead, vnder Truce; and they on the other side deliuered to the *Athenians*, the body of *Lamachus*, and of the rest slaine with him. And their whole Armie, both Land and Sea-forces being now together, they began to incloze the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipole* and the Rockes, vnto the Sea-side. The necessities of the Army were supplied from all parts of *Italy*: and many of the D *Siculi*, who before stood aloofe to obserue the way of Fortune, tooke part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three Penteconteri [long-boates of 50. Oares apiece] from *Hetruria*; and diuers other wayes their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no helpe from *Peloponnesus*, made no longer account to subsist by Warre, but conferred, both amongst themselves, and with *Nicias*, of composition: for *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Armie was in him. And though E nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely before) were propounded vnto *Nicias*, and more amongst them.

The *Syracusians* change
their Generals.

Gylippus despaireth of
Sicily, and seeks to
save Italy.

Nicias despiseth the com-
ming of *Gylippus*.

themselves. And the present ill successe, had also bred A
some ieaiousie amongst them, one of another. And they
discharged the Generals, vnder whose conduct this hap-
pened, as if their harme had come; either from their vnlucki-
nesse, or from their perfidioufnesse, and chose *Heraclides*,
Eucles, and *Tellias* in their places.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus*, of *Lacedamon*, and the Co-
rinthian Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all
speed to goe ouer into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports
came vnto them from all hands, agreeing in an vnruth,
That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had B
hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he, and
Pythen, a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconicke* and two *Corinthian*
Gallies, with all speede crossed the *Ionique* Sea to *Taren-*
tum. And the *Corinthians* were to man tenne Gallies of
their owne, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and
come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*,
as *Ambassadour*; by his Fathers right, who was free of
the Citie of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side,
hee put out againe, and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Pas-
sing by the *Terinaean* Gulfe, hee was put from the shore C
(by a wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against
the North) and driuen into the maine Sea; and after an-
other extreme Tempest, brought in againe, into *Tarentum*,
where he drew vp such of his Gallies as had beene hurt by
the weather, and repaired them.

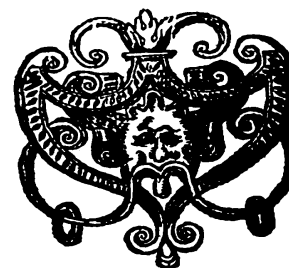
Nicias hearing that hee came, contemned the small
number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, sup-
posing them furnished as for Piracie, and appointed no
Watch for them yet.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Lacedemonians* D
inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confede-
rates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *A-*
thenians ayded the *Argiues* with thirty Gallies, which
most apparantly broke the Peace betweene them and the
Lacedemonians. For before, they went out from *Pylus*
with the *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, but in the nature of Free-
booters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of
Peloponnesus. Nay, when the *Argiues* haue often entreated
them, but onely to Land with their Armes in *Laconia*, and
hawing wasted neuer so little of their Territory, to re- E
turne, they would not. But now, vnder the Conduct of
Pythodorus,

A *Pythodorus*, *Lespodius*, and *Demaratus*, they landed in the
Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*, and in *Prasia*, and there and
in other places wasted the Countrey, and gaue vnto the
Lacedemonians a most iustificable cause to fight against the
Athenians. After this, the *Athenians* being departed from
Argos with their Gallies, and the *Lacedemonians* gone
likewise home, the *Argiues* inuaded *Phliasia*, and
when they had wasted part of their Terri-
tory, and killed some of their
men, returned.

Ggg 2

THE





A
B THE
S E V E N T H
B
BOOKE OF THE HISTO-
RIE OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

Gylippus arriueth at Syracuse, checketh the fortune of the Athenians, and cutteth off their workes with a Counterwall. The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica, and fortifie Decelea. The Confederates of each side are solicited for supplies to be sent to Syracuse. Two battels fought in the great Hauens, in the first of which the Syracusians are beaten, in the second, superiour, Demosthenes arriueth with a new Army, and attempting the workes of the enemy in Epipolæ by night, is repulsed with great slaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the Syracusians hauing the Victory, blocke vp the Hauens with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each side. They fight againe at the Barres of the Hauens, where the Athenians losing their Gallies, prepare to march away by land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally subdued by the Syracusians; The death of Nicias and Demosthenes, and misery of the Captines in the Quarry, which hapned in the nineteenth yeere of this Warre.



Gylippus, and Pythen, hauing repaired their Gallies, from Tarentum, went along the Coast to Locri Epizephyrj. And vp-on certaine intelligence now, that Syracuse was not wholly enclosed, but that comming with an Army, there was entrance still by Epipolæ, they consulted

Gylippus and Pythen resolved to goe to Syracuse.

E whether it were better to take Sicily on their right hand, and aduenture into the Towne by Sea, or on the left, and so

They tooke the ayde of
the men of Himera.

so first to goe to *Himera*, and then taking along both them A
and as many other as they could get to their side, to goe
into it by Land. And it was resolved to goe to *Himera*;
the rather, because the foure *Attique* Gallies, which *Nicias*
(though he contemned them before) had now when he
heard they were at *Locri*, sent to wait for them, were not
arriued yet at *Rhegium*. Hauing preuented this guard,
they crossed the Streight, and touching at *Rhegium*, and
Messana by the way, came to *Himera*. Being there, they
preuailed so farre with the *Himerians*, that they not onely B
followed them to the War themselves, but also furnished
with Armour, such of *Gylippus* and *Pythens* Mariners as
wanted. For at *Himera* they had drawne their Gallies to
Land. They likewise sent to the *Selinuntians*, to meet
them at a place assigned with their whole Army. The
Geloans also, and other of the *Siculi*, promised to send them
Forces, though not many; being much the willinger to
come to the side, both for that *Archonidas* was lately dead,
who rainging ouer some of the *Siculi* in those parts, and
being a man of no meane power, was friend to the *Atheni-*
ans, and also for that *Gylippus* seemed to come from *Laceda-* C
mon with a good will to the businesse. *Gylippus* taking
with him, of his owne Mariners, and Sea-Souldiers, for
whom he had gotten Armes, at the most 700. and *Himera-*
ans with Armour, and without, in the whole 1000. and
100 Horse, and some Light-armed *Selinuntians*, with some
few Horse of the *Geloans*, and of the *Siculi* in all, about
1000. marched with these towards *Syracuse*.

The Corinthian Gallies
left by *Gylippus*, make
haste after him, and *Gon-*
gylus a rising first, kee-
peth the *Syracusians* from
compounding.

In the meane time, the *Corinthians*, with the rest of their
Gallies, putting to Sea from *Leucas*, made after, as they
were, euery one with what speed he could, and *Gongy-* D
lus, one of the *Corinibian* Commanders, though the last
that set forth, arriued first at *Syracuse* with one Gallie,
and but a little before the comming of *Gylippus*. And fin-
ding them ready to call an Assembly about an end of the
Warre, he hindred them from it, and put them into heart,
relating both how the rest of the Gallies were comming;
and also *Gylippus* the sonne of *Cleandridas* for Generall, sent
vnto them by the *Lacedemonians*. With this the *Syracusi-*
ans were reconfirmed, and went presently out with their
whole Army to meet him; for they vnderstood now E
that he was neere. He, hauing taken *Igas*, a Fort in his
way

Gylippus arriuech at *Syr-*
acuse.

A way as he passed through the Territory of the *Siculi*, and
imbattelled his men, commeth to *Epipole*, and getting vp
by *Euryalus*, where also the *Athenians* had gotten vp before,
marched together with the *Syracusians*, towards the wall
of the *Athenians*. At the time when he arriued, the *Athe-*
nians had finished a double wall, of seuen or eight furlongs
towards the great Hauen, saue onely a little next the Sea,
which they were yet at worke on. And on the other side
of their Circle, towards *Trogilus*, and the other Sea, the
Stones were for the most part laid ready vpon the place,
B and the worke was left in some places halfe, and insome
wholly finished. So great was the danger that *Syracuse*
was now brought into.

The *Athenians*, at the sodaine comming on of *Gylippus*,
though somewhat troubled at first, yet put themselves in
order to receiue him. And he, making a stand when he
came neere, sent a Herald to them, saying, That if they
would abandon *Sicily* within fise dayes, with bagge and
baggage, he was content to giue them Truce. Which the
Athenians contemning, sent him away without any answer.

Gylippus offereth the *A-*
thenians fise dayes Truce
to be gone in.

C After this, they were putting themselves into order of bat-
tell, one against another; but *Gylippus* finding the *Syracusi-*
ans troubled, and not easily falling into their rankes, led
backe his Army in a more open ground. *Nicias* led not the
Athenians out against him, but lay still, at his owne Fortifi-
cation. And *Gylippus* seeing he came not vp, withdrew
his Army, into the top called *Temenites*, where he lodged
all night. The next day, he drew out the greatest part of
his Army, and imbattelled them before the Fortification
of the *Athenians*, that they might not send succour to any
D other place, but a part also, they sent to the Fort of *Labda-*
lum, and tooke it, and slew all those they found within it.
For the place was out of sight to the *Athenians*. The same
day the *Syracusians* tooke also an *Athenian* Gally, as it en-
tered into the great Hauen.

The *Syracusians* win *Lab-*
dalum.

After this, the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates began a
wall through *Epipole* frō the City towards the single crosse
wall vpwards; that the *Athenians*, vnlesse they could hin-
der it, might be excluded frō bringing their owne wall any
further on. And the *Athenians* by this time, hauing made
E an end of their wall to the Sea, were come vp againe; and
Gylippus (for some part of the wall was but weake) rising
with

The *Syracusians* build a
wall vpwards, through
Epipole, to stop the pro-
ceeding of the Wall of
the *Athenians*.

The Athenian fortification
Plennyrium.

* Viz the lesser Hauen.

The Temple there and what
Towne was consecrate to
Iupiter Olympius.

It is sendeth 20 Gallies
to lye in wait for the ayd
comming from Sicily.

Gylippus goeth on with
his wall, and Eighteeth
with the Athenians, twice
and in the latter battell
hauing the Victory, he
finished his wall, and vt-
terly excluded the pro-
ceeding of the wall of
the Athenians.

with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the Athe- A
nians also knowing it (for they lodged all night without
the wall) went presently to releue it; which Gylippus
perceiuing, againe retired. And the Athenians, when they
had built it higher, kept the watch in this part themselves,
and diuided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their
Confederates. Also it seemed good to Nicias to fortifie
the place called *Plennyrium*, (it is a Promontory ouer o-
uer against the Citie, which shooting into the entrance of
the great Hauen, streightneth the mouth of the same)
which fortified, he thought, would facilitate the bringing in B
of necessaries to the Army. For by this meanes, their Gal-
lies might ride neerer to the * Hauen of the Syracusians,
and not vpon euery motion of the Nauy of the enemies, to
be to come out against them, as they were before, from the
bottome of the [great] Hauen. And he had his mind set
chiefly now, vpon the Warre by Sea, seeing his hopes by
Land deminished, since the arriual of Gylippus. Hauing
therefore drawne his Army, and Gallies to that place, he
built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his
baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great C
vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Here-
upon principally ensued, the first occasion of the great
losse of his Sea-Souldiers. For hauing but little water,
and that farre to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to
fetch in wood, they were continually intercepted by the
Syracusan Horsemen, that were masters of the Field. For
the third part of the Syracusan Cauallery, were quartered
in a little Towne called * *Olympieum*, to keepe those in
Plennyrium, from going abroad to spoyle the Countrey.

Nicias was aduertized moreover of the comming of the D
rest of the Corinthian Gallies, and sent out a guard of twen-
ty Gallies, with order to wait for them about *Locri*, and
Rhegium, and the passage there, into *Sicily*.

Gylippus in the meane time, went on with the wall
through *Epibole*. Using the Stones laid ready there by the
Athenians, and withall drew out the Syracusians and their
Confederates beyond the point of the same, and euer as hee
brought them forth, put them into their order; and the A-
thenians on the other side imbattelled themselves against
them. Gylippus, when he saw his time, began the battell; E
and being come to hands, they fought betweene the Forti-
fications

A fications of them both, where the Syracusians and their
Confederates had no vse at all of their Horsemen. The
Syracusians and their Confederates being ouercome, and the
Athenians hauing giuen them Truce to take vp their dead,
and erected a Trophie, Gylippus assembled the Armie,
and told them, *That this was not theirs, but his owne fault,*
who by pitching the Battell so farre within the Fortifications,
had deprived them of the vse both of their Cauallery, and Dar-
ters; and that therefore hee meant to bring them on againe; and
wished them to consider, that for Forces they were nothing inferi-
B *our to the Enemy: and for courage, it were a thing not to be endu-*
red, that being Peloponnesians and Dorians, they should not
master, and drive out of the Countrey, Ionians, Islanders, and a
rabble of mixed Nations.

After this, when he saw his opportunity, hee brought
on the Armie againe. Nicias and the Athenians, who thought
it necessary, if not to beginne the Battell, yet by no meanes
to set light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wan-
ted little of passing the point of theirs, and proceeding,
C would giue the Enemy aduantage, both to winne, if hee
fought; and not to fight, vnlesse hee listed) did therefore
also set forth to meete the Syracusians.

Gylippus, when hee had drawne his men of Armes fur-
ther without the Walles than hee had done before, gaue
the onset. His Horsemen and Darters hee placed vpon
the Flanke of the Athenians, in ground enough, to which
neither of their Walles extended. And these Horsemen,
after the fight was begunne, charging vpon the left Wing
of the Athenians next them, put them to flight; by which
D meanes the rest of the Armie was by the Syracusians o-
uercome likewise, and driuen headlong within their For-
tifications. The night following, the Syracusians brought
vp their Wall beyond the Wall of the Athenians, so
as they could no longer hinder them, but should be vt-
terly vnable, though masters of the Field, to encloze the
City.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the Corinthians, *Ambra-*
cioes and *Leucadians*, vndercryed of the Athenian Gallies that
lay in waite for them, entred the Hauen, vnder the Com-
E mand of *Erasmedes*, a Corinthian, and helped the Syracusians
to finish what remained, to the crosse Wall.

H h h

Now

The rest of the Gallies
come in from Peloponnesus,
vnscare of the Athenians
that were set to watch
them.

Gylippus goeth about Sicily, and sendeth into Peloponnus for more ayde.

Now Gylippus went vp and downe Sicily, rayling Forces A both for Sea and Land, and solliciting to his side all such Cities as formerly either had not bene forward, or had wholly abstained from the Warre. Other Ambassadors also, both of the Syracusians and Corinthians, were sent to Lacedæmon and Corinth, to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the Athenians had also sent to Athens for the like. In the meane time the Syracusians both manned their Nauie, and made tryall of themselves, as intending to take in hand that part also, and were otherwise exceedingly encouraged. B

Nicias writeth to Athens for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiuing this, and seeing the strength of the Enemy, and his owne necessities dayly increasing, hee also sent Messengers to Athens, both at other times, and often, vpon the occasion of euery action that passed; and now especially, as finding himselfe in danger, and that vnlesse they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply vnto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as hee sent, through want of utterance or iudgement, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliuer things otherwise C then they were, hee wrote vnto them a Letter. Conceauing that thus the Athenians should best know his minde, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation vpon true grounds.

With these Letters, and other their instructions, the Messengers tooke their Iourney; and Nicias in the meane time, hauing a care to the well guarding of his Campe, was wary of entring into any voluntarie dangers. D

In the end of this Summer, Euction, Generall for the Athenians, with Perdiccas, together with many Toracians, warring against Amphipolis, tooke not the Citie; but bringing his Gallies about into Strymon, besieged it from the Riuer lying at Imeraum: And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter, the Messengers from Nicias arrived at Athens; and hauing spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they E presented the Letter, which the Clerke of the Citie, standing

The Athenians besiege Amphipolis.

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

A ding forth, read vnto the Athenians, containing as followeth.

THE LETTER OF NICIAS to the People of Athens.

A THENIANS, You know by many other my Letters, what hath passed formerly: nor is it lesse needfull for you to bee informed of the state we are in, and to take counsell vpon it at this present. B When we had in many Battels beaten the Syracusians, against whom we were sent, and had built the Walles within which we now lye, came Gylippus a Lacedæmonian, with an Armie out of Peloponnesus, and also out of some of the Cities of Sicily; and in the first Battell was overcome by vs; but in the second, forced by his many Horsemen and Darters, we retired vvithin our Workes. Whereupon giuing ouer our vvalling vp of the Citie, for the multitude of our enemies, we now sit still. Nor can vve indeed haue the use of our vvhole Army, because some part of the men of Armes are employed to defend our Walles. And they haue built a single Wall vnto vs, so that now vve haue no more meanes to enclose it, except one should come with a great Army, and vvinne that crosse-wall of theirs by assault. And so it is, that wee vvho seemed to besiege others, are besieged our selues, for so much as concerneth the Land. For wee cannot goe farre abroad by reason of their Caualtery. They haue also sent Ambassadors for another Armie into Peloponnesus; and Gylippus is gone amongst the Cities of Sicily, both to sollicite such to ioyne with him in the Warre, as haue not yet stirred; and of others to get, if he can, both more Land-souldiers, and more munition for their Nauie. For they intend (as I haue bene informed) D both to assault our Wall by Land with their Armie, and to make tryall what they are able to doe with their Nauy by Sea. For though our Fleet (vvhich they also haue heard) were vigorous at first, both for soundnesse of the Gallies, and entirennesse of the men; yet our Gallies are now soaked, with lying so long in the water, and our men consumed. For vve vvant the meanes to hale aland our Gallies, and trim them, because the Gallies of the Enemy, as good as ours, and more in number, doe keepe vs in a continuall expectation of assault, which they manifestly endeavour. And seeing it is in their owne choice to attempt or not, they haue therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their pleasure. For they lye not, as we, in attendance vpon others. Nay, vve could hardly doe it, though we had many Gallies spare, and vvere not

H h 2

con-

constrained, as now, to keepe watch vpon them vvith our vvhole num-
ber. For should we abate, though but a little, of our obseruance, vve
should want prouision, vvich as vve are, being to passe so neere their
Citie, is brought in vvith difficulty; and hence it is, that our Mari-
ners, both formerly haue beene, and are now wasted. For our Ma-
riners, fetching wood and water, and forraging farre off, are inter-
cepted by the Horsemen; and our Slaues, now wee are on equall
termes, runne ouer to the Enemie. As for strangers, some of them
hauing come aboard by constraint, retorne presently to their Cities;
and others hauing beene leued at first vvith great wages, and thin-
king they came to enrich themselves rather then to fight, now they see
the Enemie make so strong resistance, both otherwise beyond their ex-
pectation, and especially, vvith their Nauie, partly take pretext to bee
gone, that they may serue the Enemie, and partly, (Sicily being
large) shifte themselves away, euery one as hee can. Some there are
also, who hauing bought heere * Hyccarian slaues, haue gotten the
Captaines of Gallies to accept of them in the roome of themselves, and
thereby destroyed the purity of our Nauall strength. To you I vvrite,
who know how small a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vi-
gour, and how few of the Mariners are skilfull, both how to hasten
the course of a Gallie, and how to containe the Oare. But of all, my
greatest trouble is this, that being Generall, I can neither make them
doe better, (for your natures are hard to be gouerned) nor get Mari-
ners in any other place, (vvich the Enemy can doe from many places)
but must of necessity haue them from whence wee brought both these
we haue, and those we haue lost. For our now Confederate Cities,
Naxos and Catana, are not able to supply vs. Had the Enemie
but this one thing more, that the Townes of Italy, that now send vs
prouision, seeing what estate we are in, and you not helpe vs, vvould
turne to them, the Warre vvould be at an end, and wee expugned, vvithout
another stroke. I could haue vvritten to you other things, more plea-
sing then these, but not more profitable, seeing it is necessary for you
to know certainly the affaires heere, vvhen you goe to counsell vpon
them; vvithall, (because I know your natures to bee such, as though
you loue to heare the best, yet afterwards vvhen things fall not out ac-
cordingly, you vvill call in question them that vvrite it) I thought best
to vvrite the truth for my owne safeties sake. And now thinke thus,
that though we haue carried our selues, both Captaines and Souldiers,
in that for vvich we came at first hither, vv blameably; yet since all
Sicily is vvited against vs, and another Army expected out of Pe-
loponnesus, you must resolue (for those we haue heere, are not enow
for the Enemies present forces) eyther to send for these away, or to send
hither

* These were they, vvich Ni-
cias, vvpon the taking of Hyccaria, made sale of, himselfe.

A hither another Army, both of Land and Sea-souldiers, no lesse then
the former, and money, not a little; and also a Generall to succeed me
who am able no longer to stay heere, being troubled vvith the stone
in the Kidney. I must craue your pardon. I haue done you many
good seruices in the conductes of your Armies vvhen I had my health.
Vvhat you vvill doe, doe in the vvry beginning of Spring, and dela-
it not. For the Enemie vvill soone haue furnished himselfe of his
Sicilian aydes; And though those from Peloponnesus vvill bee
later, yet if you looke not to it, they vvill get hither partly vviseene,
as before, and partly by preuenting you vvith speed.

B These were the Contents of the Letter of Nicias.

The Athenians, vvhen they had heard it read, though
they released not Nicias of his Charge, yet for the present
till such time as others chosen to be in Commission might
arriue, they ioyned vvith him two of those that were al-
ready in the Armie, Menander and Euthydemon, to the end
that hee might not sustaine the vvhole burthen alone in his
sickness. They concluded likewise to send another Ar-
mie, as vvell for the Sea as the Land, both of Athenians enrol-
led, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals
vvith Nicias, they elected Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes,
and Eurymedon the sonne of Thucles. Eurymedon they sent away
presently for Sicily, about the time of the Winter Solstice,
vvith tenne Gallies, and twenty Talents of Siluer, to tell
them there, that ayde vvould be comming, and that there vvould
be care taken of them. But Demosthenes staying, made prepa-
ration for the Voyage, to set out early the next Spring;
and sent vvnto the Confederates, appointing vvhat Forces
they should prouide, and to furnish himselfe amongst
them, vvith Money, and Gallies, and men of Armes.

The Athenians sent also twenty Gallies about Pelopon-
nesus, to vvatch that none should goe ouer into Sicily, from
Corinth or Peloponnesus. For the Corinthians, after the Am-
bassadours vvould come to them, and had brought newes of
the amendment of the affaires in Sicily, thought it vvould
be vvell that they had sent thither those other Gallies before;
but now they vvould be encouraged a great deale more, and pre-
pared men of Armes to be transported into Sicily in Ships,
and the Lacedemonians did the like for the rest of Peloponne-
sus. The Corinthians manned fve and twenty Gallies, to
present Battell to the Fleet that kept vvatch at Naupactus,
that

The Athenians concluded
to send a new Army to
Syracuse.

They send twenty Gal-
lies to Naupactus, to keep
the Corinthians from
transporting their forces
into Sicily.

that the Ships with the men of Armes, whilst the *Athenians* attended these Gallies so embattailed against them, might passe by unhindered.

The *Lacedæmonians*, as they intended before, and being also instigated to it by the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, vpon aduertisement now of the *Athenians* new supply for *Sicily*, prepared likewise to inuade *Attica*, thereby to diuert them. And *Alcibiades* also importunately vrged the fortifying of *Declea*, and by no meanes to warre remissely. But the *Lacedæmonians* were heartned thereunto principally, because they thought the *Athenians* hauing in hand a double War, one against them, and another against the *Sicilians*, would be the easilier pulled downe; and because they conceiued the breach of the last Peace was in themselves; for in the former Warre, the iniury proceeded from their own side, in that the *Thebans* had entred *Platea* in time of peace, And because also, whereas it was inserted in the former Articles, that Armes should not bee carried against such as would stand to tryall of Iudgement, they had refused such tryall when the *Athenians* offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deseruedly befallen them for that cause; remembring amongst others, the calamity at *Pylus*. But when the *Athenians* with a Fleet of thirty Sayle had spoiled part of the Territory of *Epidaurus*, and of *Prasæ*, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garrison in *Pylus*, had taken bootie in the Countrey about; And seeing that as often as there arose any controuersie touching any doubtfull point of the Articles, the *Lacedæmonians* offering tryall by Iudgement, they refused it; Then indeed, the *Lacedæmonians* conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee in the same fault that themselves had beene in before, be- tooke themselves earnestly to the Warre. And this Winter they sent about vnto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Instruments of Fortification. And for the ayde they were to transport in Ships to the *Sicilians*, they both made prouision amongst themselves, and compelled the rest of *Peloponnesus* to doe the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Yeere of the Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then euer before, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates entered with their Armie into *Attica*, vnder the command of

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare to inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Declea*, supposing the *Athenians* to haue broken the Peace.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.
The *Peloponnesians* inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Declea*.

Agis

A *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*, their King. And first they wasted the Champaign Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at *Declea*, diuiding the worke amongst the Armie according to their Cities. This *Declea* is from the Citie of *Athens*, at the most, but 120. Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from *Bootia*. This Fort they made in the plaine, and in the most opportune place that could bee, to annoy the *Athenians*, and in sight of the Citie. Now the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates in *Attica* went on with their fortification.

B They in *Peloponnesus* sent away their Ships with the men of Armes about the same time into *Sicily*. Of which, the *Lacedæmonians*, out of the best of their *Helotes*, and men made newly free, sent in the whole sixe hundred, and *Eccritus* a *Spartan* for Commander. And the *Boeotians* three hundred, vnder the Conduct of *Xenon* and *Nicon*, *Thebans*, and *Hegesander* a *Thessian*. And these set forth first, and put to Sea at *Tenarus* in *Laconia*. After them a little, the *Corinthians* sent away five hundred more, part from the Citie it selfe of *Corinth*, and part mercenarie *Arcadians*, and *Alexarchus* a *Corinthian* for Captaine. The *Sicyonians* also sent two hundred with them that went from *Corinth*, and *Sargeus* a *Sicyonian* for Captaine. Now the 25 *Corinthian* Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay opposite to the twenty Gallies of *Athens* which were at *Nausastus*, till such time as the men of Armes in the Ships from *Peloponnesus* might get away; for which purpose they were also set out at first, that the *Athenians* might not haue their mindes vpon these Ships, so much as vpon the Gallies.

In the meane time also, the *Athenians*, whilst *Declea* was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring, sent twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Caricles* the sonne of *Apollodorus*, with order when hee came to *Argos*, to take aboard the men of Armes which the *Argives* were to send them, according to League; and sent away *Demosthenes* (as they intended before) into *Sicily*, with threescore Gallies of *Athens*, and five of *Chios*, and one thousand two hundred men of Armes of the Roll of *Athens*, and as many of the Ilanders as they could get, provided by their subiect Confederates of all other necessities for the Warre: But he had order to ioyne first with *Charicles*, and helpe him to make Warre first vpon *Laconia*. So *Demosthenes*

The *Peloponnesians* send away their men of Armes for *Sicily*.

The *Athenians* send out *Demosthenes* toward *Sicily*.

Gylippus perswadereth the
Syracusians to fight by
Sea.

mosthenes went to *Agina*, and staid there both for the A
remnant of his owne Army, if any were left behind, and for
Charicles till he had taken aboard the *Argiues*.

In *Sicily*, about the same time of the Spring, *Gylippus*
also returned to *Syracuse*, bringing with him from the *City*
ties hee had dealt withall, as great forces as severally
hee could get from them; And hauing assembled the
Syracusians, he told them, that they ought to man as many
Gallies as they could, and make triall of a battell by Sea,
and that he hoped thereby to performe somewhat to the
benefit of the Warre, which should be worthy the dan- B
ger. *Hermocrates* also was none of the least meanes of get-
ting them to vndertake the *Athenians* with their Navy,
who told them, That neither the *Athenians* had this skill by
Sea, hereditary, or from euerslasing, but were more Inland-men
then the *Syracusians*, and forced to become Sea-men by the
Medes: And that to daring men, such as the *Athenians* are,
they are most formidable that are as daring against them. For
wherewith they terrifie their neighbours, which is not alwayes
the aduantage of power, but boldnesse of enterprizing, with the same
shall they in like manner be terrified by their enemies. He knew it, C
he said, certainly, that the *Syracusians* by their vnexpected dar-
ring to encounter the *Athenian* Navy, would get more aduantage
in respect of the feare it would cause, then the *Athenians* should
endamage them by their oddes of skill. He bade them there-
fore, to make triall of their Navy, and to be afraid no longer.
The *Syracusians* on these perswasions of *Gylippus* and *Her-*
mocrates, and others, if any were, became now extremely de-
sirous to fight by Sea, and presently manned their Gal-
lies.

The *Syracusians* win *Plem-*
myrium, but are beaten
by Sea.

Gylippus, when the Navy was ready, drew out his D
whole power of Land-Souldiers in the beginning of night,
meaning to goe himsele and assault the Fortifications in
Plemmyrium. Withall, the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, by ap-
pointment, 35 of them came vp towards it, out of the
great Hauen, and 45 more came about out of the little
Hauen, where also was their Arsenall, with purpose to
ioyne with those within, and to goe together to *Plemmyri-*
um, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both sides.
But the *Athenians* hauing quickly manned 60 Gallies to op-
pose them; with 25 of them, they fought with the 35 of E
the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen, and with the rest went
to

The *Syracusians* winne the
workes of the *Athenians*
in *Plemmyrium*.

A to meete those that came about from the little Hauen.
And these fought presently before the mouth of the great
Hauen, and held each other to it for a long time; one side
endeuouring to force, the other to defend the entrance.
In the meane time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium*
being now come downe to the water side, and hauing their
mindes busied vpon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in
the morning, and on a sudden assaulted the Fortifications,
before they could come backe againe to defend them; and
possessed first the greatest, and afterwards the two les-
ser: for they that watched in these, when they saw the
greatest so easily taken, durst stay no longer. They that
fled vpon the losing of the first Wall, and put themselues
into Boats, and into a certaine Ship, got hardly into the
Campe; for whilest the *Syracusians* in the great Hauen,
had yet the better in the fight vpon the water, they gaue
them chase with one nimble Gally. But by that time that
the other two Walles were taken, the *Syracusians* vpon
the water were overcome, and the *Athenians* which fled
from those two Walles, got to their Campe with more
C ease. For those *Syracusan* Gallies that fought before the
Hauens mouth, hauing beaten backe the *Athenians*, en-
tered in disorder, and falling foule one on another, gaue
away the Victorie vnto the *Athenians*, who put to flight
not onely them, but also those other, by whom they had
before bene overcome within the Hauen, and sunke e-
leuen Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and slew most of the
men aboard them, saue onely the men of three Gallies,
whom they tooke aliue. Of their owne Gallies they lost
onely three.

The *Athenians* get the
victory by water.

D When they had drawne to Land the wrecke of the *Sy-*
racusan Gallies, and erected a Trophie in the little Iland
ouer against *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Campe.
The *Syracusians*, though such were their successe in the
Battell by Sea, yet they wonne the Fortification in
Plemmyrium, and set vp three Trophies, for euery Wall
one. One of the two Walles last taken, they demoli-
shed, but two they repayred, and kept with a Garri-
son.

At the taking of these Walles, many men were slaine,
E and many taken aliue, and their goods, which all together
was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians*

using these Workes for their storehouse, there was in them A much wealth and Victuall, belonging vnto Merchants, and much vnto Captaines of Gallies: For there were Sayles within it for fortie Gallies, besides other furniture, and three Gallies drawne to Land. And this losse of *Plemmyrium* was it that most and principally empayred the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their prouision was now no longer safe, (for the *Syracusians* lying against them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in vnto them but by fight, and the Armie besides was thereby otherwise terrified and B deiected.

After this the *Syracusians* sent out twelue Gallies, vnder the command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracusan*. Of which one carried Ambassadors into *Peloponnesus*, to declare what hope they had now of their businesse, and to instigate them to a sharper Warre in *Attica*. The other eleuen went into *Italy*, vpon intelligence of certaine Vessels laden with commodities comming to the *Athenians* Army: which also they met with, and destroyed most of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies, the *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory C of *Caunonia*.

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding heere, there came vnto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Armes of the *Thespians*; whom the *Syracusians*, tooke aboard, & went homeward by the Coast. The *Athenians* that watched for them with 20 Gallies at *Megara*, tooke one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the rest: So that they escaped through to *Syracuse*.

There was also a light Skirmish in the Hauen of D *Syracuse*, about the Piles which the *Syracusians* had driuen downe before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by assault. The *Athenians* hauing brought to the place a Ship of huge greatnesse, fortified with Woodden Turrets, and couered against Fire, caused certaine men with little Boats, to goe and fasten Cords vnto the Piles, and so broke them vp with craning. Some also the Diuers did cut vp with Sawes. In the meane time the *Syracusians* from the Harbour, and they E from the great Ship, shot at each other, till in the end,

And, the greatest part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten vp. But the greatest difficulty was to get vp those Piles which lay hidden; for some of them they had so driuen in, as that they came not about the Water. So that hee that should come neere, was in danger to bee throwne vpon them as vpon a Rocke. But these also for reward the Diuers went downe, and sawed afunder. But the *Syracusians* continually draue down other in their stead. Other deuices they had against each other, (as was not vnlkely betweene Armies so neere opposed) and many light B Skirmishes passed, and attempts of all kinde were put in execution.

The *Syracusians* moreouer sent Ambassadors, some *Corinthians*, some *Ambraciotes*, and some *Lacedemonians*, vnto the Cities about them, to let them know, that they had wonne *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battell by Sea, they were not ouercome by the strength of the Enemy; but by their own disorder; and also to shew what hope they were in, in other respects, and to intreat their ayd both of Sea and Land-forces, forsomuch as the *Athenians* expecting another C Army, if they would send ayde before it came, whereby to ouerthrow that which they had now there, the Warre would be at an end. Thus stood the affaires of *Sicily*.

Demosthenes, as soone as his forces which he was to carry to the succour of those in *Sicily*, were gotten together, put to Sea from *Aegina*, and sayling into *Peloponnesus*, ioyned with *Charicles*, and the 30. Gallies that were with him. And hauing taken aboard some men of Armes of the *Argiues*, came to *Laconia*, and first wasted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*. From thence, going to that part of D *Laconia* which is ouer against the Iland *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they wasted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Isthmus there, both that the *Helots* might haue a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedemonians*, and that freebooters from thence, as from *Pylos*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adioyning. As soone as the place was taken in, *Demosthenes* himselfe went on to *Corcyra*, to take vp the Confederates there, with intent to goe thence speedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* hauing staid to finish, and put a Garrison into the Fortification, went afterwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*; and the *Argiues* E also went home.

Demosthenes in his way to *Sicily*, fortified a necke of Land in *Laconia*.

The aydes of the *Thracians* come too late to goe into *Sicily*.

The incommodities which befell the *Athenians* by the fortification in *Decelea*.

The same Winter also came to *Athens* a thousand and A three hundred Targettiers, of those called *Macherophori*, of the race of them that are called *Dij*, and were to haue gone with *Demosthenes* into *Sicily*. But coming too late, the *Athenians* resolved to send them backe againe into *Thrace*, as being too chargeable a matter to entertaine them onely for the Warre in *Decelea*; for their pay was to haue beene a Drachma a man by the day. For *Decelea* being this Summer fortified, first by the whole Army, & the by the seuerall Cities maintained with a Garrison by turnes, much endamaged the *Athenians*, and weakened their estate, both by destroying their commodities, and consuming of their men, so as nothing more. For the former inuasions hauing beene short, hindred them not from reaping the benefit of the earth for the rest of the time; but now, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, and sometimes with greater forces, sometimes of necessity with the ordinary Garrison making incursions, and fetching in booty, *Agis*, the King of *Lacedæmon* being alwayes there in person and diligently prosecuting the Warre, the *Athenians* were thereby very grievously afflicted: for they were not onely deprived of the fruit of the Land, but also about twenty thousand of their slaues fled ouer to the Enemy, whereof the greatest part were Artificers.

Besides they lost all their Sheepe and Oxen. And by the continuall going out of the *Athenian* Horsemen, making excursions to *Decelea*, and defending the Countrey, their Horses became partly lamed, through incessant labour in rugged grounds, & partly wounded by the Enemy. And their prouision, which formerly they vsed to bring in from *Eubœa* by *Oropus*, the shortest way, through *Decelea* by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at great cost, about the Promontory of *Sunium*. And whatsoever the City was wont to be serued withall from without, it now wanted, and in stead of a Citie was become as it were a Fort. And the *Athenians* watching on the Battlements of the Wall, in the day time by turnes, but in the night, both Winter and Summer, all at once, (except the Horsemen) part at the Wall, and part at the Armes, were quite tyred. But that which pressed them most, was that they had two Warres at once. And yet their obstinacie was so great, as no man would haue beleueed, till now they

A they saw it. For being besieged at home, from the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians*, no man would haue imagined, that they should not onely not haue recalled their Armie out of *Sicily*, but haue also besieged *Syracuse* there, a Citie of it selfe no lesse then *Athens*, and therein so much haue exceeded the expectation of the rest of the *Grecians*, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this Warre conceiued, if the *Peloponnesians* inuaded their Territory, some of them, that they might hold out two yeeres, others three, no man more) as that in the seuenteenth yeere after they were first inuaded, they should haue vnderaken an expedition into *Sicily*, & being euery way weakened already by the former Warre, haue vndergone another, not inferior to that which they had before with the *Peloponnesians*. Now their Treasure being by these Warres, and by the detriment sustained from *Decelea*, and other great expences that came vpon them, at a very low ebbe, about this time they imposed on such as were vnder their dominion, a twentieth part of all goods passing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this meanes to improue their commings in. For their expences were not now as before, but so much greater, by how much the Warre was greater, and their reuenue besides cut off.

The *Thracians* therefore, that came too late to goe with *Demosthenes*, they presently sent backe, as being vnwilling to lay out money in such a scarcity; and gaue the charge of carrying them backe to *Dijtrephes*, with command as he went along those Coasts, (for his way was through the * *Euripus*) if occasion serued, to do somewhat against the Enemy. He accordingly landed them by *Tanagra*, and hastily fetched in some small booty. Then going ouer the *Euripus* from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, he disbarqued againe in *Bœotia*, and led his Souldiers towards *Mycaleffus*, and lay all night at the Temple of *Mercury* vndiscovered, which is distant from *Mycaleffus* about sixteene furlongs. The next day he commeth to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would haue come in and assaulted them, so farre from the Sea. Their Wall, also were but weake, in some places false downe, and in others low built, and their Gates open through security. The *Thracians* entring into *Mycaleffus*, spoiled both Houses and Temples, slew the people, without

The *Thracians* sent backe, in their way sacke the citie of *Mycaleffus*.

* The straight betwene *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Thracians*.

without mercy on old or young; but killed all they could A
light on, both women and children, yea, and the labour-
ing Cattell, and whatsoeuer other living thing they saw.
For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are ex-
treme bloody, equall to any of the *Barbarians*. Inſomuch
as there was put in praſtice at this time, beſides other diſ-
order, all formes of ſlaughter that could be imagined.
They likewiſe fell vpon the Schoolehouſe (which was
in the Citie a great one, and the children newly entred into
it) and killed them euery one. And the calamity of the
whole City, as it was as great as euer befell any, ſo alſo B
was it more vnexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans*
hearing of it, came out to helpe them; and ouertaking
the *Thracians* before they were gone farre, both recouered
the booty, and chaſed them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea,
where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them
they killed, of thoſe moſt, in their going aboard. For
ſwimmethey could not; and ſuch as were in the ſmall
Boats, when they ſaw how things went a-land, had thruſt
off their Boats, and lay without the *Euripus*. In the reſt
of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaued themſelues not vn- C
handſomely, againſt the *Theban* Horſemen, by whom
they were charged firſt; but running out, and againe ral-
lying themſelues in a circle, according to the manner of
their Countrey, defended themſelues well, and loſt but few
men in that action. But ſome alſo they loſt in the City
it ſelfe, whileſt they ſtayed behind for pillage. But in the
whole, of 1300, there were ſlaine, onely 250. Of the *The-*
bans and others that came out to helpe the Citie, there were
ſlaine Horſemen, and men of Armes, one with another, a-
bout 20, and amongſt them *Scirphondas* of *Thebes*, one of D
the Gouvernours of *Boeotia*. And of the *Mycaleſſians*
there perished a part. Thus went the matter at *Myca-*
leſſus, the loſſe which it receiued, being for the quantity of
the City, no leſſe to be lamented, then any that happened
in the whole Warre.

Demoſthenes going from *Corcyra*, after his fortifying in
Laconia, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Elis*, and in her cer-
taine men of Armes of *Corinth*, ready to goe into *Sicily*.
The Ship he ſunke, but the men eſcaped; and after-
wards getting another Shippe, went on in their E
voyage.

After

A After this, *Demoſthenes* being about *Zacynthus*, and *Ce-*
phallenia, tooke aboard their men of Armes, and ſent to
Naupaſtus for the *Meffenians*. From thence he croſſed o-
uer to the Continent of *Acarnania*, to *Alyſtea*, and *Anaſto-*
rium, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whileſt he was
in theſe parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that
had been ſent in Winter vnto the Army with commodi-
ties, who told him amongſt other things, how he had
heard by the way, after he was at Sea, that the *Syracuſians*
had wonne *Plemmyrium*. *Conon* alſo the Captaine of *Na-*
B *paſtus* came to them, and related, that the 25 Gallies of
Corinth that lay before *Naupaſtus*, would not giue ouer
Warre, and yet delayed to fight, and therefore deſired to
haue ſome Gallies lent him, as being vnable with his
18 to giue battell to 25 of the enemy. Whereupon *De-*
moſthenes and *Eurymedon* ſent 20 Gallies more to thoſe at
Naupaſtus, the nimbleſt of the whole Fleet, by *Conon* him-
ſelfe; And went themſelues about furniſhing of what
belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to
Corcyra, & hauing appointed the there to man 15 Gallies,
C leuyed men of Armes; for now giuing ouer his courſe to *A-*
thens, he ioyned with *Demoſthenes*, as hauing been elected
with him, in the charge of Generall; and *Demoſthenes*
tooke vp Slingers and Darters, in the parts about *Acar-*
nania.

The Ambaſſadours of the *Syracuſians*, which after the
taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been ſent vnto the Cities about,
hauing now obtained, and leuyed an Army amongſt
them, were conducting the ſame to *Syracuse*. But *Nicias*,
vpon intelligence thereof, ſent vnto ſuch Cities of the *Si-*
D *culi* as had the paſſages, and were their Confederates, the
Cenſoripines, *Halicycæans*, and others, not to ſuffer the ene-
my to goe by, but to vnite themſelues and ſtop them; for
that they would not ſo much as offer to paſſe any other
way, ſeeing the *Agrigentines* had already denied them.
When the * *Sicilians* were marching, the * *Siculi*, as the
Athenians had deſired them, put themſelues in Ambuſh in
three ſeueral places, and ſetting vpon them vnawares, and
on a ſodaine, ſlew about eight hundred of them, and all
the Ambaſſadours, ſaue onely one, a *Corinthian*, which
E conducted the reſt that eſcaped, being about 1500, to *Sy-*
racuse.

About

Eurymedon cometh to
Demoſthenes out of *Sicily*,
and telleth him of the
taking of *Plemmyrium*.

Demoſthenes and *Euryme-*
don leuy forces for *Sicily*.

Nicias ouerthroweth the
new ſupply going to *Sy-*
racuse from the neigh-
bouring Cities, and kil-
leth 800 of them.

* *Zinara*.
* *Zinara*.

About the same time, came vnto them, also the ayde of A the *Camarinians*, 500 men of Armes, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Also the *Geloans* sent them men for five Gallies, besides 400 Darters, and 200 Horsemen. For now all *Sicily* (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Newtrall) but all the rest, who before stood looking on, came in, to the *Syracusan* side against the *Athenians*. Neuerthelesse, the *Syracusians*, after this blow receiued amongst the *Sculi*, held their hands, and assaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* hauing their Army now ready, crossed ouer from *Corcyra*, and the * Continent with B the whole Army, to the Promontory of *Iapygia*. From thence they went to the *Cherades*, Islands of *Iapygia*, and here tooke in certaine *Iapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Messapian* Nation. And hauing renewed a certaine ancient alliance, with *Artas*, who raigned there, and granted them those Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League, they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboard they kept along the Shoare, till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the aduers faction C to the *Athenians* to haue been lately driuen out in a sedition. And because they desired to muster their Army here, that they might see if any were left behind, and perswade the *Thurians* to ioyne with them freely in the War, (and as things stood) to haue for friends and enemies, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, they staid about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

The *Peloponnesians*, and the rest, who were at the same time in the 25 Gallies that for safegard of the Ships, lay opposite to the Gallies before *Naupactus*, hauing prepared D themselves for battell, and with more Gallies, so as they were little inferiour in number to those of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor vnder *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhypica*. The place where they rid, was in forme like a halfe-Moone, and their Land forces they had ready on either side to asist them, both *Corinthians*, and other their Confederates of those parts, embattelled vpon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made vp the space betweene, vnder the command of *Polyanthes*, a *Corinthian*. Against these, the *Athenians* came vp, with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, E commanded by *Diphilus*. The *Corinthians* at first lay still,

* The Continent about Acarnania, for there was Demosthenes; and at Corcyra was Eurymedon.

The battell by Sea, before Naupactus, betweene the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

A but afterwards, when they saw their time, and the Signall giuen, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunke three Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their owne were sunke, yet seauen were made vnseruicable, which hauing encountered the *Corinthian* Gallies a head, were torne on both sides between the beake and the qars, by the beakes of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for the same purpose. After they had fought with equall fortune, and so as both sides challenged the victory, (though B yet the *Athenians* were masters of the wrecks, as driuen by the wind into the maine, and because the *Corinthians* came not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There was no chaling of men that fled, nor a prisoner taken of either side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting neere the Land, easily escaped, nor was there any Gally of the *Athenians* sunke. But when the *Athenians* were gone backe to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set vp a Trophie, as victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gallies were made vnseruicable, than of theirs, and thought C themselves not to haue had the worse, for the same reason that the others thought themselves not to haue had the better. For the *Corinthians* thinke they haue the better, when they haue not much the worse, and the *Athenians* thinke they haue the worse, when they haue not much the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone, and their Armie by Land dissolued, the *Athenians* also set vp a Trophie in *Achaia*, as if the victorie had beene theirs, distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, about twenty Furlongs. This was the successe of that battell by Sea.

D *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, after the *Thurians* had put in readinesse to goe with them, 700. men of Armes and 300. Darters, commanded their Gallies to go along the Coast, to *Croton*, and conducted their Land-souldiers, hauing first taken a muster of them all vpon the side of the Riuer *Sycaris*, through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But comming to the Riuer *Hylas*, vpon word sent them from the men of *Croton*, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it should be against their will, they marched downe to the E Sea side, and to the mouth of the Riuer *Hylas*, where they stayed all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

K k k

The

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* come along the shore of *Italy*, and take vp forces.

The *Syracusians* make ready their Gallies to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came.

Their manner of strengthening their Gallies.

The next day embarking, they kept along the shore, and anchored at every Towne saving *Locri*, till they arrived at *Pausa*, in the Territory of *Rhegium*. The *Syracusians* in the meane time, upon intelligence of their comming, were resolved to try againe what they could doe with their Navy, and with their new supply of Landmen, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians*, before *Demosthenes* and *Pericles* should arrive. And they furnished their Naue, both otherwise, according to the advantages they had learnt in the last battell; and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and these by stronger, and made beakes to them of a great thickness, which they also strengthened with rafters fastned to the sides of the Gallies, both within and without, of a cubit long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies a-head to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account, that against the *Athenian* Gallies, not so build, but weaker before, as not vsing so much to meet the Enemy a-head, as vpon the side, by fetching a compassse, they could not but haue the better; and that to fight in the great Hauens, many Gallies in not much roome, was an aduantage to them, for that vsing to direct encounter, they should breake with their firme and thicke beakes, the hollow and infirme foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow roome, would want meanes both to goe about, and to goe through them, which was the point of Art they most relied on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselves as much as they could, and for fetching compassse, the straightnesse of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting a-head, which seemed before to be want of skill in the Masters [to doe otherwise,] was it they would now principally make vse of; for in this would bee their principall aduantage. For the *Athenians*, if overcome, would haue no retiring, but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compassse, neere their owne Campe, and of the rest of the Hauens themselves should be Masters, and the Enemy being prest, could not choose, thronging together into a little roome, and all into one & the same place, but disorder one another, (which was indeed the thing that in all their battells by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt, hauing not, as the *Syracusians* had,

A had the liberty of the whole Hauens to retire vnto) and to goe about into a place of more roome, they hauing it in their power to set vpon them from the maine Sea, and to retire againe at pleasure, they should neuer be able, especially hauing *Plemmyrium* for enemy, and the Hauens mouth not being large. The *Syracusians* hauing deuised thus much ouer and aboue their former skill and strength, and far more confident now since the former Battell by Sea, assaulted them both with their Army and with their Navy at once. The Landmen from the City *Gylippus* drew sooner out a little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Campe, vpon the side towards the Citie; and from *Olympicum*, the men of Armes, all that were there, and the Horsemen and light-armed of the *Syracusians*, came vp to the Wall on the other side. And by and by after came sailing forth also the Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at first, they would haue made the attempt only with their Landmen, seeing also the Gallies on a sudden comming towards them, were in confusion, and some of them put themselves in order vpon and before the Wall, against those that came from the Citie, and others went out to meete the Horsemen and Darters, that were comming in great numbers, and with speed from *Olympicum*, and the parts without. Others againe went aboard, and withall came to ayde those ashore; but when the Gallies were manned, they put off, being 75. in number, and those of *Syracuse* about 80. Hauing spent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, saue that the *Syracusians* sunke a Gallie or two of the *Athenians*, they parted againe, and the Land-souldiers retired at the same time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Campe. The next day the *Syracusians* lay still, without shewing any signe of what they meant to doe. Yet *Nicias* seeing that the Battell by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight againe, made the Captaines to repair their Gallies, such as had beene torne, and 2 great Ships to be mored; without those Piles which he had driuen into the Sea before his Gallies, to bee instead of a Hauens inclosure. These Ships he placed about 2 acres breadth asunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to bee pressed, it might safely runne in, and againe

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

The Athenians and Syracu-
sians fight againe.

The stratagem of Arifton,
a Master of a Gally.

goe safely out at leasure. In performing of this, the *Athe- A*
nians spent a whole day from morning vntill night.

The next day the *Syracusians* assaulted the *Athenians* a-
gain with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, that
they had done before, but begunne earlier in the morning,
and being opposed Fleet against Fleet, they drew out a
great part of the day, now againe, as before, in attempting
vpon each other without effect. Till at last *Arifton*
the sonne of *Pyrrhichus*, a *Corinthian*, the most expert Ma-
ster that the *Syracusians* had in their Fleet, perswaded the
Commanders of the Nauie, to send to such in the Citie as B
it belonged to, and command that the Market should bee
speedily kept at the Sea-side, and to compell euery man to
bring thither whatsoeuer hee had fit for meate, and there
to sell it, that the Mariners disbarking, might presently
dine by the Gallies sides, and quickly againe vlooked-
for, assault the *Athenians* afresh the same day.

This aduice being liked, they sent a Messenger, and the
Market was furnished. And the *Syracusians* suddenly row-
ed a-sterne, towards the Citie, and disbarking, dined there-
right on the shore. The *Athenians* suppoling they had C
retired towards the Citie, as vanquished, landed at leasure,
and amongst other businesse, went about the dressing of
their dinner, as not expecting to haue fought againe the
same day. But the *Syracusians* suddenly going aboard, came
towards them againe. And the *Athenians* in great tu-
mult, and for the most part vndined, imbarcking disorderly,
at length with much adoe went out to meete them. For
a while they held their hands on both sides, and
but obserued each other; But anon after, the *Athenians*
thought not fit by longer dallying, to ouercome them- D
selues with their owne labour, but rather to fight as soone
as they could; and thereupon at once with a ioynt shout,
charged the Enemy, and the fight began. The *Syracusi-*
ans receiued and resisted their charge; and fighting, as
they had before determined, with their Gallies head to
head with those of the *Athenians*, and provided with beakes
for the purpose, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very
much, between the heads of the Gallies and the oares. The
Athenians were also annoyed much by the Darters from the
Deckes, but much more by those *Syracusians*, who going a- E
bout in small Boats, passed vnder the rowes of the Oares

to

A of the Enemies Gallies, and comming close to their sides,
threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracusians* hauing fought in this manner with the
vtmost of their strength, in the end gat the victory, and
the *Athenians*, betwene the two *Ships*, escaped into their
harbour. The *Syracusan* Gallies chased them as farre as
to those *Ships*, but the *Dolphins* hanging from the Masts
ouer the entrance of the harbour, forbad them to follow
any further. Yet there were two Gallies, which vpon a
iollity after victory approached them, but were both lost,
B of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Sy-*
racusians, after they had sunke seuen Gallies of the *Atheni-*
ans, and torne many more, and of the men had taken some
aliue, and killed others, retired, and for both the battels
erected Trophies, and had already an assured hope, of be-
ing farre superiour by Sea, and also made account to sub-
due the Army by Land. And they prepared to assault
them againe in both kindes.

In the meane time *Demosthenes*, and *Eurymedon* arriued
with the *Athenian* supply, being about 73 Gallies, and men
C of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates about
5000. Besides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greekes*; not
a few, and Slingers, and Archers; and all other provi-
sion sufficient. For the present, it not a little daunted the
Syracusians and their Confederates, to see no end of their
danger, and that notwithstanding the fortifying in *Declea*,
another Army should come now, equall, and like vnto
their former, and that their power should be so great in
euery kind. And on the other side, it was a kind of streng-
thening after weakenesse, to the *Athenian* Army that was
D there before. *Demosthenes*, when hee saw how things
stood, and thinking it vnfit to loyter, and fall into *Nicias* his
case (For *Nicias*, who was formidable at his first com-
ming, when he set not presently vpon *Syracuse*, but Win-
tered at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was preuen-
ted also by the comming of *Gylippus* thither, with an Ar-
my out of *Peloponnesus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone a-
gainst *Syracuse* at first, had neuer been so much as sent for.
For supposing themselues to haue been strong enough a-
lone, they had at once both found themselves too weak,
E and the City been enclosed with a Wall, whereby though
they had sent for it, it could not haue helped them, as it
did)

The *Syracusians* had the
victory.

Demosthenes and *Euryme-*
don, with a new Army
arriued at *Syracuse*.

Demosthenes attempteth to win the Wall which the Syracusians had built through Epipole, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the Athenians.

did) *Demosthenes* I say considering this, and that he also, *A* euen at the present, and the same day was most terrible to the enemy, intended with all speed to make vse of this present terribleness of the Army. And hauing obserued that the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, wherewith they hindred the *Athenians* from enclosing the Citie, was but single, and that if they could be Masters of the ascent to *Epipole*, and againe of the Campe there, the same might easily be taken, (for none would haue stood against them) hasted to put it to triall, and thought it his shortest way to the dispatching of the Warre. For either he should haue successe, he thought, and so winne *Syracuse*, or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without purpose consume, both the *Athenians* there with him, and the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and first wasted the Territory of the *Syracusians*, about the Riuer *Anapus*, and were the stronger as at first, both by Sea and Land. For the *Syracusians* durst neither way goe out against them, but onely with their Horsemen and Darters from *Olympieum*.

After this, *Demosthenes* thought good to try the Wall, *C* which the *Athenians* had built to enclose the City withall, with Engines, but seeing the Engines were burnt by the Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that hauing assaulted it in diuers parts with the rest of his army, he was, notwithstanding put backe, he resolved to spend the time no longer, but (hauing gotten the consent of *Nicias*, and the rest in Commission; thereunto) to put in execution his designe for *Epipole*, as was before intended. By day, it was thought impossible not to be discouered, either in their approach, or in their ascent. Hauing therefore first com- *D* manded to take five dayes prouision of Victuall, and all the Mafons and Workmen, as also store of Casting Weapons, and whatsoever they might need, if they ouercame, for Fortification, *He* and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipole*, leauing *Nicias* in the Campe. Being come to *Epipole* at *Euryalus*, (where also the Army went vp before) they were not onely not discouered by the *Syracusians* that kept the Watch, but ascending,ooke a certaine Fortification of the *Syracusians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. *E* But the greatest number, escaping, ranne presently to the Campes,

A Campes, of which there were in *Epipole* three walled about, without the City, one of *Syracusians*, one of other *Syracusians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the newes of their comming in, and told it to those *Syracusians* that kept this part of *Epipole* at the first, who presently went forth to meet them. But *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians* lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them to flight, and presently marched on, making vse of the present heat of the Army, to finish what he came for, before it were too late. And others going on, in their first *B* course tooke the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, they flying that kept it, and were throwing downe the Battlements thereof. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, and *Gylippus*, and those with him, came out to meet them, from their Campes, but because the attempt was vnexpected, and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorously, and were euen at first forced to retire. But as the *Athenians* aduanced more out of order, chiefly as hauing already gotten the victory, but desiring also, quickly to passe through all that remained yet vnfoughten with, (left through *C* their remissness in following, they might againe rally themselves,) the *Boetians* withstood them first, and charging, forced them to turne their backs. And here the *Athenians* were mightily in disorder, and perplexed, so that it hath been very hard to be informed of any side, in what manner each thing passed. For if in the day time, when things are better scene, yet they that are present cannot tell how all things goe, save onely what euerie man with much adoe seeth neere vnto himselfe. How then in a battell by night, (the onely one that hapned betweene *D* great Armies in all this Warre) can a man know any thing for certaine? For though the Moone shined bright, yet they saw one another no otherwise then (as by Moone-light was likely) so as to see a body, but not be sure whether it were a friend, or not. And the men of Armes on both sides being not a few in number, had but little ground to turne in. Of the *Athenians*, some were already overcome, others went on in their first way. Also a great part of the rest of the Army was already, part gotten vp, and part ascending, and knew not which way to *E* march; For after the *Athenians* once turned their backs, all before them was in confusion, and it was hard to distinguish

distinguish of any thing for the noyse. For the *Syracusians* and their Confederates prevailing, encouraged each other, and received the assailants with exceeding great shouts, (for they had no other meanes in the night to expresse themselves.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and tooke for Enemies all before them, though friends, and of the number of those that fled. And by often asking the word, there being no other meanes of distinction, all asking at once, they both made a great deale of noise amongst themselves, and revealed the word to the Enemy. But they did not in like manner know the word of the *Syracusians*, because these, being victorious, and undistracted, knew one another better. So that when they lighted on any number of the Enemy, though they themselves were more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watchword; but they, when they could not answer, were flaine. But that which hurt them most, was the tune of the * *Pean*, which being in both Armies the same, draue them to their wits end. For the *Argives* and *Corcyraans*; and all other of the *Doricke* Race on the *Athenians* part, when they sounded the *Pean*, terrified the *Athenians* on one side, and the Enemy terrified them with the like on the other side. Wherefore at the last falling one vpon another in diuers parts of the Armie, friends against friends, and Countrey men against Countrey men, they not onely terrified each other, but came to hand-strokes, and could hardly againe be parted.

As they fled before the Enemy, the way of the descent from *Epipolæ*, by which they were to goe backe, being but strait, many of them threw themselves downe from the Rockes, and dyed so: and of the rest that gat downe safely into the Plaine, though the greatest part, and all that were of the old Armie, by their knowledge of the Countrey escaped into the Campe, yet of these that came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields, when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusan* Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two Trophies, one in *Epipolæ* at the ascent, and another, where the first checke was giuen by the *Bootians*. The *Athenians* receiued their dead vnder Truce, and many there were that dyed, both of themselves and of their Confederates. But the Armes taken,

* A Hymne with Trumpets or other loud musiques, both before and after battell.

The Athenians fly.

A taken, were more then for the number of the slaine: for of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leape downe from the Rockes, though some perished, yet some there also were that escaped.

After this, the *Syracusians* hauing by such vnlooked for prosperity recovered their former courage, sent *Sicanus* with fiftene Gallies to *Agrigentum* being in sedition, to bring that Citie if they could to their obedience. And *Gylippus* went againe to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet another Army, as being in hope to take the Campe of the *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone in *Epipolæ*.

In the meane time the *Athenian* Generals went to Councill vpon their late ouerthrow, and present generall weaknesse of the Army. For they saw, not onely that their designes prospered not, but that the Souldiers also were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sickness, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time of the yeere most obnoxious to diseases, and the place where they lay, moorish and noysome. And all things else appeared desperate.

Demosthenes thought fit to stay no longer; and since the execution of his Designe at *Epipolæ* had failed, deliuered his opinion for going out of the Haven whilest the Seas were open, and whilest, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better, hee said, for the Citie to make Warre vpon those which fortifie against them at home, then against the *Syracusians*, seeing they cannot now be easily overcome; and there was no reason why they should spend much money in lying before the City. This was the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

Nicias, though he also thought their estate bad, yet was vnwilling to haue their weaknesse discouered, and by decreeing of their departure openly with the Votes of many, to make knowne the same to the enemy. For if at any time they had a minde to bee gone, they should then bee lesse able to doe it secretly. Besides, the estate of the Enemy, in as much as hee vnderstood it better then the rest, put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse then their owne, in case they pressed the Siege, especially becing already Masters of the Sea, farre and neere, with their present Fleet. There was moreouer a party

LII

for

The *Syracusians* send for more supplies, and hope to winne the *Athenian* Campe.

The *Athenian* Commanders take councill what to doe.

The aduice of *Demosthenes*

The opinion of Nicias.

for the Athenians in Syracuse that desired to betray the State into their hands, and that sent messengers vnto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which hee knowing, though hee were intruth doubtfull what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, neuertheless openly in his speech, hee was against the withdrawing of the Armie, and said, *That he was sure, the People of Athens would take it ill, if hee went thence without their order: For that they were not to haue such Iudges, as should giue sentence vpon their owne fight of things done, rather then vpon the report of Calumniators, but such as would beleue whatsoever some fine speaker should accuse them of.* That many, nay most of the Souldiers heere, who now cry out vpon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals haue betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That hee would not therefore, knowing the nature of the Athenians so well, chuse to bee put to death vnjustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the Athenians, rather then, if he must needs doe one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his owne aduenture. And yet, he said, the State of the Syracusians was still inferiour to their owne: For paying much money to strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the Citie, hauing also had a great Nauie a yeere already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things faile them. For they haue spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoever they shall giue ouer this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the Warre, as the Athenians are. Therefore it was fit, he said, to stay close to the Citie, and not to goe away, as if they were too weake in money, wherein they were much superiour.

Nicias, when he spake this, assured them of it, as knowing the state of Syracuse precisely, and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the Citie to the Athenians, and sent him word not to goe. Withall hee had now confidence in the Fleet, which, as being before overcome, he had not. As for lying where they did, Demosthenes would by no means heare of it. But if the Armie might not be carried away without order from the Athenians, but must needs stay in Sicily, then he said they might goe to Thapsus, or Catana, from whence by their Land men they might inuade, and

turne

A turne much of the Countrey to them, and waiting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the Syracusians, and bee to fight with their Gallies in the maine Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the aduantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place; where the benefit of skill should bee theirs, and and where they should not be forced in charging and retreating, to come vp, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In summe he said, he by no means liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. Eurymedon also gaue the like counsell. Neuertheless vpon the contradiction of Nicias, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination, in the businesse, and a suspition withall, that the asseueration of Nicias, was grounded on somewhat that he knew about the rest, and therevpon the Athenians deferred their going thence, and stayed vpon the place.

In the meane time Gylippus and Syracus returned vnto Syracuse. Syracus without his purpose at Agrigentu (for whilest he was yet in Gela, the sedition which had bene raised in the behalfe of the Syracusians was turned into friendship,) but Gylippus not without another great Army out of Sicily, besides the men of Armes, which hauing set forth from Peloponnesus in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arrived at Selinus from out of Africke. For hauing bene driven into Africke, and the Cyreneans hauing giuen them two Gallies with Pilots, in passing by the shore they ayded the Euesperite, besieged by the Africans, and hauing overcome the Africans, they went on to Neapolis, a Towne of traffique belonging to the Carthaginians, where the passage into Sicily is shortest, and but two dayes and a nights faile ouer. And from thence they crossed the Sea to Selinus. As soone as they were come, the Syracusians againe presently prepared to set vpon the Athenians, both by Sea and Land. The Athenian Generals seeing them haue another Armie, and their owne not bettering, but growing every day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sicknesse of the Souldiers, repented now that they removed not before; and Nicias being now no longer against it, as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gaue order vnto all, as secretly as was possible, to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready, when the signe should be giuen.

Gylippus returneth with another Armie from the Cities of Sicily.

The Athenians out of superstition forbore to remoue, because of an eclipse of the Moone.

But when they were about it, and euery thing was ready, the Moone hapned to bee eclipsed. For it was full Moone. And not onely the greatest part of the Athenians called vpon the Generals to stay, but Nicidas also (for hee was addicted to superstition, and observations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more in to debate, whether they should goe or not, till the three times nine dayes were past, which the Southayers appoint in that behalfe. And the Athenians, though vpon going, stayed still for this reason.

The Syracusians assault the Athenian Campe with their Land-souldiers.

The Syracusians also, hauing intelligence of this, were encouraged vnto the pressing of the Athenians much the more, for that they confessed themselves already too weake for them, both by Sea and Land; for else they would neuer haue fought to haue runne away.

Besides, they would not haue them sit downe in any other part of Sicily, and become the harder to be warred on; but had rather there right, and in a place most for their owne advantage, compell them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the Athenians Campe, and some small number of men of Armes, and Horsemen of the Athenians sallied out against them by certaine Gates, and the Syracusians intercepting some of the men of Armes, beat them backe into the Campe. But the entrance being strait, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Armes some, but not many.

The Syracusians ouercome the Athenians againe by Sea.

The next day, they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the Athenians set forth against them with 86; and being come together, they fought. Eurymedon had charge of the Right Wing of the Athenians, and desiring to encompass the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his owne Gallies in length more toward the shore; and was cut off by the Syracusians, that had first ouercome the middle battell of the Athenians from the rest, in the bottome and inmost part of the Hauen; and both slaine himselfe, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the Athenian Fleet was also chased and driuen ashore.

Gylippus, when he saw the Navy of the Enemy vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their owne Harbour,

A bout, came with a part of his Armitie to the peere, to kill such as landed; and to cause that the Syracusians might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the shore, whereof themselves were Masters. But the Tuscans, who kept guard in that part for the Athenians, seeing them comming that way in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish, called *Lysimelia*. But when afterwards a greater number of the Syracusians and their Confederates came to helpe them, then also the Athenians, to helpe the Tuscans, and for feare to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and hauing overcome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Armes, but also saued the most of their Gallies, and brought them backe into the Harbour. Neuerthelesse the Syracusians tooke eightene, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest, they let driue before the Wind, (which blew right vpon the Athenians) an old Ship, full of Faggots and Brands set on fire, to burne them. The Athenians on the other side, fearing the losse of their Nauie, deuised remedies for the fire, and hauing quenched the flame, and kept the Shippe from comming neere, escaped that danger.

After this the Syracusians set vp a Trophie both for the Battell by Sea, and for the men of Armes which they intercepted aboue before the Campe, where also they tooke the Horses. And the Athenians erected a Trophie likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen, which the Tuscans draue into the Marish, and for those which they themselves put to flight with the rest of the Armitie.

When the Syracusians had now manifestly ouercome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with Demosthenes) the Athenians were in good earnest vnder out of heart. And as they were much deceiued in the event, so they repented more of the Voyage. For hauing come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for institution like vnto their owne, and gouerned by the people, as well as themselves, and which had a Nauie, and Horses, and greatnesse, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them, about change of gouernment, to winne them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatnesse of their Forces, when they were farre the stronger, but misprospered in most of their designes, they were then at their

The Athenians dejected, repent of the voyage.

wits

wits end. But now, when they were also vanquished by A Sea (which they would neuer haue thought) they were much more dejected then euer.

The Syracusians went presently about the Haven with out feare, and meditated how to shut vp the same, that the Athenians might not steale away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they studied not onely how to saue themselves, but how to hinder the safety of the Athenians. For the Syracusians conceived (not vntruly) that their owne strength was at this present the greater, and that if they could vanquish the Athenians, and their Confederates, both by Sea and Land, it would be a mastery of great honour to them, amongst the rest of the Grecians. For all the rest of Greece should be one part freed by it, and the other part out of feare of subiection hereafter. For it would be vnpossible for the Athenians, with the remainder of their strength to sustaine the Warre that would be made vpon them afterwards; and they being reputed the authors of it, should be had in admiration, not only with all men now liuing, but also with posterity. And to say truth, it was a worthy Mastery, C both for the causes shewne, and also for that they became Victors not of the Athenians onely, but many others their Confederates, nor againe they themselves alone, but their Confederates also, hauing been in ioynt command with the Corinthians and Lacedemonians and both exposed their City to the first hazard, and of the busines by Sea performed the greatest part themselves.

The greatest number of Nations, except the generall Roll of those which in this Warre adhered to Athens, and D Lacedemon, were together at this one City; And this number on both sides, against Sicilie, and for it, some to helpe winne, and some to helpe saue it, came to the Warre at Syracuse, not on any pretence of right, nor as kindred to aid kindred, but as profit or necessity seuerally chanced to induce them. The Athenians being Ionique went against the Syracusians that be Dorique, voluntarily. With these, as being their Colonies, went the Lemnians and Imbrians, and the Egineae, that dwelt in Egina then, all of the same language and institutions with themselves.

E Also the Hestians of Euboea. Of the rest, some went with

The Syracusians intend to keepe in the Athenians, & reckon vpon the glory of a full victory.

The Nations that were at the Warre of Syracuse on one side or other.

Athenians.

Lemnians. Imbrians.

Egineae.

Hestians of Euboea.

A with them as their subiects, and some as their free Confederates, and some also hired. Subiects and Tributaries, as the Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styrians, and Carystians, from Euboea. Ceians, Andrians, Tenians, from out of the Ilands. Milesians, Samians, and Chians, from Ionia. Of these the Chians followed them as free, not as tributaries of money, but of Gallies. And these were almost all of them Ionians, descended from the Athenians, except onely the Carystians, that are of the Nation of the Dryopes. And though they were subiects and went vpon constraint, yet they B were Ionians against Dorians. Besides these, there went with them Aelians, namely the Methymneans, subiects to Athens, not tributaries of money, but of Gallies, & the Tenedians and Aenians tributaries. Now here, Aelians were constrained to fight against Aelians, namely against their Founders the Boeotians, that tooke part with the Syracusians. But the Plataeans, and onely they, being Boeotians, fought against Boeotians vpon iust quarrell. The Rhodians and Cytherians Dorique both, by constraint, bore Armes one of them, namely the Cytherians a Colony of the Lacedemonians with C the Athenians, against the Lacedemonians that were with Gylippus; and the other, that is to say, the Rhodians, being by descent Argiues, not onely against the Syracusians, who were also Dorique, but against their owne Colony the Gelans which tooke part with the Syracusians. Then of the Ilanders about Peloponnesus, there went with them the Cephallenians, and Zaihythians, not but that they were free States, but because they were kept in awe as Ilanders by the Athenians who were masters of the Sea. And the Corcyraeans, being not only Dorique, but Corinthians, fought open- D ly against both Corinthians and Syracusians, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did necessarily (to make the best of it) but indeed no lesse willingly, in respect of their hatred to the Corinthians. Also the Messenians now so called, in Naupactus, were taken along to this Warre, and the Messenians at Pylus then holden by the Athenians. Moreouer the Megarean Out-lawes though not many, by aduantage taken of their misery, were faine to fight against the Sinuntians, that were Megareans likewise. But now the rest of their Army was rather voluntary. The Argiues not so much for the League, E as for their enmity with the Lacedemonians and their present

Eretrians, Chalcideans, Styrians, Carystians, Ceians, Andrians, Tenians, Milesians, Samians, Chians.

Methymneans, Tenedians, Aenians.

Plataeans, Rhodians and Cytherians.

Cephallenians, Zaihythians.

Corcyraeans.

Messenians.

Megareans.

Argiues.

Mantineans and other Arcadians.

Cretans.
Ætolians.

Acarnanians.

Thurians.
Metapontians, Na-
xians.
Cataneans, EgesteansTuscans.
Iapygians.Syracusians.
Camarinæans.

Himeræans.

Siculi.

Lacedæmonians.
* Μισοῦσιν ἡν, ὡς ἐποίησαν
ἴσιν.Corinthians.
Leucadians, Ambra-
ciotes, Arcadian
Mercenaries.
Sicyonians.

sent particular spleene, followed the *Athenians* to the Warre A though *Ionique*, against *Dorians*. And the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadian* Mercenaries went with him, as men accustomed euer to inuade the enemy shewed them, and now for gaine, had for enemies as much as any those other *Arcadians* which went thither with the *Corinthians*. The *Cretans*, and *Ætolians* were all Mercenary, and it fell out, that the *Cretans*, who together with the *Rhodians* were Founders of *Gela*, not onely tooke not part with their Colony, but fought against it willingly for their hire. And some *Acarnanians* also went with them for gaine, but B most of them went as Confederates, in loue to *Demosthenes*, and for good will to the State of *Athens*. And thus many, within the bound of the *Ionian* Gulfe. Then of *Italians* fallen into the same necessity of seditious times, there went with them to this Warre, the *Thurians*, and *Metapontians*. Of *Greece Sicilians*, the *Naxians* and *Cataneans*. Of Barbarian, the *Egesteans*, who also drew with them the most of those *Greece Sicilians*. Without *Sicily*, there went with them some *Thuscans*, vpon quarrels betweene them and the *Syracusians*; and some *Iapygian* Mercenaries. These were the Nations that followed the Army of the *Athe- C nians*.

On the other side, there opposed them, on the part of the *Syracusians*, the *Camarinæans* their borderers. And beyond them againe the *Geloans*. And then (the *Agrigentine* not stirring) beyond them againe the same way, the *Selinuntians*. These inhabite the part of *Sicily*, that lyeth opposite to *Africke*. Then the *Himeræans*, on the side that lyeth to the *Tirrhene* sea, where they are the only *Grecians*, inhabiting and onely ayded them. These were their Confederates of D the *Greece* Nation, within *Sicily*; all *Doreans* and free States. Then of the *Barbarians* there, they had the *Siculi*, all but what reuolted to the *Athenians*. For *Grecians* without *Sicily*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent them a *Spartan* Commander, with some *Helotes* and the rest * Freed-men. Then ayded them, both with Gallies and with Land-men the *Corinthians* onely; and for kindreds sake the *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*. Out of *Arcadia*, those Mercenaries sent by the *Corinthians*. And *Sicyonians* on constraint. And from without *Peloponnesus*, the *Boeotians*. To the forraigne E aydes, the *Sicilians* themselves, as being great Cities; added more

A more in euery kinde then as much againe; for they got together men of Armes, Gallies and Horses, great store, and other number in abundance. And to all these againe the *Syracusians* themselves, added, as I may say, about as much more, in respect of the greatnesse, both of their Citie, and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, and which were then all there, and after them came no more, neither to the one side nor the other. No maruell then, if the *Syracusians* thought it a noble mastery, if to the victorie by Sea already gotten, they could adde the taking of the whole *Athenian* Armie, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping vp the mouth of the great *Hauen*, beeing about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid crosse, and Lighters and Boats vpon their Anchors, and withall prepared what so euere else was necessary, in case the *Athenians* would hazard another Battell; meditating on no small matters in any C thing.

The *Athenians* seeing the shutting vp of the *Hauen*, and the rest of the Enemies designes, thought good to goe to counsell vpon it: and the Generals, and Commanders of Regiments, hauing met, and considered their present want, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had prouision for the present, (for vpon their resolution to bee gone, they had sent before to *Catana*, to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to haue for the future, vnlesse their Nauy got the vpper hand, they resolved to D abandon their Campe about, and to take in some place, no greater then needs they must, nere vnto their Gallies, with a Wall, and leauing some to keepe it, to goe aboard with the rest of the Armie, and to man euery Gallie they had, seruiceable and lesse seruiceable, and hauing caused all sorts of men to goe aboard, and fight it out, if they gat the victory, to goe to *Catana*; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battell, by Land (hauing first set fire on their Nauy): the neere way vnto some amicable place, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, that they should best E be able to reach vnto before the Enemy. As they had concluded so they did; for they both came downe to the shore

M m m

from

The *Syracusians* shut vp the *Hauen*.

from their Campe aboute, and also manned euery Gallie A they had, and compelled to goe aboard euery man of age, of any ability whatsoeuer. So the whole Nauie was manned, to the number of a hundred and tenne Gallies, vpon which they had many Archers and Darters, both Acarnanians and other strangers, and all things else provided, according to their meanes and purpose. And Nicias, when almost euery thing was ready, perceiuing the Souldiers to bee dejected, for beeing so farre ouercome by Sea, contrary to their custome; and yet in respect of the scarcity of victuall, desirous as soone as could be to fight, called them B together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF

NICIAS.

Souldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the tryall at hand will be common to all alike, and will concerne the safety and Countrey, no lesse of each of vs; then of the Enemy: (For if our Gallies get the victory, we may euery one see his native Citie againe) yet ought wee not to bee discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first aduentures, euer after carry a feare, suitable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians heere present, hauing had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that haue alwayes gone along with our Armies, remember how often the euent fallth out otherwise in Warre, then one would thinke; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selues to fight againe, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selues to bee. What we thought would be helpe in the narrownesse of the Haven against such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the pressur on of the Enemy vpon their Deekes, whereby wee were formerly annoyed, we being with the Masters now considered them all, and as small as our present meanes will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall goe aboard, and that multitude, which if wee had beene to fight in the maine Sea, wee could not haue used, because by rugging the Gallies, it would take away the use of Skill, will neuertheless be usefull heere, where wee are forced to make a Land-fight from our Gallies. Wee haue also deuised instead of what should haue beene provided for in the building of our Gallies, a gainst

A against the thickeesse of the beakes of theirs, which did most hurt vs, to lash their Gallies vnto ours with Iron Grapnels, whereby (if the men of Armes doe their part) wee may keepe the Gallies which once come close vp, from falling backe againe. For we are brought to a necessity now, of making it a Land-fight vpon the Water; and it will be the best for vs, neither to fall backe our selues, nor to suffer the Enemy to doe so. Especially, when, except what our men on Land shall make good, the shore is altogether hostile. Which you remembering, must therefore fight it out to the vtmost, and not suffer your selues to bee beaten backe vnto the shore. But when Gallie to Gallie shall once be false close, neuer thinke any cause worthy to make your part, vnlesse you haue first beaten off the men of Armes of the Enemy from their Deekes. And this I speake to you rather, that are the men of Armes, than to the Mariners; in as much as that part belongeth rather vnto you that fight aboute; and in you it lyeth, euen yet to atchieue the Victory for the most part with the Land-men. Now for the Mariners, I aduise, and withall beseech them, not to bee too much daunted with the losses past, hauing now, both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces vpon the Deekes. Thinke it a pleasure worth preserving, that being taken by your knowledge of the language, and imitation of our fashions for Athenians, (though you be not so you are not only admired for it through all Greece, but also partake of our dominion; in matter of profit, no lesse then our selues; and for awfullnesse to the Nations subiect, and protection from iniury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any iustice betray the same. In despite therefore of the Corinthians, whom you haue often vanquished, and of the Sicilians, who, as long as our Fleet was at the best, durst neuer so much as stand vs, repell them, and make it appeare, that your knowledge, euen with weaknesse and losse, is better then the strength of another, with Fortune. Again, to such of you as are Athenians, I must remember this; that you haue no more such Fleets in your Harbours, nor such able men of Armes, and that if ought happen to you but victory, your Enemies here will presently bee vpon you at home; and those at home will bee unable to defend themselves, both against those that shall goe hence, and against the Enemy that lyeth there already. So one part of vs shall fall into the mercy of the Syracusians, against whom you your selues know, with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home, shall fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians. Being therefore in this one battell to fight both for your selues, and them, be therefore valiant and neuer fear, nor beare a moment any of you, that you that goe now aboard, are the Land-forces, the Sea forces,

the whole estate, and great name of Athens. For whereby if A any man excell others in skill or courage, he can neuer shew it more opportunely then now, when he may both helpe himselfe with it, and whole.

Nicias hauing thus encouraged them, commanded presently to goe aboard.

Gylippus and the Syracusians, might easily discern that the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides, they had aduertisement of their purpose to cast Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for every thing B else, so also for that, they had made prouision. For they couered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the Deckes for a great way, with Hydes, that the Grapnels cast in, might slip, and not be able to take hold. When all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders, vsed vnto their Souldiers this hortatiue.

THE ORATION OF GYLIPPUS, and the Syracusian Generals.

THAT not onely our former acts haue bene honourable, but that wee are so fight now also for further honour, (Men of Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seeme to know already (for els you neuer would so valiantly haue undergone it.) And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, wee will make it appeare vnto him better. For whereas the Athenians came into this Countrey, with designe, first to enslave Sicily, and then, if that succeeded, Peloponnesius, and the rest of Greece. And whereas already they had the greatest dominion of any Grecians whatsoeuer, either present or past, you, the first that euer withstood their Navy, where with they were euery where Masters, haue in the former Battels overcome them, and shall in likelyhood overcome them againe in this. For men that are cut short, where they thought themselves to exceed, become afterwards further out of opinion with themselves, then they would haue bene, if they had neuer thought so. And when they come short of their hope, in things they glory in, they come short also in courage, of the true strength of their forces. And this is likely now to be the case of the Athenians. Whereas with vs, it falleth out, that our former courage, where with, though unexperienced, we durst stand them, being now confirmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giueth to every one of

A of vs a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope consisteth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of our prouisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall not in any kinde be vnprouided for them. But they, when they shall haue many men of Armes vpon their Deckes, (being not vsed to it) and many (as I may terme them) * Land-Darters, both Acarnanians, and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger, and be all in confusion amongst themselves, mouing in a fashion * not their owne? As for the number of their Gallies, it will helpe them nothing, (if any of you feare also that, as being to fight against odds in number.) For many in little roome, are so much the slower to doe what they desire, and easiest to be annoyed by our munitiion. But the very truth you shall now vnderstand by these things, whereof we suppose we haue most certaine intelligence.

Overwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which they are in at this present, they are growne desperate, not trusting to their Forces, but willing to put themselves vpon the decision of Fortune, as well as they may, that so they may either goe out by force, or else make their retreat afterward by Land, as men whose estates cannot change into the worse.

C Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our greatest enemies, now betraying it selfe into our hands, let vs fight with anger, and with an opinion, not onely that it is most lawfull, to fulfill our hearts desire vpon those our enemies that iustified their coming hither, as a righting of themselves against an assailant; but also, that to be reuenged on an Enemy, is both most naturall, and, as is most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the world. And that they are our Enemies, and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know, seeing them come hither into our dominion, to bring vs into seruitude.

D Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest troubles, the women and children to the greatest dishonesty, and the whole Citie to the most ignominious * name in the world. In regard whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender, as to shrink it gain, if they goe away without putting you to further danger, for so they meane to doe, though they get the victory. But effecting (as it is likely we shall) what wee intend, both to be reuenged of these, and to deliuer vnto all Sicily their liberty, which they enjoyed before, but now is more assured. It is miserable is that Calamity, and vaine are those hazards, wherein the sailing bringeth little lesse, and the success, a great deal of Profit.

When

* αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς. Such as being vpon Land, could vnderstand their Darts, but not tottering vpon the water.

* ὅτι ἐστὶν, according to the motion of the Gally, not steadily as vpon Land.

* ἢ τὴν τοῦ Συβάρητος.

When *Gylippus*, and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* A had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboard, perceiving the *Athenians* to doe the same.

Nicias encouraged his Souldiers anew.

Nicias perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how neere the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great battels it falleth out) that somewhat in every kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called vnto him againe, all the Captaines of Gallies, and spake vnto them euery one by their fathers, B their tribes, and their proper names, and entreated every one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the fame; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary vertues; remembring them of their *Countrys liberty*, and the uncontrolled power of all men to live as they pleased, and saying whatsoeuer else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their store to * vtter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their *Wives*, *Children*, and *patriall Gods*, but such things as being thought by them auailable in the present discouragement, they C vse to cry into their eares. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way, and drew out those forces that were to serue on Land, to the Sea side, and embattelled them so, as they might take vp the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby, so much the more to confirme the courage of them that were aboard. And *Demosthenes*, *Menander*, and *Epidemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboard) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Locke of the Hauen, D and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their *Confederates*, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the guard of the open passage, and the rest in circle about the Hauen, so the end they might fall vpon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land forces might withall be nere to aide them, where soeuer the Gallies touched: In the *Syracusan* Navy, commanded *Sicanus*, and *Agatharchus*, each of them ouer a Wing, and *Pythen*, with the *Corinthians*, had E the middle Battell. After the *Athenians* were come to the

* *Extempore*, To speake old or stale Sentences.

He prepareth to fight.

A the Locke of the Hauen, at the first charge they ouer- came the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeauoured to breake open the barres thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and *Confederates* came vpon them from euery side, they fought not at the Locke only, but also in the Hauen it selfe. And the battell was sharpe, and such as there had neuer before been, the like. For the courage, wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought vpon their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and B contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers, when the Gallies boarded each other, did their vtmost to excell each other in all points of skill that could be vsed from the Decks, and every man in the place assigned him, put himselfe forth to appeare the formost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compasse (for they were the most Gallies that in any battell they had vsed, and fought in the least roome, being little fewer on the one side and the other, then 200.) they ranne against each other, but seldom, because there was no C meanes of retiring, nor of passing by, but made assaults vpon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying, or pursuing, chanced to fall foule. And as long as a Gally was making vp, they that stood on the Decks, vsed their Darts and Arrowes, and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand strokes attempted to boord each other. And in many places it so fell out, through want of roome, that they which ran vpon a Gally on one side, were run vpon themselves on the other, and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced D to lye aboard of one, and that the Masters were at once to haue care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foule of one another, both amazed them and tooke away their hearing of what their * *Directors* directed, for they directed thicke and loud on both sides, not onely as it required, but out of their present eagerness, the *Athenians* crying out to theirs, to force the passage, and now of neuer valiantly to lay hold vpon their safe returne to their Country, E and the *Syracusians* and their *Confederates* to theirs, how honourable a thing to euery one of them it would be, to hinder

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

* *Directors*.

hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improve every A man, the honour of his owne Countrey. Moreover, the Commanders of either side where they saw any man without necessity to row a Sterne, would call vnto the Captain of the Gally by his name, & aske him, The *Athenians*, whether he retired, because he thought the most hostile Land to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so long beene masters of? The *Syracusians* theirs, whether when they knew that the *Athenians* desired earnestly by any means to flie, they would neuertheless flie from the Flyers? Whilest the Conflict was vpon the Water, the B Land-men had a Conflict and sided with them in their affections. They of the place, contending for increase of the honours they had already gotten, and the Inuaders fearing a worse estate the they were already in. For the *Athenians*, who had their whole fortune at stake in their Gallies, were in such a feare of the euent, as they had neuer been in the like, and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight vpon the Water, with very different passions. For the fight being neere, and not looking all of them vpon one and the same part, he that saw their owne side preuaile, tooke C heart, and fell to calling vpon the Gods, that they would not deprive them of their safety, and they that saw them haue the worse, not onely lamented, but shrieked out right, and had their minds more subdued by the sight of what was done, then they, that were present in the battell it selfe. Others that looked on some part where the fight was equall, because the contention continued so, as they could make no iudgment on it, with gesture of body on every occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time in a miserable perplexity. For they were euer within a little D either of escaping, or of perishing. And one might heare in one and the same Army, as long as the fight vpon the Water was indifferent, at one & the same time, Lamentations, Shouts, That they won, That they lost, and whatsoever else a great Army, in great danger is forced differently to utter. They also that were aboard, suffered the same, till at last the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, after long resistance of the other side, put them to flight, & manifestly pressing, chased them with great clamor & encouragement of their owne, to the Shoare. And the Sea-forces making to the E Shore, some one way, and some another, except only such as were

The diuersity of passion
of them that beheld the
fight, from the Shoare.

The *Athenian* flye.

A were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was vpon the Land, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with shrikes and sighes, vnable to sustaine what befell; ran part to saue the Gallies, part to the defence of the Campe, and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider every one of the best way to saue himselfe. And this was the time, wherein of all other they stood in greatest feare, and they suffered now, the like to what they had made others to suffer before at *Eylus*. For B the *Lacedaemonians* then, besides the losse of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set ouer into the Island, and the *Athenians* now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to saue themselves by Land. After this cruell battell, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates hauing the victory, tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the *Athenians*, in respect of the greatnesse of their present losse, neuer thought vpon asking leaue to take vp their dead or wreck, C but fell immediately to consultation how to bee gone the same night. And *Demosthenes* comming vnto *Nicias*, deliuered his opinion, for going once againe aboard, and forcing the passage, if it were possible, betimes the next morning, saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and seruiceable, were more then those of the Enemy. (for the *Athenians* had yet left them about 60, and the *Syracusians* vnder 50.) But when *Nicias* approued the aduice, and would haue manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to goe aboard, as being not onely dejected with their defeat, but also without opinion of euer hauing the vpper D hand any more. Whereupon they now resolved all, to make their retreat by Land. But *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting downe in some part or other of *Sicily*, should there renew the War, repayed vnto the Magistrates, and admonished them, that it was not fit through negligence, to suffer the Enemy in the night time to goe their wayes, (alleging what he thought best to the purpose) but that E all the *Syracusians* and their Confederates should goe out and fortifie in their way, and preposse all the narrow passages

The stratagem of *Hermocrates*, to hinder the escape of the *Athenians*.

N n n

passages with a guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no lesse then himselfe, and thought it shold be done, but they conceaued withall, that the Souldier now ioyfull, and taking his ease after a sore battell, being also holiday; (For it was their day of sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through excesse of ioy for the victory, they would most of them, being holiday, be drinking, and looke for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Armes againe, and goe out. But seeing the Magistrates vpon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not preuailing, of his own head contriued this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should passe the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-goe them, as soone as it grew darke, he sent certaine of his friends, and with them certaine Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Campe, who approaching soneere as to be heard speake, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had beene friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some with him that vsed to giue him intelligence) and bade them to aduise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracussians* had beset the waies, but that the next day, hauing had the leasure to furnish their Armie, they might march away. Vpon this aduertisement they abode that night, supposing it had beene without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might packe vp their necessities as commodiously as they could, and be gone, leaving all things else behind them, saue what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracussians*, with their land-forces, went out before them, and not only stopped vp the waies in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to passe, and kept a guard at the foords of brookes and riuers, but also stood embattelled to receiue and stop their Army in such places as they thought convenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians*, and towed their Gallies away from the shore, some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselves meant to haue done; but the rest at their leasure, as any of them chanced in any place to drue ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when euery thing seemed vnto *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, sufficiently prepared, they disloded, being now the third day from their fight by Sea. It

Gylippus goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

A It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselves and the State; but also for the dolorous obiects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of euery of them in particular, in the seeing of their Campe. For their dead lying vnburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once, both with feare and griefe. But the liuing that were sicke or wounded, both grieved them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoever they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-mees and imprecations, were there left. Insomuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but euen the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried euery one what he thought he should haue occasion to vse; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals vnder their Armes partly for want, & partly for distrust of their seruants, who from time to time ran ouer to the enemy, but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serue the turne. For not a iot more prouision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal diuision of misery, which neuertheless is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enioyed before, into how low an estate they were now falne: For neuer *Græcian* Army so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater feare of being

being made slaves themselves, and in stead of Prayers A and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions; and where-as they came out Sea-men, they departed Land-men, and relied not vpon their Nauall forces, but vpon their men of Armes. Neuerthelesse, in respect of the great danger yet hanging ouer them, these miseries seemed all but tolerable. Nicias perceiuing the Armie to be dejected, and the great change that was in it, came vp to the Rankes, and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the present meanes he was able. And as he went from part to part, B he exalted his voyce more then euer before, both as being earnest in his exhortation, and because also he desired that the benefit of his words might reach as farre as might be.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his afflicted Army.

A Thenians, and Confederates, we must hope still, euen in our present estate. Men haue bene saued ere now from greater dangers then these are. Nor ought you too much to accuse your selues, either for your losses past, or the undeserued miseries we are now in. Euen I my selfe, that haue the aduantage of none of you in strength of body, (you see how I am in my sicknesse) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for prosperity past, either in respect of mine owne priuate person, or oiberwise, am neuerthelesse now in as much danger as the meanest of you. And yet I haue worshipped the Gods frequently according to the Law, and liued iustly and vnblamably towards men. For which cause, my hope is still confident of the future, though these calamities, as being not according to the measure of our desert, doe indeed make me feare. But they may perhaps cease. For both the Enemies haue already had sufficient fortune, and the Gods if any of them haue bene displeased with our Voyage, haue already sufficiently punished vs. Others haue invaded their neighbours as well as wee, and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, so their punishment also hath bene tolerable. And we haue reason now, both to hope for more fauour from the Gods, (for our case deserueth their pity rather then their hatred) and also not to despaire of our selues, seeing how good and how many men of Armes you are, marching together in order of Battell. Make account of this, that where soeuer you please to sit E downe, there presently of your selues you are a City, such as not any other

A other in Sicily can either easily sustaine, if you assault, or remove, if you be once seated. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, looke to it your selues, making no other account any of you but what place soeuer he shall be forced to fight in, the same it be win it, must be his Country and his Walles. March you must with diligence, both night and day, alike, for our victuall is short, and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the Siculi, (for these are still firme to vs for feare of the Syracusians,) then you may thinke your selues secure. Let vs therefore send before to them, and bid them meete vs, and bring vs forth some supplies of victuall. B all. In summe, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary, that you be valiant; for there is no place neere, where being cowards, you can possibly be saued. Whereas if you escape thorow the Enemies at this time, you may euery one see againe whatsoever any where he most desires, and the Athenians may re-erect the great power of their City, how low soeuer false. For the men, not the Walles, nor the empty Gallies, are the Citie.

Nicias, as he vsed this hortatiue, went withall about the Armie, and where he saw any man straggle and not march in his Ranke, he brought him about, and set him in his place. Demosthenes hauing spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers vnder him; and they marched forward, those with Nicias in a square Battallion, and then those with Demosthenes in the Rere. And the men of Armes receiued those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

When they were come to the Foord of the Riuer Anapus, they there found certaine of the Syracusians and their Confederates embattelled against them on the banke, but D these they put to flight, and hauing wonne the passage, marched forward. But the Syracusan Horsemen lay still vpon them, and their Light-armed plyed them with their Darts in the flanke. This day the Athenians marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certaine Hill. The next day, as soone as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certaine Champaigne ground, encamped there, with intent both to get victuall at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry water with them thence; for before E them, in the way they were to passe, for many Furlongs together there was little to bee had. But the Syracusians

The Athenians march,
and the Syracusians assault
them alwaies as they goe

Syracusians in the meane time got before them, and cut off A their passage with a wall. This was at a steepe Hill; on either side wherof was the Channel of a torrent with steep and rocky banks; and it is called *Scironius*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians*, after long fight, were compelled to retire againe into the same Campe. But now with lesse victuall then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning betimes they dislodged, and put themselves on their march againe, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusan* Foot embattell'd in great length aboue the Fortification, on the Hills side (for the place it selfe was but narrow.) The *Athenians*, comming vp assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steepnesse of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from aboue) making them vnable to take it, they retired againe and rested. There hapned withall some claps of Thunder, and a shewre of Raine, as vually falleth out, at this fitte of the yeere, being now neere *Autumne*, which further disheartened the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilst they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army, to raise a Wall at their backs, in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindred, by sending against them part of theirs. After this, the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaigne ground, lodged there that night, and the next day went forward againe. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from euery part round about, wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged; and that especially vpon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good while the *Athenians*, in this manner withstood them, and afterwards, being gotten fife or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plaine; and the *Syracusians* went from them to their owne Campe.

Nicias and *Demothenes* rise in the night, and march a contrary way, *Nicias* in most, and in order, but *Demothenes* in the Reere slower and more in disorder.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demothenes*, E seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already

A already of all necessaries, and that many of their men, in many assaults of the Enemy, were wounded, to lead away the Army as fast as they possible could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole iourney of the Army lay not towards *Caana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina*, and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian*, as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as vually it falleth out in all Armies, and B most of all in the greatest, to be subiect to affright and terror, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the enemy neere) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias*, leading the way, kept together and got farre afore, but that of *Demothenes*, which was the greater halfe, was both seuered from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Neuerthelesse, by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entring into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the Riuer *Cacyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march vpwards along the Riuer side, through C the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the Riuer, here also they found a certaine guard of the *Syracusians*, stopping their passage with a Wall, and with Pyles. When they had quickly forced this guard, they passed the Riuer, and againe marched on, to another Riuer called *Brineus*, for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the meane time the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, as soone as day appeared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most D of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily vnderstood they were gone; and about dinner time ouertooke them. When they were come vp to those with *Demothenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as hauing been put into disorder in the night, they fell vpon them, and fought. And the *Syracusian* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them vp into a narrow compasse, the more easily now, because they were E diuided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 150 Furlongs further on. For he led away

Demothenes overtaken by the enemy, rested as long as he can, and is taken.

away the faster, because he thought not that their safety A
consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily; but rather in
a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could
not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater, and in
more continuall toyle, in respect that he marched in the
Reere, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And
seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but
put his men into order to fight, till by his stay he was en-
compassed, and reduced he and the *Athenians* with him in-
to great disorder. For being shut vp, within a place en-
closed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a B
way open, amongst abundance of Oliue trees, they were
charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot.
For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in
close battell, vpon very good reason. For to hazzard bat-
telle against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as
for the *Athenians* aduantage. Besides, after so manifest suc-
cesses, they spared themselves somewhat, because they
were loth to wear themselves out before the end of the
businessse, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and
take them aliue. Whereupon, after they had plyed the C
Athenians and their Confederates, all day long from euery side
with shot, and saw that with their wounds, and other an-
noyance, they were already tired, *Gylippus*, and the *Syracu-
sians*, and their Confederates, first made Proclamation, that
if any of the *Glanders* would come ouer to them, they
should be at liberty; And the men of some few Cities
went ouer. And by and by after they made agreement
with all the rest, that were with *Demosthenes*, That they
should deliver up their Armes, and none of them be put to death,
neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities of D
life. And they all yeelded, to the number of 6000 men,
and the siluer they had, they laid it all downe, casting
it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same,
four Targets. And these men, they carried presently in-
to the Citie.

Nicias and those that were with him attained the same
day to the Riuer *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his
Armie to sit downe vpon a certaine ground more eleuate
then the rest; where the *Syracusians* the next day ouertooke
and told him, That those with *Demosthenes* had yeelded E
themselves, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not
beleeuing

Demosthenes yeeldeth.

And after this
the Athenians
at last, after
a long time

A beleeuing it, tooke Truce for a Horseman to enquire the
truth. Vpon returne of the Horseman, and word that they
had yeelded, he sent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*,
saying, That he was content to compound on the part of
the *Athenians*, to repay whatsoever money the *Syracusians*
had laid out, so that his Army might be suffered to de-
part. And that till payment of the money were made, he
would deliuer them Hostages, *Athenians*, euery Hostage
rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* refusing
the condition, charged them, and hauing hemmed them in,
B plyed them with shot, as they had done the other Army,
from euery side, till euening. This part of the Armie
was also pinched with the want both of victuall and other
necessaries. Neuerthelesse obseruing the quiet of the night,
they were about to march. But no sooner tooke they
their Armes vp, then the *Syracusians* perceiuing it, gaue
the Alarme. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding them-
selves discouered, fate downe againe; all but 300, who
breaking by force through the guards, marched as farre as
they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day, led
C his Army forward, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates
still pressing them in the same manner, shooting and dar-
ting at them from euery side. The *Athenians* halted to get
the Riuer *Asinarus*, not onely because they were vrged on
euery side by the assault of the many Horsemen, and other
multitude, and thought to be more at ease when they were
ouer the Riuer, but out of wearinesse also, and desire to
drinke. When they were come vnto the Riuer, they rush-
ed in without any order, euery man struing who should
first get ouer. But the pressing of the Enemy, made the
D passage now more difficult. For being forced to take the
Riuer in heaps, they fell vpon and trampled one another
vnder their feet; and falling amongst the Speares, and
vntiles of the Armie, some perished presently, and others
catching hold one of another, were carried away together
downe the streame. And not only the *Syracusians* standing
along the farther banke being a steepe one, killed the *Athe-
nians* with their shot from aboue, as they were many of
them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the
hollow of the Riuer, but the *Peloponnesians* came also
E downe, and slew them with their Swords, and those e-
specially that were in the Riuer. And suddenly the
Ooo water

The offer of *Nicias* to re-
deeme his army, not ac-
cepted.

water was corrupted. Neuerthelesse they drunke it, foule A
as it was, with blood and mire, and many also fought for
it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the Riuer,
and the Armie was utterly defeated, part at the Riuer, and
part (if any gat away) by the Horsemen, Nicias yeelded
himselſe vnto Gylippus, (hauing more confidence in him
then in the Syracusians) To be for his owne person at the discre-
tion of him and the Lacedæmonians, and no further slaughter to
be made of the Souldiers. Gylippus from thenceforth comman-
ded to take prisoners. So the residue, except such as were
hidden from them (which were many) they carried aliue B
into the Citie. They sent also to pursue the 300. which
brake through their guards in the night, and tooke them.
That which was left together of this Armie, to the pub-
like, was not much; but they that were conueyed away
by stealth were very many, and all Sicily was filled with
them, because they were not taken, as those with Demo-
sthenes were, by composition. Besides, a great part of these
were slaine, for the slaughter at this time was exceeding
great, none greater in all the Sicilian Warre. They were
also not a few that dyed in those other assaults in their C
March. Neuerthelesse many also sloaped, some then pre-
sently, and some by running away after seruitude, the Ren-
dez-vous of whom was Casana.

The Syracusians and their Confederates, being come to-
gether, returned with their prisoners, all they could get,
and with the spoile, into the Citie. As for all other the
prisoners of the Athenians and their Confederates, they put
them into the * Quarries, as the safest custodie. But Nicias
and Demosthenes they killed, against Gylippus his will. For
Gylippus thought the victory would be very honourable, if D
ouer and aboue all his other successe, he could carry home
both the Generals of the Enemy to Lacedæmon. And it
fell out, that the one of them, Demosthenes, was their great-
est Enemy, for the things he had done in the * Island, and
at Pylus; and the other, vpon the same occasion, their great-
est friend; For Nicias had earnestly laboured to haue
those prisoners which were taken in the Island, to bee set at
liberty, by perswading the Athenians to the Peace. For
which cause the Lacedæmonians were inclined to loue him.
And it was principally in confidence of that, that he ren- E
dered himselſe to Gylippus. But certaine Syracusians, (as it is
repor-

* Andalusia.

* Sphacteria.

A reported) some of them for feare (because they had beene
tampering with him) left being put to the torture, hee
might bring them into trouble, whereas now they were
well enough; and others (especially the Corinthians) fea-
ring he might get away by corruption of one or other, (be-
ing wealthy) and worke them some mischief afresh, ha-
uing perswaded their Confederates to the same, killed him.
For these, or for causes neere vnto these, was hee put to
death, being the man that of all the Grecians of my time,
had least deserued to be brought to so great a degree of mi-
sery. As for those in the Quarries, the Syracusians handled
them at first but vngently. For in this hollow place, first
the Sunne and suffocating ayre (being without rooſe) an-
noyed them one way: and on the other side, the nights
comming vpon that heate, autumnall and cold, put them,
by reason of the alteration, into strange diseases. Especi-
ally, doing all things for want of roome, in one and the
same place, and the Carcasses of such as dyed of their
wounds, or change of ayre, or other like accident, lying to-
gether there on heaps. Also the smell was intollerable,
C besides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirst.
For for eight moneths together, they allowed them no
more but to euery man a * Cozyle of water by the day, and
two Cotiles of Corne. And what soeuer misery is probable
that men in such a place may suffer, they suffered. Some
70 dayes they liued thus thronged. Afterwards, retaining
the Athenians, and such Sicilians and Italians as were of the
Army with them, they sold the rest. How many were
taken in all, it is hard to say exactly; but they were 7000
at the fewest. And this was the greatest action that hap-
D ned in all this Warre, or at all, that we haue heard of a-
mongst the Grecians, being to the Victors most glorious,
and most calamitous to the vanquished. For being whol-
ly ouercome, in euery kinde, and receiuing small losse in
nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that euer they had,
perished (as they vse to say) with an vniuersall de-
struction. Few of many returned home. And
thus passed the businesse concer-
ning Sicily.

* A small measure, about
half our Pynt.

E

O o o z

THE

A



B THE
EIGHTH BOOK
OF THE HISTORIE
OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The Revolt of the Athenian Confederates, and the Offers made by Tisaphernes, and Pharnabazus, the Kings Lieutenants of the lower Asia, draw the Lacedæmonians to the Warre in Ionia, and Hellespont. First in Ionia, and the Prouinces of Tisaphernes, who by the Councell of Alcibiades, and continuance of Astyochus, hindereth their proceedings. Alcibiades in the meane while to make way for his returne into his country, giueth occasion of sedition about the gouernment, whence ensued the authority of the 400, vnder the pretext of the 5000; the recalling of Alcibiades by the Army, and at length by his countenance the deposing againe of the 400, and end of the Sedition. But in the meane time they lose Eubœa. Mindarus, Successor of Astyochus, finding himselfe abused by Tisaphernes, carrieth the Warre to Pharnabazus, into Hellespont, and there presently loseth a Battell to the Athenians before Abydus, being then Summer, and the 21 years of the Warre.

D



Hen the newes was told at Athens, they beleueed not a long time, though it were plainly related, and by those very Souldiers that escaped from the defeat it selfe, that all was so viterly lost, at it was. When they knew it, they were mightily offended with the Orators that furthered the Voyage, as if they themselues had neuer decreed it, They were angry also with those that gaue out Prophecies, and with the Soothsayers,

The feare and sorrow of the Athenians vpon the hearing of the newes.

Soothsayers, and with whosoever else had at first by any A
divination put them into hope that *Sicily* should be subdued. Every thing, from every place, grieved them; and feare and astonishment, the greatest that ever they were in, beset them round. For they were not onely grieved for the losse which both every man in particular, and the whole City sustained, of so many men of Armes, Horsemen, and serviceable men, the like whereof they saw was not left, but seeing they had neither Gallies in their Haven, nor money in their Treasurie, nor furniture in their Gallies, were even desperate at that present of their B
safety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily*, would come forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræum*, (especially after the vanquishing of so great a Navy) and that the Enemy here would surely now, with double preparation in every kinde, presse them to the utmost, both by Sea and Land, and be aided therein by their revolting Confederates. Nevertheless, as farre as their meanes would stretch, it was thought best to stand it out, and getting materials and money where they could have it, to make ready a Naue, and to make sure of their Confederates, especially those of *Eubœa*; and to introduce a greater frugality in the City, C
and to erect a Magistracie of the elder sort, as occasion should be offered, to præconsult of the businesse that passed. And they were ready, in respect of their present feare, (as is the Peoples fashion) to order every thing aright. And as they resolved this, so they did it. And the Summer ended.

The Athenians resolve to stand it out.

The end of the nineteenth Summer.

The Grecians take part all of them against the Athenians.

The Winter following, vpon the great overthrow of the Athenians in *Sicily*, all the Grecians were presently vp against them. Those who before were Confederates of D
neither side, thought fit no longer, though vncalled, to abstaine from the Warre, but to goe against the Athenians of their owne accord, as having not onely enery one severally this thought, that had the Athenians prospered in *Sicily*, they would afterwards have come vpon them also, but imagined withall, that the rest of the Warre would be but short, whereof it would be an honour to participate. And such of them as were Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, longed now more then ever, to be freed as soone as might be of their great toyle. But above all, the Cities E
subiect to the Athenians, were ready, even beyond their ability,

A bility, to revolt, as they that iudged according to their passion, without admitting reason in the matter, that the next Summer they were to remaine with victory. But the Lacedæmonians themselves tooke heart, not onely from all this, but also principally from that, that their Confederates in *Sicily*, with great power, having another Navy now necessarily added to their owne, would in all likelihood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And being every way full of hopes, they purposed without delay to fall close to the Warre, making account, if this B
were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more such dangers as the Athenians, if they had gotten *Sicily*, would have put them into, and also having pulled them downe, to have the principality of all Greece, now secure vnto themselves.

The hopes of the Lacedæmonians.

Whereupon Agis their King went out with a part of his Armie the same Winter from *Decelea*, and leuied money amongst the Confederates, for the building of a Navy. And turning into the *Melian* Gulfe vpon an old grudge, C
tooke a great Booty from the *Oenians*, which hee made money of, and forced those of *Phibiæ*, being *Abbaians*, and others in those parts, Subiects to the *Thessalians*, (the *Thessalians* complaining, and vnwilling) to give him Hostages, and Money. The Hostages he put into *Corinth*, and endeavoured to draw them into the League.

Agis leueth money.

And the Lacedæmonians imposed vpon the States confederate, the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to say] D
on their owne State, and on the *Beotians*, each 25. On the *Phoceans* and *Locrians*, 15. On the *Corinthians*, 15. On the *Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pellenians*, 10. And on the *Megaraens*, *Træzenians*, and *Hermionians*, 10. And put all things else in readinesse, presently with the Spring to beginne the Warre.

The Lacedæmonians appoint a Fleet of 100. Gallies, to be made ready amongst the Cities of League.

The Athenians also made their preparations, as they had designed, having gotten Timber, and built their Naue this same Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*, that their Corne-boats might come about in safety. Also they abandoned the Fort in *Laconia*, which they had built as they went by for *Sicily*. And generally where there appeared expence vpon any thing vnusefull, they contracted their charge.

The Athenians build their Navy, and contract their charges.

Whilest they were on both sides doing thus, there came vnto

The Eubœans offer to revolt to Agis.

The Lesbian officer to re-
uolt to Agis.

The Chians and Erythraeans
desire to revolt.

Tissaphernes Lieutenant of
the lower Asia, laboureth
to haue the Lacedaemonians
come vnto him.

Pharnabazus Lieutenant
of Hellespont, laboureth
the like for himselfe.

vnto Agis, about their revolt from the Athenians, first the A Ambassadors of the Euboeans. Accepting the motion, he sent for Alcarnenes the sonne of Stenelaidas, and for Melan- ibon, from Lacedaemon, to goe Commanders into Euboea. Whom, when he was come to him, with about 300 freed- men, he was now about to send ouer. But in the meane time came the Lesbians, they also desiring to revolt, and by the meanes of the Boeotians, Agis changed his former re- solution, and prepared for the revolt of Lesbos, deferring that of Euboea, and assigned them Alcarnenes, the same that should haue gone into Euboea, for their Gouver- nour. And the Boeotians promised them tenne Gallies, and Agis other tenne. Now this was done, without ac- quainting therewith the State of Lacedaemon. For Agis, as long as he was about Declea with the power he had, had the Law in his owne hands, to send what Armie, and whither he listed, and to leuy men and mony at his plea- sure. And at this time, the Confederates of him (as I may call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of the Lacedaemonians did them at home. For hauing the po- wer in his hands, he was terrible wherefoeuer he came. C And he was now for the Lesbians. But the Chians and Ery- thraeans, they also desiring to revolt, went not to Agis, but to the Lacedaemonians in the City, and with them went also an Ambassador from Tissaphernes, Lieutenant to King Darius in the low Countries of Asia. For Tissaphernes also instigated the Peloponnesians, and promised to pay their Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute accruing in his owne Province, for which he was in arrea- rage, because he could receiue nothing out of any of the Greeke Cities, by reason of the Athenians. And therefore he thought by weakning the Athenians, to receiue his Tri- butes the better, and withall to draw the Lacedaemonians into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had commanded, to kill or take aliue Amorges, Pissutbnes his bastard sonne, who was in rebellion against him about Ca- ria: The Chians therefore and Tissaphernes, followed this businesse ioyntly.

Caligetis the sonne of Laophon, a Magarean, and Timagoras the sonne of Athenagoras, a Cyzicene, both banished their owne Cities, and abiding with Pharnabazus the sonne of E Pharnaces came also about the same time to Lacedaemon, sent by

A by Pharnabazus, to procure a Fleet for the Hellespont, that he also, if he could, might cause the Athenian Cities in his Prouince to revolt for his Tributes sake, and be the first to draw the Lacedaemonians into league with the King. Iust the same things that were desired before by Tissaphernes. Now Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes treating apart, there was great canuassing at Lacedaemon, betweene the one side, that perswaded to send to Ionia and Chius, and the other, that would haue the Armie and Fleet goe first into the Helle- spont. But the Lacedaemonians indeed approued best by much of the businesse of the Chians, and of Tissaphernes. For with these cooperated Alcibiades, hereditary Guest and friend of Endius, the Ephore of that yeere, in the highest degree, in- somuch as in respect of that guesthood, Alcibiades his fa- mily receiued a Laconique name. For Endius was called Endius * Alcibiadis. Neuerthelesse the Lacedaemonians sent first one Phrynus, a man of those parts, to Chius, to see if the Gallies they had, were so many as they reported, and whether the Citie were otherwise so sufficient as it was said to be. And when the messenger brought backe word C that all that had bene said, was true, they receiued both the Chians and the Erythraeans presently into their League. and decreed to send them forty Gallies, there being at Chi- us, from such places as the Chians named, no lesse then 60 already. And of these at first they were about to send out tenne, with Melancredas for Admirall; but afterwards, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, for Melancredas they sent Chalcideus, and in stead of tenne Gallies, they went a- bout the making ready of fise onely, in Laconia. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth yeere of this Warre, written D by Thucydides.

In the beginning of the next Summer, because the Chians pressed to haue the Gallies sent away, and feared lest the Athenians should get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambassadors went out by stealth) the Lacedaemoni- as send away to Corinth three Spartans, to will them with all speed to transport their Gallies ouer the Isthmus, to the other Sea towards Athens, and to goe all to Chius, aswell those which Auz had made ready to goe to Lesbos, as the rest. The number of the Gallies of the League, which E were then there, being forty wanting one.

But Caligetis and Timagoras, who came from Pharna- bazus,

* The name of Endius his fa- ther was Alcibiades, to whom Clinias being Guest, for that cause gave the name of Alcibiades to his sonne, this Alcibiades Clinias.

THE TWENTH-
TIRTH YEERE.
The Lacedaemonians send
to Corinth, to hasten a-
way the Fleet to Chius.

* 4687 pounds 10 Shillings sterling.

The Confederates in councell at Corinth set downe an order for the Warre following, with which to beginne, and which to follow.

bazus, would have no part in this Fleet that went for *A Chius*; nor would deliver the Money, * twenty five Talents, which they had brought with them to pay for their setting forth; but made account to goe out with another Fleet afterwards by themselves.

When *Agis* saw that the *Lacedemonians* meant to send first to *Chius*, he resolved not of any other course himselfe, but the Confederates assembling at *Corinth*, went to councell upon the matter, and concluded thus, That they should goe first to *Chius*, vnder the command of *Chalcidæus* who was making ready the five Gallies in *Laconia*; And then, *B* to *Lesbos*, vnder the charge of *Alcarnenes*, intended also to be sent thither by *Agis*; and lastly into *Hellepont*, in which voyage they ordained that *Clæarchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias* should have the Command; and concluded to carry over the *Isthmus*, first the one halfe of their Gallies, and that those should presently put to Sea, that the *Athenians* might have their mindes more upon those, then on the other halfe to bee transported afterwards. For they determined to passe that Sea openly, concerning the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, in respect they had not any Navy of importance yet appearing. As they resolved, so presently they carried over one and twenty Gallies. But when the rest vrged to put to Sea, the *Corinthians* were unwilling to goe along, before they should have ended the celebration of the *Isthmian* Holidayes; then come. Heerevpon *Agis* was content that they for their parts should obserue the *Isthmian* Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet vpon himselfe as his owne.

The *Athenians* vnderstand the purpose of the *Chians* to revolt.

But the *Corinthians* not agreeing to that, and the time passing away, the *Athenians* got intelligence the easilier *D* of the practice of the *Chians*, and sent thither *Aristocrates*, one of their Generals, to accuse them of it. The *Chians* denying the matter, hee commanded them, for their better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for their ayde, due by the League; and they sent seven. The cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not acquainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscious not willing to vndergoe the enmity of the multitude, without having strength first, and their not expecting any longer the coming of the *Lacedemonians*, because they *E* had so long delayed them.

In

The *Athenians* drive the *Peloponnesian* Gallies into *Piræus*, a desert Haven, and there besiege them.

A In the meane time, the *Isthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word sent them of it) came and saw; and the businesse of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence, they tooke order presently, that the Fleet might not passe from *Cenchreæ* vndiscovered. And after the Holidayes were ouer, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chius*, vnder the conduct of *Alcarnenes*. And the *Athenians* at first, with equall number came vp to them, and endeouored to draw them out into the maine Sea. But seeing the *Peloponnesians* followed not farre, but *B* turned another way, the *Athenians* went also from them. For the seven Gallies of *Chius*, which were part of this number, they durst not trust. But afterwards hauing manned thirty seven others, they gaue chase to the Enemy by the shore, and draue them into *Piræus*, in the Territorie of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a desert Haven, and the utmost vpon the Confines of *Epidauria*.) One Gallie that was farre from Land, the *Peloponnesians* lost, the rest they brought together into the Haven. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall setting *C* their men aland, mightily troubled and disordered them, brake their Gallies vpon the shore, and slew *Alcarnenes* their Commander. And some they lost of their owne.

The fight being ended, they assigned a sufficient number of Gallies to lye opposite to those of the Enemy, and the rest to lye vnder a little Iland, not farre off, in which also they encamped, and sent to *Athens* for supply. For the *Peloponnesians* had with them for ayde of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after, diuers others *D* of the Inhabitants thereabouts. But when they considered that the guarding of them in a desert place would be painefull, they knew not what course to take, and once they thought to haue set the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men, till some good occasion should bee offered for their escape. And *Agis* also, when he heard the newes, sent vnto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The *Lacedemonians* hauing beene aduertised of the departure of these Gallies from the *Isthmus*, (for the *Ephores* had commanded *Alcarnenes*, when he put to Sea, to send him

The voyage of *Chalcidæus* and *Alcibiades* to *Chius*.

P p p 2

word

word by a Horseman) were minded presently to haue sent away the five Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcidius* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to goe out, came the newes of the Gallies chased into *Peiræus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* Warre, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their owne, but also to call backe againe some of those that were already at Sea.

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* againe, not to feare the Voyage; alleging that they would make haste, and be there before the *Chians* should haue heard of the misfortune of the Fleet. And that as soone as he should arriue in *Ionia* himselfe, he could easily make the Cities there to reuolt, by declaring vnto them the weaknesse of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedæmonians*; wherein he should be thought more worthy to bee belieued then any other. Moreouer to *Endius* hee said, that it would be an honour in particular to him, that *Ionia* should reuolt, and the King be made Confederate to the *Lacedæmonians*, by his owne meanes, and not to haue it the mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So, hauing preuailed with *Endius* and the other *Ephores*, he tooke Sea with 5 Gallies, together with *Chalcideus* of *Lacedæmon*, and made haste.

About the same time, came backe from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which hauing ayded *Gylippus* in that Warre, were intercepted by the way, about *Lewcadia*, and euill intreated by twenty seuen Gallies of *Athens*, that watched thereabouts, vnder the command of *Hippocles* the sonne of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should returne out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, sauing one, auoyding the *Athenians*, were arriued in *Corinth* before.

Chalcideus and *Alcibiades*, as they sayled, kept prisoner euery man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be giuen of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians*, that aduised them to goe to the Citie, without sending them word before, they came vpon the *Chians* suddenly and vnexpected. It

put

Sixteene Gallies of *Peloponnesus* intercepted, and hardly handled, in their returne from *Sicily*, by the *Athenians*, arriue in *Corinth*.

put the *Commons* into much wonder and astonishment, but the *Few* had so ordered the matter beforehand, that an *Assembly* chanced to be holden at the same time. And when *Chalcideus*, and *Alcibiades* had spoken in the same, and told them that many Gallies were comming to them, but not that those other Gallies were besieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* first, and afterwards the *Erythraians*, reuolted from the *Athenians*.

After this, they went with three Gallies to *Clazomenæ*, and made that City to reuolt also. And the *Clazomenians* presently crossed ouer to the Continent, and there fortified *Polichna*, least they should need a retyring place, from the little Island wherein they dwelt. The rest also, all that had reuolted, fell to fortifying, and making of preparation for the Warre.

This newes of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*; who conceiuing themselves to be now beset with great and euident danger, and that the rest of the Confederates, seeing so great a City to reuolt, would be no longer quiet, in this their present feare, decreed that those * 1000 Talents, which through all this Warre, they had affected to keepe vntouched, forthwith abrogating the punishment ordained for such, as spake or gaue their suffrages to stirre it, should now be vsed, and therewith Gallies, not a few, manned. They decreed also to send thither out of hand, vnder the command of *Strombichides* the sonne of *Diotimus*, 8 Gallies, of the number of those that besieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*, the which, hauing forsaken their charge to giue chase to the Gallies that went with *Chalcideus*, and and not able to ouertake them, were now returned, and shortly after also to send *Thraicles* to help the with 12 Gallies more, which also had departed from the same guard vpon the Enemy. And those 7 Gallies of *Chius*, which likewise kept watch at *Peiræus* with the rest, they fetched from thence, and gaue the bondmen that serued in them their liberty, and the chaynes to those that were free. And in stead of all those Gallies, that kept guard vpon the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, they made ready other with all speed in their places, besides 30 more which they intended to furnish out afterwards. Great was their diligence, and nothing was of light importance, that they went about for the recovery of *Chius*.

Strom-

Chius and *Erythra* reuolt.

Clazomenæ reuolteth.

The *Athenians* abrogate the decree touching the 1000 Talents reserved for the extremities of State, and furnish out a Fleet with the money. * 107500 pounds sterling.

Strombichides in the meane time arrived at *Samos*, and taking into his company, one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and entreated them not to stirre. But towards *Teus*, was *Chalcideus* also comming with 23 Gallies from *Chius*, and with him also the Land-forces of the *Clazomenians*, and *Erythraeans*, whereof *Strombichides* hauing been aduertized, he put forth againe, before his arriual, and standing off at Sea, when he saw the many Gallies that came from *Chius*, he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land-forces, the *Teans* would not at the first admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians*, they brought them in. And these for the most part held their hands for a while, expecting the returne of *Chalcideus* from the chase; but when he stayed somewhat long, they fell of themselues to the demolishing of the wall built about the Citie of *Teus*, by the *Athenians*, towards the Continent; wherein they were also helped by some few *Barbarians* that came downe thither, vnder the leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*.

Chalcideus, and *Alcibiades*, when they had chased *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and left them in *Chius*, in stead of whom they manned with Mariners of *Chius*, both those, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus*, with intent to cause it to reuolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades*, that was acquainted with the principall *Milesians*, was to preuent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponnesus*, and to turne these Cities first, that the honour of it might be ascribed to the *Chians*, to himselfe, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promised) to *Endius*, that set them out, as hauing brought most of the Cities to reuolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of those Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So these, for the greatest part of their way vndiscouered, and arriuing, not much sooner then *Strombichides*, and *Thrasicles*, (who now chancing to be present with those 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) caused the *Milesians* to reuolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heeles with 19 Gallies, being shut out by the *Milesians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Island ouer against the City.

Presently vpon the reuolt of *Miletus*, was made the first League

Teus reuolteth.

Miletus reuolteth.

A League betweene the King, and the *Lacedaemonians* by *Tissaphernes* and *Chalcideus*, as followeth.

The *Lacedaemonians* and their Confederates, haue made a League with the King and *Tissaphernes*, on these Articles.

Whatsoever Territory or Cities the King possesseth, and his Ancestors haue possessed, the same are to remaine the Kings.

Whatsoever money or other profit redounded to the *Athenians* from their Cities, the King, and the *Lacedaemonians* are ioynly to hinder, so as the *Athenians* may receiue nothing from thence, neither money nor other thing.

The King and the *Lacedaemonians*, and their Confederates, are to make ioynly Warre against the *Athenians*. And without consent of both parts, it shall not be lawfull to lay downe the Warre against the *Athenians*, neither for the King, nor for the *Lacedaemonians* and their Confederates.

If any shall reuolt from the King, they shall be enemies to the *Lacedaemonians*, and their Confederates. And if any shall reuolt from the *Lacedaemonians*, and their Confederates, they shall in like manner be enemies to the King.

C This was the League.

Presently after this, the *Chians* set out ten Gallies more, and went to *Anaa*, both to hearken what became of the businesse at *Miletus*, and also to cause the Cities there, abouts to reuolt. But word being sent them from *Chalcideus*, to goe backe, and that *Amorges* was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the Temple of *Iupiter*. Being therethey descryed 16 Gallies more, which had beene sent out by the *Athenians* vnder the charge of *Diomedon*, after the putting to Sea of those with *Thrasicles*, vpon sight of whom they fled, one Gally to *Ephesus*, the rest towards *Teos*. Foure of them, the *Athenians* tooke, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore, the rest escaped into the City of *Teos*. And the *Athenians* went away againe towards *Samos*.

The *Chians* putting to Sea againe, with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land-forces, caused first *Lebedus* to reuolt, and then *Ere*. And afterwards returned, both with their Fleet and Land-men, euery one to his owne.

E About the same time, the twenty Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which the *Athenians* had formerly chased into *Peireus*, and

League betweene *Tissaphernes* and the *Lacedaemonians*.

Lebedus and *Ere* reuolt.

The *Peloponnesians* in *Peireus* escape.

and against whom they now lay with a like number, suddenly forced their passage, and having the victory in fight, tooke foure of the Athenian Gallies, and going to *Cenchreae*, prepared afresh for their voyage to *Chios* and *Ionis*. At which time there came also unto them from *Lacedemon*, for Commander, *Astyocheus*, who was now Admirall of the whole Navy.

When the Land-men were gone from *Tos*, *Tisaphernes* himselfe came thither with his Forces, and he also demolished the Wall, as much as was left standing, and went his way againe.

Not long after the going away of him, came thither *Diomedon* with tenne Gallies of *Athens*, and having made a Truce with the *Teians*, that he might also bee receiued, he put to Sea againe, and kept the shore to *Ere*, and assaulted it, but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the same time, that the Commons of *Samos*, together with the *Athenians* who were there with three Gallies, made an insurrection against the great men, and slew of them in all about two hundred. And having banished foure hundred more, and distributed amongst themselves their Lands and Houses, (the *Athenians* having now, as assured of their fidelity, decreed them their liberty) they administred the affaires of the Citie from that time forward, by themselves, no more communicating with the * *Geomori*, nor permitting any of the Common people to marry with them.

After this, the same Summer, the *Chians*, as they had begunne, perseuering in their earnestnesse to bring the Cities to revolt, even without the *Lacedemonians*, with their single forces, and desiring to make as many fellowes of their danger, as they were able, made Warre by themselves with thirteene Gallies, against *Lesbos*, (which was according to what was concluded by the *Lacedemonians*, namely to goe thither in the second place, and thence into the *Hellepont*.) And withall, the Land-forces, both of such *Peloponnesians* as were present, and of their Confederates thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomena* and *Cyme*. These vnder the command of *Eualas* a *Spartan*, and the Gallies, of *Deiniadas*, a man of the parts thereabouts. The Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, caused that Citie to revolt first. *

The

Astyocheus Admirall of the *Peloponnesians*.

Tisaphernes razeth the remainder of the Athenian Wall at *Tos*.

* The Nobility of *Samos*, so called, for that they shared the Land amongst them.

The *Chians* endeavour to turne *Lesbos* from the *Athenians* to the *Lacedemonians*, with their single power, and cause first *Methymna* then *Mitylene* to revolt.

* It seemeth that something is here wanting, and supplied thus by *Fran. Porta*. [Then the *Chians*, having foure Gallies, went to *Mitylene* with the rest, and caused this Citie also to revolt.]

A Now *Astyocheus* the *Lacedemonian* Admirall, having set forth as he intended from *Cenchreae*, arrived at *Chios*. The third day after his coming thither, came *Leon* and *Diomedon* into *Lesbos*, with 25 Gallies of *Athens*; for *Leon* came with a supply of tenne Gallies more, from *Athens* afterwards. *Astyocheus* in the evening of the same day, taking with him one Gally more of *Chios*, tooke his way toward *Lesbos*, to helpe it what he could, and put in at *Pyrria*, and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mitylene* was taken by the *Athenians*, even with the shout of their voyces. For the *Athenians* coming unexpected, entered the Haven, and having beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*, disembarked, and overcame those that made head against them, and wonne the Citie. When *Astyocheus* heard this, both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies that came from *Methymna* with *Eubulus*, (which having beene left there before, as soone as *Mitylene* was lost, fled, and three of them chanced to meete with him, for one was taken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mitylene* no longer, but having caused *Eressus* to revolt, and armed the Souldiers he had aboard, made them to march toward *Antissa* and *Methymna* by Land, vnder the conduct of *Eremoncus*, and he himselfe with his owne Gallies, and those 3 of *Chios*, rowed thither along the shore, hoping that the *Methymneans*, vpon sight of his Forces, would take heart, and continue in their revolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things went against him, he imbarqued his Army, and returned to *Chios*. And the Landmen that were aboard, and should haue gone into *Hellepont*, went againe into their Cities. After this came to them sixe Gallies to *Chios*, of those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchreae*. The *Athenians*, when they had reestablished the State of *Lesbos*, went thence, and tooke *Policbna*, which the *Clazomenians* had fortified in the Continent, and brought them all backe againe into the Citie, which is in the Island, save onely the authors of the revolt, (for these got away to *Daphnus*) and *Clazomena* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*. The same Summer, those *Athenians* that with twenty Gallies lay in the Ile of *Islada*, before *Mithras*, landing in the Territory of *Asterus*, at *Panormus*, slew *Chalcideus*, the *Lacedemonian* Commander, that came out against him, but with a few, and set vp a *Trophie*, and the third

The *Athenians* recover *Mitylene*.

Astyocheus seeing hee could doe no good at *Lesbos*, returned to *Chios*.

The *Athenians* recover *Clazomena*.

Chalcideus slayne.

day after departed. But the *Milesians* pulled downe A the Trophy, as erected where the *Athenians* were not Masters.

Leon and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian* Gallies that were at *Lesbos*, made Warre vpon the *Chians* by Sea, from the Iles called *Oinusse*, which lye before *Chius*, and from *Sidussa*, and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythraea* and from *Lesbos*. They that were aboard, were men of Armes of the Roll, compelled to serue in the Fleet. With these they landed at *Cardamyle*; and hauing ouerthrowne the *Chians* that made head, in a Battell at *Bolissus*, and slaine many of them, they recouered from the Enemy all the places of that quarter. And againe they ouercame them in another Battell at *Phanae*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the *Chians* went out no more to fight; by which meanes the *Athenians* made spoile of their Territory, excellently well furnished. For except it were the *Lacedemonians*, the *Chians* were the onely men that I haue heard of, that had ioynd aduisednesse to prosperity, and the more their Citie increased, had carried the more respect in the administration thereof to assure it. Nor ventured they now to reuolt (lest any man should thinke, that in this act at least they regarded not what was the safest) till they had many and strong Confederates, with whose helpe to try their fortune; nor till such time as they perceiued the People of *Athens* (as they themselves could not deny) to haue their estate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extreme weakness.

And if through humane misreckoning, they miscarried in ought, they erred with many others, who in like manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* D would quickly haue beene ouerthrowne.

Being therefore shut vp by Sea, and hauing their Lands spoyled, some within vnderooke to make the Citie returne vnto the *Athenians*. Which though the Magistrates perceiued, yet they themselves stirred not, but hauing receiued *Astyochus* into the City, with foure Gallies that were with him from *Erythraea*, they tooke aduice together, how by taking Hostages, or some other gentle way, to make them giue ouer the Conspiracy. Thus stood the businesse with the *Chians*.

In the end of this Summer (a thousand five hundred men

The *Athenians* make sharp war vpon *Chius*.

Praise of the *Chians*.

A men of Armes of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Argos* (for the *Athenians* had put Armour vpon five hundred Light-armed of the *Argiues*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Onomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Samos*, and crossing ouer to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milesians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Armes of their owne, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxilial strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (Tissaphernes himselfe being also there with his Cavallery) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argiues*, who made one Wing of themselves, aduancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the enemy, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustaine their charge, were by the *Milesians* ouercome, and lost no lesse then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first ouerthrowne the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten backe the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milesians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the *Argiues*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Towne) sat downe with their Armes, as being now masters of the Field, close vnder the Wall of the Citie. It fell out in this Battell, that on both sides the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* ouercame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milesians* the *Argiues*. The *Athenians*, after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Towne with a Wall, supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Cities would easily come in. In the meane time it was told them about twi-light, that the five and fifty Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to helpe to consummate the subuersion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracuse*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had beene preparing in *Peloponnesus* being then also ready, they were, both these and the others, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to be conducted by him to *Astyochus* the Admirall. And they put in first at *Eleus*, E an Iland ouer against *Miletus*, and being aduertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Towne,

The *Athenians* fight with the *Milesians*, and beginne to besiege the City.

The *Athenians* rise from *Miletus*, vpon the coming of 55 Gallies from *Peloponnesus*.

they went from thence into the Gulfe of *Iasus*, to learne A how the affaires of the *Milefians* stood: *Alcibiades* comming a horsebacke to *Teichiussa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in which part of the Gulfe the *Peloponnesian* Gallies lay at Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battell; for *Alcibiades* was with the *Milefians*, and with *Tissaphernes* present in it. And he exhorted them (vnlesse they meant to lose what they had in *Ionia*, and the whole businesse) to succour *Miletus* with all speed, and not to suffer it to be taken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to goe the next morning and relieue it. *Phrynichus*, when hee B had certaine word from *Derus*, of the arriuall of those Gallies, his Colleagues aduising to stay, and fight it out with their Fleet, said, that he would neither do it himselfe, nor suffer them to doe it, or any other, as long as he could hinder it. For seeing he might fight with the hereafter, when they should know against how many Gallies of the Enemy, & with what addition to their owne, sufficiently, and at leasure made ready, they might do it; he would neuer, he said, for feare of being vpbraided with basenesse, (for it was no basenesse for the *Athenians* to let their Navy giue way C vpon occasion; but by what meanes soeuer it should fall out, it would be a great basenesse to be beaten) be swayed to hazard battell against reason, and not only to dishonour the State, but also to cast it into extreme danger. Seeing that since their late losses, it hath scarce bene fit, with their strongest preparation, willingly, no nor vrged by precedent necessity, to vndertake, how then without constraint to seeke out voluntary dangers? Therefore he commanded them with all speede to take aboard those that were wounded, and their Land-men, and whatsoever V. D tensiles they brought with them but to leaue behind whatsoever they had taken in the territory of the Enemy, to the end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off for *Samos*, and thence, when they had all their Fleete together to make out against the Enemy, as occasion should be offered.

As *Phrynichus* aduised this, so he put it in execution, and was esteemed a wise man, not then onely, but afterwards, nor in this onely, but in whatsoever else he had the ordering of. Thus the *Athenians* presently in the euening, with their victory vnperfect, dislodged from before *Miletus*. E

From

A From *Samos*, the *Argiues* in haste, and in anger for their ouerthrow, went home.

The *Peloponnesians* setting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichiussa*, put in at *Miletus*, and staid there one day. The next day they tooke with them those Gallies of *Chius*, which had formerly been chased together with *Chalcidens*, and meant to haue returned to *Teichiussa*, to take aboard such necessities as they had left a Shore; But as they were going, *Tissaphernes* came to them with his Land-men, and perswaded them to set vpon *Iasus*, where *Amorges* the Kings Enemy then lay. Whereupon they assaulted *Iasus* vpon a sodaine, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) tooke it. The greatest praise in this action was given to the *Syracusians*. Hauing taken *Amorges*, the bastard sonne of *Pissuthnes*, but a Rebelle to the King, the *Peloponnesians* deliuered him to *Tissaphernes*, to carry him, if he would, to the King, as he had order to doe. The City they pillaged, wherein, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of C *Amorges*, they receiued, without doing them hurt, into their owne Army, being for the most part *Peloponnesians*. The Towne it selfe they deliuered to *Tissaphernes*, with all the prisoners, as well free, as bond, vpon composition with him, at a Darique stater by the poll. And so they returned to *Miletus*. And from hence they sent *Pedaritus* the sonne of *Leon*, whom the *Lacedemonians* had sent hither to to be Gouvernour of *Chius*, to *Erythrae*, and with him, the bands that had ayded *Amorges*, by Land, and made *Philip* Gouvernour there, in *Miletus*. And so this Summer D ended.

The next Winter *Tissaphernes*, after he had put a Garrison into *Iasus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one moneths pay, (as was promised on his part at *Lacedamon*) he gaue vnto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique * Drachma a man by the day. But for the rest of the time he would pay but * 3 oboles, till he had asked the Kings pleasure; and if the King commanded it, then he said he would pay them the full Drachma. Neuertheless vpon the contradiction of *Hermocrates* Generall of the *Syracusians* (for *Theramenes* was but slacke in exacting pay, as not being Generall, but onely to deliuer the Gallies that came

The *Peloponnesians* and *Tissaphernes*, take *Iasus*, wherein was *Amorges*, Rebelle to the King, whom they take prisoner.

The end of the 20 Summer.

* 7 pence half penny, of our money.

* 3 pence half penny farthing. This diminution of their stipend, proceeded from the counsell which *Alcibiades* gaue to *Tissaphernes*, as is hereafter declared.

came with him, to *Astyochus*.) It was agreed that but for A
the * five Gallies that were ouer and aboue, they should
haue more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies, he al-
lowed three Talents a moneth, and to as many, as should
be more then that number, after the same proportion.

The same Winter the Athenians that were at *Samos*, (for
there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with
Charminus, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon*, their Commanders)
hauiug gathered together their Gallies, as well those that
had been at *Chius*, as all the rest, concluded, distributing to
euery one his charge by Lot, to goe lye before *Miletus* with B
a Fleet; but against *Chius*, to send out both a Fleet, and
an Army of Landmen. And they did so. For *Strombichi-*
des *Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies, and
part of those 1000 men of Armes that went to *Mile-*
tus, which they caried along with them in vessels for trans-
portation of Souldiers, according to their Lot, went to
Chius, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies,
were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus*.

Astyochus, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages
in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that
was come with *Theramenes*, and that the Articles of the C
League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gaue ouer that bu-
sines; and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*,
went thence, and assaulted *Pteleum*, but not being able to
take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomenae*. There hee
summoned those within to yeeld, with offer to such of
them as fauoured the Athenians, that they might go vp and
dwell at *Daphnus*. And *Tamos* the Deputy Lieutenant of
Ionis, offered them the same. But they not hearkning
thereunto, he made an assault vpon the Citie being vnwal- D
led, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea againe,
and with a mighty Wind, was himselfe carried to *Phocaea*,
and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele-*
and *Drimysa*, Ilands that lye ouer against *Clazomenae*. Af-
ter they had stayed there 8 dayes in regard of the Winds,
spoyling and destroying, and partly taking aboard what-
soeuer goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went
afterwards to *Phocaea*, and *Cyme*, to *Astyochus*. While *Asty-*
ochus was there, the Ambassadors of the Lesbians came E
vnto him, desiring to reuolt from the Athenians, and as for
him, they preuailed with him, but seeing the *Corinthians*
and

* If they had been five
Gallies less, that is, but 50
as they were 55, their pay
had been 4 oboles a man, at
3 Talents to the 50 Gallies
for a moneth. On how many
men paid in a Gally, it se-
meth but 18.
The Athenians send part
of the Fleet, against
Chius, and part against
Miletus.

Astyochus goeth from *Chius*
to *Clazomenae*, thence to
Phocaea, and *Cyme*.

The Lesbians offer to
turne to *Astyochus*.

A and the other Confederates were vnwilling, in respect of
their former ill successe there, hee put to Sea for *Chius*.
Whither, after a great Tempest, his Gallies, some from
one place, and some from another, at length arrived
all.

After this, *Pedaritus*, who was now at *Erythrae*, whither
he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came ouer with his
Forces into *Chius*. Besides those Forces hee brought ouer
with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the five
Gallies that came thither with *Chalcideus*, and were left
B there to the number of five hundred, and Armour to
Arm them.

Now some of the Lesbians hauiug promised to reuolt,
Astyochus communicated the matter with *Pedaritus* and the
Chians, alleaging how meete it would be to goe with a
Fleet, and make *Lesbos* to reuolt, for that they should ey-
ther get more Confederates, or fayling, they should at least
weaken the Athenians. But they gaue him no eare; and
for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pedaritus* told him plainly, he should
haue none of them. Whereupon *Astyochus* taking with
C him five Gallies of *Corinth*, a sixth of *Megara*, one of *Her-*
mione, and those of *Laconia* which he brought with him,
went towards *Miletus* to his Charge; mightily threatning
the *Chians*, in case they should neede him, not to helpe
them.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythraea*, hee stayed
there; and the Athenians from *Samos* lay on the other side
of the point, the one not knowing that the other was so
neere. *Astyochus*, vpon a Letter sent him from *Pedaritus*,
signifying that there were come certaine *Erythraean* Cap-
D tines dismissed from *Samos*, with designe to betray *Erythrae*,
went presently backe to *Erythrae*, so little he missed of fal-
ling into the hands of the Athenians. *Pedaritus* also went
ouer to him, and hauiug narrowly enquired touching these
seeming Traytors, and found that the whole matter was
but a pretence, which the men had vsed for their escape
from *Samos*, they acquitted them, and departed, one to
Chius, the other, as hee was going before, towards *Mile-*
tus.

In the meane time, the Army of the Athenians beeing
E come about by Sea from *Corycus*, to *Argenum*, lighted on
three long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they saw, they
presently

Astyochus, and *Pedaritus*
the Gouernour of *Chius*
disagree.

The Athenian Gallies tof-
ted with Tempest.

presently chased. But there arose a great Tempest, and the long Boats of Chius with much adoe recovered the Harbour. But of the Athenian Gallies, especially such as followed them furthest, there perished three, driven ashore at the Citie of Chius; and the men that were aboard them, were part taken, and part slain; the rest of the Fleet escaped into a Haven called Phonicus, vnder the Hill Mimas; from whence they got afterwards to Lesbos, and there fortified.

The same Winter, Hippocrates setting out from Peloponnesus with tenne Gallies of Thurium, commanded by Dorieus the sonne of Diagoras, with two others, and with one Gallie of Laconia, and one of Syracuse, went to Cnidus. This City was now revolted from Tissaphernes: and the Peloponnesians that lay at Miletus hearing of it, commanded that (the one halfe of their Gallies remaining for the guard of Cnidus) the other halfe should goe about Triopium, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from Egypt. This Triopium is a Promontory of the Territory of Cnidus, lying out in the Sea, and consecrated to Apollo. The Athenians vpon aduertisement hereof, setting forth from Samos, tooke those Gallies that kept guard at Triopium, but the men that were in them escaped to Land. After this they went to Cnidus, which they assaulted, and had almost taken, being without Wall, and the next day they assaulted it againe; but being lesse able to hurt it now then before, because they had fenced it better this night, and the men also were gotten into it, that fled from their Gallies vnder Triopium, they invaded and wasted the Cnidian Territory, and so went backe to Samos.

About the same time, Astyochus being come to the Navy at Miletus, the Peloponnesians had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not onely sufficient pay, but the Souldiers also had store of money, yet remaining of the pillage of Iasus. And the Milesians underwent the Warre with a good will. Neuerthelesse the former Articles of the League made by Chalcidens with Tissaphernes seemed defectiue, and not so aduantageous to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones, in the presence of Tissaphernes, which were these.

The Athenians take the Gallies of the Peloponnesians, sent to wait in the Ships of Corne from Egypt to Cnidus.

They assault the City of Cnidus, but cannot win it.

A The Agreement of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, with King Darius and his children, and with Tissaphernes, for league and amity, according to the Articles following.

Whatsoever Territories or Cities doe belong vnto King Darius; or vnto his Fathers, or his Ancestours; Against those shall neither the Lacedæmonians goe to make Warre; nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the Lacedæmonians, nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King Darius, nor any vnder his Dominion, make Warre vpon; or any way annoy the Lacedæmonians, or any of the Lacedæmonian Confederates.

If the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates shall neede any thing of the King, or the King of the Lacedæmonians, or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to doe, that if they doe it, shall be good.

They shall, both of them, make Warre ioyntly against the Athenians and their Confederates; And when they shall giue ouer the Warre, they shall also doe it ioyntly.

Whatsoever Army shall be in the Kings Countrey, sent for by the King, the King shall defray.

O If any of the Cities, comprehended in the League made with the King, shall invade the Kings Territories, like rest shall oppose them; and defend the King to the utmost of their power. And if any City of the Kings, or vnder his Dominion, shall invade the Lacedæmonians, or their Confederates, the King shall make opposition, and defend them to the utmost of his power.

After this accord made, Theramenes deliuered his Galley into the hands of Astyochus, and putting to Sea in a light-horseman, is no more seene.

The Athenians that were now come with their Armie from Lesbos to Chius, and were Masters of the Field, and of the Sea; fortified Delphium, a place both strong to the Landward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not farre from the Citie itselfe of Chius. And the Chians, as hauing bene disheartned in diuers former Battels, and tocherwise, not onely, not mutually well affected, but jealous one of another, (for Thodorus and his Complices, had bin put to death by Pedaritus; for Anticlyme, and the rest of the City was kept in awe, but by

The second League betwene the Lacedæmonians and the King of Persia.

The Athenians send for Astyochus.

Theramenes goeth to Sea in a Light-horseman, and is cast away.

The Chians in distresse, send for Ayde to Astyochus.

The Athenians put Thodorus and his Complices to death.

R r r

force,

force, and for a time) stirred not against them. And for A the causes mentioned, not conceiving themselves, neither with their owne strength, nor with the helpe of those that *Pedarius* had with him, sufficient to giue them battell, they sent to *Miletus*, to require aide from *Astyocheus*. Which when he denied them, *Pedarius* sent Letters to *Lacedæmon*, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the affaires of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Also their Fleet at *Samos* went often out, against the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*; but when theirs would neuer come out of the Harbour to encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay still. B

The same Winter, about the Solstice, went out from *Peloponnesus* towards *Ionia*, those 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetis* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antisthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* sent eleuen *Spartans* more, to bee of counsell with *Astyocheus*, whereof *Lichas* the sonne of *Arcefilas* was one. These had Commission, that when they should bee arriued at *Miletus*, besides their C generall care to order euery thing to the best, they should send away these Gallies, cyther the same, or more, or fewer, into the *Hellepont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they so thought fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the same eleuen, if they thought it meete, should put *Astyocheus* from his Charge, and ordaine *Antisthenes* in his place: for they had him in suspicion for the Letters of *Pedarius*.

These Gallies holding their course from *Malea* D through the maine Sea, and arriuing at *Melos*, lighted on tenne Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they tooke, but without the men, and fired them.

After this, because they feared lest those *Athenian* Gallies that escaped from *Melos*, should giue notice of their comming, to those in *Samos*, (as also it fell out) they changed their course, and went towards *Croto*, and hauing made their Voyage the longer, that it might be the safer, they put in at *Caunus* in *Asia*. Now from thence, as being in a place of safety, they sent a Messenger to the Fleet E at *Miletus* for a Conuoy.

The

A The *Chians* and *Pedarius* about the same time, notwithstanding their former repulle, and that *Astyocheus* was still backward, sent messengers to him, desiring him to come with his whole Fleet, to helpe them being besieged, and not to suffer the greatest of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionia*, to be thus shut vp by Sea, and rauaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* hauing many slaues, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom for their offences they the more vngently punished because of their number, many of them, as soone as the *Athenians* appeared to be setled in their fortifications, ran ouer presently to them, and were they, that knowing the territory so well, did it the greatest spoile. Therefore the *Chians* said he must helpe them, whilst there was hope and possibility to do it. *Delphinium* being still in fortifying, and vnfurnished, and greater fences being in making, both about their Campe and Fleet. *Astyocheus* though he meant it not before, because he would haue made good his threats, yet when he saw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to haue relieved them.

But in the meane time came the messenger from the 27 C Gallies, and from the *Lacedæmonian* Counsellours, that were come to *Caunus*. *Astyocheus* therefore esteeming the wasting in of these Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the safe comming in of those *Lacedæmonians*, who were to looke into his actions, a businesse that ought to be preferred before all other, presently gaue ouer his iourney for *Chius*, and went towards *Caunus*.

As he went by the Coast, he landed at *Cos* *Meropidis*, being vnwalled, and throwne downe by an Earth-quake, D which had hapned there, the greatest verily in mans memorie, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountaines, and ouerrunning the Countrey, made bootie of all that came in his way, sauing of freemen, and those he dismissed. From *Cos* he went by night to *Cnidus*: but found it necessary, by the aduice of the *Cnidians*, not to land his men there, but to follow, as he was, after those 20 Gallies of *Athens*, wherwith *Charminus* one of the *Athenian* Generals gone out fro *Samos*, stood watching for those 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponnesus*, the same that *Astyocheus* himselfe was going to conuoy in. For they at *Samos* had had intelligence from *Miletus* of their comming, and E

R r r 2

Charminus

The *Chians* distressed by *Astyocheus*.*Astyocheus* is diuerted from helping the *Chians*, and goeth to wait in the 27 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, that lay at *Caunus*.*Astyocheus* refuseth to ayde them, and is complained on by *Pedarius* his Letters to the State.The Gallies that were provided for *Pharnabazus* set forth towards *Ionia*.*Antisthenes* and 11 other *Spartans* sent with absolute authority into *Ionia*.They arrive at *Caunus* in *Asia*.

Charminus was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, *A* and the Coast of *Lycia*: For by this time hee knew that they were at *Caunus*. *Astyocheus* therefore desiring to outgoe the report of his comming, went as he was, to *Syme*, hoping to finde those Gallies out from the shore. But a shoure of raine, together with the cloudinesse of the Skie, made his Gallies to misse their course in the darke, and disordered them.

The next morning, the Fleet being scattered, the left Wing was manifestly discryed by the *Athenians*, whilest the rest wandred yet about the Island: And thereupon *B Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth against them with twenty Gallies, supposiug they had beene the same Gallies they were watching for, from *Caunus*. And presently charging, sunke three of them, and hurt others, and were superiour in the fight, till such time as, contrary to their expectation, the greater part of the Fleet came in sight, and enclozed them about. Then they betooke themselves to flight, and with the losse of sixe Gallies, the rest escaped into the Island of *Tenaglossa*; and from thence to *Halicarnassus*.

After this the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and ioyning with those seuen and twenty Gallies that came from *Caunus*, went all together to *Syme*, and hauing there erected a Trophie, returned againe, and lay at *Cnidus*.

The *Athenians*, when they vnderstood what had passed in this battell went from *Samos* with their whole Nauie to *Syme*. But neither went they out against the Nauie in *Cnidus*, nor the Nauy there, against them. Whereupon they tooke vp the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*, and assaulted *Loryma*, a Towne in the Continent, and so returned to *Samos*.

The whole Nauy of the *Peloponnesians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repaying, and refurbishing with such things as it wanted; and withall, those eleuen *Lacedaemonians* conferred with *Tissaphernes* (for hee also was present) touching such things as they disliked in the Articles before agreed on, and concerning the Warre, how it might bee carried for the future, in the best and most aduantagious manner for them both. But *Lychas* was he that considered the businesse most neerely, and said, that neither the first League, *E* nor yet the later by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to haue

A fight betweene the Peloponnesian and Athenian Fleets, wherein the Athenians had the worle.

Tissaphernes and the Lacedaemonians disagree about the Articles of their League.

haue beene. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatsoeuer Territories the King and his Ancestours possessed before, he should possesse the same now: for so he might bring againe into subiection all the Islands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as farre as *Bacotia*; and the *Lacedaemonians*, in stead of restoring the *Grecians* into liberty, should put them into subiection to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to bee drawne, and not to stand to these. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tissaphernes* chafing at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

The *Peloponnesians* solicited by Messengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, resolved to goe thither, because they hoped it would not proue impossible, with their number of Seamen, and Army of Land-Souldiers, to bring that Island into their power; and withall supposed themselves able, with their present Confederates to maintaine their Fleet, without asking money any more of *Tissaphernes*. Presently therefore, the same Winter, they put forth from *Cnidus*, and arriuing in the Territory of *Rhodes*, at *Cameirus*, first frighted the Commons out of it, that knew not of the businesse, and they fled. Then the *Lacedaemonians* called together both these, and the * *Rhodians* of the two Cities, *Lindus* and *Ielysus*, and perswaded them to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Athenians* at the same time hearing of their designe, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, desiring to haue arriued before them, and were seene in the maine Sea, too late, though not much. For the present they went away to *D Chalce*, and thence backe to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies diuers times, and made Warre against *Rhodes*, from *Chalce*, *Cos*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponnesians* did no more to the *Rhodians*, but leaue money amongst them, to the summe of * thirty two Talents, and otherwise for fourescore dayes that they lay there, hauing their Gallies haled ashore, they meddled not.

In this time, as also before the going of the *Peloponnesians* to *Rhodes*, came to passe the things that follow.

E Alcibiades, after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battell at *Miletus*, Being suspected by the *Peloponnesians*; and *Astyocheus* hauing

* Rhodes reuolteth to the Peloponnesians.

* The City of Rhodes was not then built.

* 6000 pounds sterling.

Alcibiades flyeth to Tissaphernes, and crosseth the businesse of the Peloponnesians.

* 7 pence halfe penny.
 * 3 pence halfe penny further.
 He aduiseeth Tiffaphernes
 to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the
 Captaines.

The integrity of Hermo-
 crates.

Alcibiades answereth in
 Tiffaphernes name, to the
 Cities that call vpon him
 for money, and puts
 them off.

He counselleth Tiffaph-
 nes to prolong the War,
 and afflict both sides.

having receiued letters from them from *Lacedæmon*, to put A
 him to death (for he was an enemy to *Agis*, and also other-
 wise not well truit) retired to *Tiffaphernes*, first for feare,
 and afterwards to his power hindred the affaires of the
Peloponnesians. And being in euery thing his instructor, he
 not only cut shorter their pay, inſomuch as from a * *Drach-*
ma, he brought it to 3 * *oboles*, and thoſe alſo not continual-
 ly paid, aduiſing *Tiffaphernes* to tel them, how that the *Athe-*
nians, men of a long continued ſkill in Nauall affaires, B
 allowed but three *oboles* to their owne, nor ſo much for
 want of money, but left the Mariners, ſome of them grow-
 ing inſolent, by ſuperfluity, ſhould diſable their bodies, by
 ſpending their money on ſuch things as would weaken
 them, and others ſhould quit the Gallies, with the arreare
 of their pay in their Captaines hands for a pawne; but alſo
 gaue counſell to *Tiffaphernes*, to giue money to the Cap-
 taines of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the ſeueral
 Cities (ſaue onely thoſe of *Syracuse*) to giue way vnto
 it. For *Hermocrates*, the Generall of the *Syraculians* was
 the onely man, that in the name of the whole League
 ſtood againſt it. And for the Cities that came to re- C
 quire money, he would put them backe himſelfe, and
 answer them in *Tiffaphernes* his name, and ſay, namely to
 the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the ri-
 cheſt of the *Grecian* States, and preſerued by Strangers, to
 expect neuer theleſſe, that others, for their liberty, ſhould
 not only venture their perſons, but maintaine them with
 their purſes. And to other States, that they did vniuſtly,
 hauing laid out their mony before they reuolted, that they
 might ſerue the *Athenians*, not to beſtow as much, or more
 now vpon themſelues. And told them, that *Tiffaphernes*, D
 now he made Warre at his owne owne charges, had rea-
 ſon to be ſparing, but when money ſhould come downe
 from the *King*, he would then giue them their full pay,
 and aſſiſt the Cities as ſhould be fit. Moreouer, he adui-
 ſed *Tiffaphernes* not to be too haſty to make an end of the
 Warre, nor to fetch in the *Phanician* Fleet which was ma-
 king ready, nor take more men into pay, whereby to put
 the whole power both by Sea and Land, into the hands of
 one. But to let the Dominion remaine diuided into two,
 that the *King*, when one ſide troubled him, might ſet vpon E
 it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea and

A and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull
 downe thoſe that hold it, unleſſe with great danger and
 coſt, he ſhould come and try it out himſelfe. But thus the
 danger would be leſſe chargeable (he being but at a ſmall
 part of the coſt,) and he ſhould weare out the *Grecians* one
 againſt another, and himſelfe in the meane time remaine
 in ſafety.

He ſaid further, that the *Athenians* were ſatter to par-
 take dominion with him then the other, for that they were
 leſſe ambitious of power by Land; and that their ſpeeches
 B and actions tended more to the *Kings* purpoſe. For that
 they would ioyne with him to ſubdue the *Grecians*, that is
 to ſay, for themſelues, as touching the dominion by Sea,
 and for the *King*, as touching the *Grecians* in the *Kings* Ter-
 ritories. Whereas the *Lacedæmonians* on the contrary, were
 come to ſet them free. And it was not likely but that
 they that were come to deliuer the *Grecians* from the *Gre-*
cians, will (if they overcome the *Athenians*) deliuer them
 alſo from the *Barbarians*.

He gaue counſell therefore, firſt to weare them out
 C both, and then, when he had clipped, as neere as he could,
 the wings of the *Athenians*, to diſmiſſe the *Peloponneſians*
 out of his Countrey. And *Tiffaphernes* had a purpoſe to
 doe accordingly, as farre as by his actions can be coniecu-
 red: For hereupon he gaue himſelfe to beleene *Alcibiades*,
 as his beſt Countellour in theſe affaires, and neither paid
 the *Peloponneſians* their wages, nor would ſuffer them to
 fight by Sea, but pretending the coming of the *Phanici-*
an Fleet, whereby they might afterwards fight with
 oddeſſe, he ouerthrew their proceedings, and abated the
 vigour of their Navy, before very purſuant land was in all
 things elſe more backward, then hee could poſſibly diſ-
 ſemble.

Now *Alcibiades* aduiſed the *King* and *Tiffaphernes* to this,
 whileſt he was with them, partly becauſe he thought the
 ſame to be indeed the beſt courſe, but partly alſo, to make
 way for his owne returne into his Countrey: knowing
 that if he deſtroyed it not, the time would one day come,
 that he might perſwade the *Athenians* to recall him. And
 the beſt way to perſwade them to it, he thought was this,
 E to make it appeare vnto them, that he was powerfull with
Tiffaphernes. Which alſo came to paſſe. For after the

He aduiseeth him, of the
 two, to fauour the Atheni-
 an, the rather, as fitter
 to helpe ſubdue the
 Grecians.

Alcibiades
 Tiffaphernes
 counsell of Alcibiades, hin-
 deth the ſucceſſe of the
 Peloponneſians.

Alcibiades ſymeth at his
 returne to Athens, by ma-
 king ſhew of his power
 with Tiffaphernes.

Athenian

Motion made for the recalling of Alcibiades, & deposing of the People.

... and ...

Conspiracy in the Army at Samos, against the Democracy.

... and ...

Athenian Soldiers at Samos saw what power he had with him, the Captaines of Gallies, and principall men there; partly vpon Alcibiades his owne motion, who had shew'd the greatest amongst them; that they should remember him to the best fort, and say, that he desired to come home; so the government might bee in the hands of a few, not of euill persons, nor yet of the Multitude that cast him out; and that he would bring Tissaphernes to be their friend; and so warre on their side; but chiefly of their owne accords had their mindes enclined to the deposing of the popular government.

This businesse was set on foot first in the Campe, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the Citie. And certaine persons went ouer to Alcibiades out of Samos, and had conference with him. And when he had vnderaken to bring to their friendship, first Tissaphernes; and then the King, in case the Government were taken from the People; (for then, he said, the King might be more ready vpon them) they that were of most power in the City, who also were the most toyed out, entered into great hope, both to haue the ordering of the State at home, and to haue victory also ouer the enemy. And when they came backe to Samos, they drew all such as were for this purpose into an Oath of Conspira-
B

cy with themselves, and to the Multitude gaue it out openly, that if they should be recalled, and the People put from the Government, the King would turne their friends, and supply them with Money. Though the Multitude was grieued with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the Kings pay, they stur'd not.
C

His March they were setting up the Oligarchy; when they had conspired thus much to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Complices, of the things spoken by Alcibiades. And the rest thought the matter safe, and worthy to be executed; but Phrynichus, who yet was General of the Army, liked it not, but thought (as the truth was) that Alcibiades cared not more for the Oligarchy, then the Democracy; nor had any other waye in it, but only by altering the Government that there was to be asked home by his associates. And said, they were to be recalled, that they did not mutiny for the King, who could not very easily be induc'd to the Peloponnesians
D

name dith

Athenians being now as much masters at Sea as themselves, and ha-
uing no small Cities within his Dominions) to ioyne with the Athenians, whom he trusted not, and to trouble himselfe, when he might haue the friendship of the Peloponnesians, that neuer did him hurt.

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promise Oligarchy, in that they themselves doe put downe the Democracie, he said, he knew full well, that neyther those which were already reuolted would the sooner returne to, nor those that remained, be euer the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would
B

neuer bee so willing to be in subiection, either to the Few, or to the People, as they would be to haue their liberty, which side soeuer it were that should giue it them. But would thinke, that euen those which are termed the * Good men, if they had the Government, would giue them as much to doe, as the People, being Contriuers and authors to the People, of doing those mischiefes against them, out of which they make most profit vnto themselves. And that if the Few had the rule, then they should be put to death unheard, and more violently then by the former, whereas the People is their refuge, and moderator of the others insolence. This he said, hee
C

was certaine that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the same by the actions themselves. And that therefore what was yet propounded by Alcibiades, he by no means approued.

But those of the Conspiracy there assembled, not onely approued the present proposition, but also made preparation to send Pisander and others Ambassadors to Athens, to negotiate concerning the reduction of Alcibiades, the dissolution of the Democracie, and the procuring vnto the Athenians the friendship of Tissaphernes.

Now Phrynichus knowing that an ouerture was to be made at Athens for the restoring of Alcibiades, and that the Athenians would embrace it; and fearing lest being recalled he should doe him a mischiefe (in regard hee had spoken against it) as one that would haue hindred the same, be-
D

tooke himselfe to this course. He sends secret Letters to Astyochus, the Lacedemonian Generall, who was yet about Miletus, and aduertised him, that Alcibiades vndid their affaires, and was procuring the friendship of Tissaphernes for the Athenians, writing in plaine termes the whole businesse, and desiring to be excused, if hee rendred euill
E

S f f

to

* καλὰ ἀνὴρ. The best men, or Aristocracy, a difference from the Oligarchy, which was of the richest sort only. For the Good men whom the Democracie are the Peoples minions, and put the People vpon all they doe, will doe the same things themselves, when they haue the Souerainety in their hands.

The treason of Phrynichus against the State, for feare of Alcibiades.

He writes secret Letters to Astyochus.

Phrynichus approached him to Alcibiades.

Phrynichus sends to Alcibiades againe, and offers to put the whole army into his hands.

The desire of Phrynichus to avenge the danger.

to his enemy, with some disaduantage to his Countrey. A *Astyocheus* had before this, laid by the purpose of reuenge against *Alcibiades*, especially when he was not in his owne hands. And going to him to *Magnesia*, and to *Tissaphernes*, related vnto them, what aduertisement he had receiued from *Samos*, and made himselfe the appeacher. For he adhered (as was said) to *Tissaphernes* for his priuate lucre, both in this, and in diuers other matters, which was also the cause, that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made, hee was not so stout in opposing it, as hee ought to haue beene. Hereupon *Alcibiades* sendeth Letters presently to those that were in office at *Samos*, accusing *Phrynichus* of what hee had done, and requiring to haue him put to death. *Phrynichus* perplexed with this discouery, & brought into danger indeed, sends againe to *Astyocheus*, blaming what was past, as not well concealed and promised now, to be ready to deliuer vnto him the whole Armie at *Samos*, to be destroyed; writing from point to point (*Samos* being vnwalled) in what manner he would doe it, and saying, that since his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this, or any other thing, rather then be destroyed by his most deadly enemies. This also *Astyocheus* reuealed vnto *Alcibiades*.

But *Phrynichus* hauing had notice betimes how he abused him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the newes himselfe, and tels the Armie, That whereas *Samos* was vnwalled, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and assault the Harbour; That hee had sure intelligence hereof, and that they ought therefore with all speed to raise a Wall about the Citie, and to put Garrisons into other places thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was Generall himselfe, and it was in his owne power to see it done. They then fell to walling, wherby *Samos* (which they meant to haue done how soeuer) was so much the sooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purposed to invade the Harbour where they lay. But now, they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be beleued, but rather that hauing foreseene the designe of the enemy, he went about out of malice, to fatten it vpon *Phrynichus*, as conscious of it likewise. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witness

A nesser rather of that which *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeouored to encline and perswade *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the Athenians; for though *Tissaphernes* feared the Peloponnesians, because their Fleet was greater then that of the Athenians, yet if hee had beene able, he had a good will to haue beene perswaded by him; especially in his anger against the Peloponnesians, after the dissension at *Cnidus*, about the League made by *Theramenes*, (for they were already falne out, the Peloponnesians being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had beene before spoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the coming of the Lacedemonians was to restore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verifed by *Lichas*, in that he said, it was an Article not to be suffered, that the King should hold those Cities, which he and his Ancestors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applied himselfe to *Tissaphernes*.

The Athenian Ambassadors sent from *Samos* with *Pisander*, being arriued at *Athens*, were making their propositions to the People. And related vnto them summarily the points of their businesse, and principally this, That if they would call home *Alcibiades*, and not suffer the Government to remaine in the hands of the People, in such manner as it did, they might haue the King for their Confederate, and get the victory of the Peloponnesians. Now when many opposed that point touching the Democracie, and the enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would bee a horrible thing hee should return by forcing the Governmet, when the **Eumolpidae*, and **Ceryces* bare witness against him concerning the D Mysteries, for which he fled, and prohibited his returne vnder their curse. *Pisander*, at this great opposition and querimony, stood out, and going amongst them, tooke out one by one those that were against it, and asked them, Whether, now that the Peloponnesians had as many Gallies at Sea to oppose them, as they themselves had, and Confederate Cities, more then they, and were furnished with money by the King and *Tissaphernes*, the Athenians being without, they had any other hope to saue their State, but by perswading the King to come about to their side? And they that were asked hauing nothing to answer, then in plaine termes hee said vnto them, This you cannot now obtaine, except wee administer the State

§ § 2

with

Alcibiades endeured to turne Tissaphernes to the point of the Athenians.

Pisander getteth the Athenians to be content with the Oligarchy, and to giue him and others Commission to treat with Alcibiades.

**Eumolpidae*, a Family descended from *Eumolpus*, the author at *Athens* of the Mysteries of *Ceres*. This Familie had the chief authority in matters that concerned these Rites.
**Ceryces*, Herolds in War, Ambassadors in Peace, *Surdas*. They pronounced all summatwords in the Ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Family descended from *Ceryx* the Ioune of *Mercury*.

with more moderation, and bring the power into the hands of a Few, that the King may rely upon vs. And wee deliberate at this time, not so much about the forme, as about the preservation of the State; for if you mislike the forme, you may change it againe hereafter. And let vs recall Alcibiades, who is the onely man that can bring this to passe.

The People hearing of the Oligarchy, tooke it very hainously at first; But when *Pisander* had proued euidently, that there was no other way of safety, in the end, partly for feare, and partly because they hoped againe to change the Government, they yeelded therunto. So B they ordered, that *Pisander*, and tenne others, should goe, and treat, both with *Tissaphernes*, and with *Alcibiades* as to them should seeme best. Withall, vpon the accusation of *Pisander* against *Phrynichus*, they discharged both *Phrynichus*, and *Sicionidas*, his fellow-Commissioner, of their Command, and made *Diomedon* and *Leon* Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Now the cause why *Pisander* accused *Phrynichus*, and said he had betrayed *Ique* and *Amorgus*, was onely this, hee thought him a man vsfit for the businesse now in hand with *Alcibiades*.

Pisander, after he had gone about to all those Combinations (which were in the Citie before, for obtaining of places of Iudicature, and of Command) exhorting them to stand together, and aduise about depoling the Democracie; and when he had dispatched the rest of his businesse, so as there should be no more cause for him to stay there, tooke Sea with those other tenne, to goe to *Tissaphernes*.

Leon and *Diomedon* arriuing the same Winter at the *Athenian* Fleet, made a Voyage against *Rhodes*, and finding there the *Peloponnesian* Gallies drawne vp to Land, disembarked, and ouercame in battell such of the *Rhodians* as made head; and then put to Sea againe, and went to *Chale*. After this they made sharper Warre vpon them from *Ces*. For from thence they could better obserue the *Peloponnesian* Nauy, when it should put off from the Land.

In this while, there arriued at *Rhodes*, *Xenophon* is a *Laconian*, sent out of *Chius* from *Pedaritus*, to aduertise them, that the Fortification of the *Athenians* there, was now finished, and that vnlesse they came and relieved them with their whole Fleet, the State of *Chius* must vtterly be

Phrynichus accused by *Pisander*, and discharged of his command.

Leon and *Diomedon* waite vpon the *Peloponnesian* Nauy at *Rhodes*.

Leon distressed, and distressed the *Captaine* of the *Chians*.

be lost. And it was resolved to relieue them. But *Alcibiades* in the meane time, with the whole power both of his owne auxiliar Forces, and of the *Chians*, made an assault vpon the Fortification which the *Athenians* had made about their Nauy, part whereof he wonne, and had gotten some Gallies that were drawne aland. But the *Athenians* issuing out vpon them, first put to flight the *Chians*, and then ouercame also the rest of the Army about *Pedari*, and slew *Pedaritus* himselfe, and tooke many of the *Chians* prisoners, and much Armour. After this the *Chians* were besieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great famine was in the City.

Pisander, and the other *Athenian* Ambassadors that went with him, when they came to *Tissaphernes*, began to conferre about the agreement. But *Alcibiades* (for he was not sure of *Tissaphernes*, because he stood in feare too much of the *Peloponnesians*, and had a purpose besides, as *Alcibiades* himselfe had taught him, to weaken both sides yet more) betooke himselfe to this shift; that *Tissaphernes* should breake off the Treaty, by making to the *Athenians* C exorbitant demands. And it seemed that *Tissaphernes* and hee aymed at the same thing; *Tissaphernes* for feare; and *Alcibiades*, for that when he saw *Tissaphernes* not desirous to agree, though the offers were neuer so great, he was vnwilling to haue the *Athenians* thinke hee could not perswade him to it, but rather that he was already perswaded and willing, and that the *Athenians* came not to him with sufficient offers. For *Alcibiades* being the man that spake to *Tissaphernes*, though he were also present, made vnto them such excessive demands, that though the *Athenians* should haue yeelded to the greatest part of them, yet it must haue bene attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded first, That all *Ionian* should be freed. Then againe The *Adriatic* Islands and other things, which the *Athenians* stood not against. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainly to be found vnable to make good his word, he required; That they should suffer the King to build a Nauy, and sayle vp and downe by their Coast, whensoever, and with what number soeuer of Gallies hee himselfe should thinke good.

E Vpon this, the *Athenians* would treat no longer, esteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that *Alcibiades* had

Alcibiades vnable to make good his word, in making *Tissaphernes* to the *Athenians* such excessive demands, to make the breach appeare to proceed from the *Athenians*, and to saue his own credit.

had abused them; and so went away in a chafeto Sa-A mos.

Presently after this the same Winter, *Tissaphernes* went to *Caunus*, with intent both to bring the *Peloponnesians* backe to *Miletus*, and also, (as soone as he should haue agreed vnto new Articles such as he could get) to giue the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for feare, lest so many Gallies wanting maintenance, should either bee forced by the *Athenians* to fight, and so bee ouercome, or empied of men, the businesse might succeed with the *Athenians* according to their owne desire, without him. Besides, he was afraid, lest looking out for maintenance, they should make spoile in the Continent. In consideration, and foresight of all which things, he desired to counterpoise the *Grecians*. And sending for the *Peloponnesians*, hee gaue them their pay, and now made the third League, as followeth.

In the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of *Darius*, *Alexippidas* being *Ephore* in *Lacedæmon*, Agreement was made in the Plaine of *Mæander*, betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates on one part, and *Tissaphernes*, and *Hieramenes*, and the sonnes of *Pharnaces* on the other part; concerning the affaires of the King, and of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates.

That whatsoever Countrey in Asia belongeth to the King, shall be the Kings still. And that concerning his owne Countreies, it shall bee lawfull for the King to doe whatsoever hee shall thinke meete.

That the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall not inuade any the Territories of the King, to harme them; nor the King, the Territories of the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates.

If any of the *Lacedæmonians* or their Confederates shall inuade the Kings Countrey to doe it hurt, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall oppose it. And if any of the Kings Countrey shall inuade the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, to doe them hurt, the King shall oppose it.

That *Tissaphernes* shall, according to the rates agreed on, maintaine the present Fleet, till the Kings Fleet arrive.

That when the Kings Navy shall be come, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall maintaine their owne Nauie themselves,

Tissaphernes hearkeneth againe to the *Peloponnesians*.

The third League betweene *Tissaphernes* and the *Peloponnesians*.

A selues, if they please; or if they will haue *Tissaphernes* to maintaine it, he shall doe it: And that the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, at the end of the Warre, repay *Tissaphernes* whatsoeuer money they shall haue receiued of him.

When the Kings Gallies shall be arrived, both they, and the Gallies of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, shall make the Warre ioyntly, according as to *Tissaphernes*, and the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall seeme good. And if they will giue ouer the Warre against the *Athenians*, they shall giue it ouer in the same manner.

Such were the Articles.

After this *Tissaphernes* prepared for the fetching in of the *Phœnician* Fleet, according to the Agreement, and to doe whatsoeuer else hee had undertaken, desiring to haue it seene, at least, that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter, the *Bœotians* tooke *Oropus* by Treason. It had in it a Garrison of *Athenians*. They that plotted it, were certaine *Eretrians*, and some of *Oropus* it selfe, who were then contriuing the reuolt of *Eubœa*. For the place being built to keepe *Eretria* in subiection, it was impossible, as long as the *Athenians* held it, but that it would much annoy both *Eretria*, and the rest of *Eubœa*. Having *Oropus* in their hands already, they came to *Rhodes* to call the *Peloponnesians* into *Eubœa*. But the *Peloponnesians* had a greater inclination to relieue *Chius* now distressed, and putting to Sea, departed out of *Rhodes* with their whole Fleet. When they were come about *Triopium*, they discryed the *Athenian* Fleet in the maine Sea, going from *Chalce*. And neither side assaulting other, they put in, the one Fleet at *Samos*, the other at *Miletus*. For the *Peloponnesians* saw they could not passe to relieue *Chius*, without a Battell. Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer in the beginning of the Spring, *Dercylidas* a *Spartan*, was sent by Land into *Héllespont*, with a small Army, to worke the reuolt of *Abydus*, a Colonie of the *Asiaticians*. And the *Chians* at the same time, whilest *Asiocybus* was at a stand how to helpe them, were compelled by the presture of the Siege, to hazzard a Battell by Sea.

Now whilest *Asiocybus* lay in *Rhodes*, they had receiued into

Oropus taken by Treason.

THE ONE AND TWENTIETH YEERE.

The *Chians* fight against the *Asiatics* that beleagured them.

ayde of men of Armes, they came to *Athens*, and found the *A* businesse for the greatest part dispatched to their hands, by their Complices, before their comming. For certaine yong men combining themselves, had not onely murdered *Androcles* priuily, a principall Patron of the *Popular* gouernment, and one that had his hand the farthest in the banishment of *Alcibiades*; whom they slew for two causes: for the sway hee bare amongst the People, and to gratifie *Alcibiades*, who they thought would returne, and get them the friendship of *Tissaphernes*; but had also made away diuers men vnfit for their Designe, in the same manner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which they deliuered in publike, wherein they said, *That there ought none to receiue wages, but such as serued in the Warres, nor to participate of the Gouernment, more then 5000, and those, such as by their purjes and persons were best able to serue the Common-Wealth.*

And this with the most carried a good shew, because they that would set forward the alteration of the State, were to haue the manning of the same. Yet the *People* *C* and the **Councell of the Beare*, met still, but debated nothing, saue what the Conspirators thought fit. Nay, all that spake were of that number, and had considered before what they were to say. Nor would any of the rest speake against them, for feare, and because they saw the Combination was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made away by one conuenient meanes or other, and no enquirie made after the deed doers, nor Iustice prosecuted against any that was suspected.

But the *People* were so quiet, and so afraid, that euery *D* man thought it gaineto escape violence, though he said neuer a word. Their hearts failed them, because they thought the Conspirators more then indeed they were: and to learne their number, in respect of the greatnesse of the Citie, and for that they knew not one another, they were vnable.

For the same cause also was it impossible for any man that was angry at it, to be mone himselfe, whereby to be reuenged on them that conspired. For he must haue told his mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew & trusted not. For the *Populars* approached each other, euery one *E* with

* The Senate or Councell of 500.

A with iealousie, as if they thought him of the plot. For indeed there were such amongst them, as no man would haue thought would euer haue turned to the *Oligarchie*; and those were they that caused in the *Many* that diffidence, and by strengthening the iealousie of the *populars* one against another, conferred most to the security of the *Few*. During this opportunity, *Pisander*, and they that were with him comming in, fell in hand presently with the remainder of the businesse. And first they assembled the *People*, and deliuered their opinion, for tenne men to bee chosen *B* with power absolute, to make a draught of Lawes, and (hauing drawne them) to deliuer their opinion at a day appointed, before the *People*, touching the best forme of gouernment for the Citie.

Afterwards, when that day came, they summoned the Assembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place consecrated to *Nep-tune*, without the City, about two Furlongs off) And they that were appointed to write the Lawes, presented this, and onely this, *That it should be lawfull for any Athenian to deliuer whatsoever opinion hee pleased*, imposing of great *C* punishments vpon whosoever should cyther accuse any that so spake, of violating the Lawes, or otherwise do him hurt. Now here indeed it was in plaine termes propounded, *That not any Magistracy of the forme before vsed, might any longer be in force, nor any Fee belong vnto it, but that five Pry-tanes might be elected, and these five choose a hundred, and euery one of this hundred take vnto him three others. And these 400 entring into the Councell-house, might haue absolute authority to gouerne the State as they thought best, and to summon the 5000, as oft as to them should seeme good.* He that deliuered this opi-

D nion was *Pisander*, who was also otherwise, openly the forwardest to put downe the *Democracie*. But he that contrined the whole businesse, how to bring it to this passe, and had long thought vpon it, was *Antiphon*, a man for vertue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the ablest of any man, both to deuise well, and also to expresse well, what he had deuised. And though he came not into the assemblies of the *People*, nor willingly to any other debates, because the *Multitude* had him in iealousie for the opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet *E* when any man that had occasion of suite, cyther in the Courts of Iustice, or in the Assembly of the *People*,

T t t 2

came.

The forme of the new Oligarchy.

Pisander a principall man of the *Oligarchs*.

Antiphon another: better vp of the *Few*.

The praise of *Antiphon*.

came to him for his counsell, this one man was able to help A him most. The same man, when afterwards the gouernment of the Foure hundred went downe, and was vexed of the People, was heard pleade for himselfe, when his life was in question for that businesse, the best of any man to this day.

Phrynichus also shewed himselfe an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently then any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practice: at *Samos* with *Athyochus*; and thought in all probability, that he would neuer returne, to liue vnder the gouernment of the Few. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to bee relyed on.

Also *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, an able man both for elocution and vnderstanding, was another of the Principall of those that ouerthrew the *Democracie*. So that it is no maruell if the businesse tooke effect, being by many and wise men conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went fore with the *Athenian People*, almost a hundred yeeres after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now deprived of their liberty, hauing not onely not beene subiect to any, but also for the halfe of this time, beene enured to dominion ouer others.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things, no man contradicting) was dissolued, then afterwards they brought the Foure hundred into the Councell-house, in this manner. The *Athenians* were euermore partly on the Walles, and partly at their Armes in the Campe, in regard of the *Enemie* that lay at *Decerea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent, to goe forth, as they were wont. But to such as were of the Conspiracy, they quietly gaue order, not to goe to the Campe it selfe, but to lagge behind at a certaine distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Armes and keepe them backe. They to whom this charge was giuen, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colonie of *Agina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabite, as came on purpose to this action with their owne Armes. These things thus ordered, the Foure hundred, with euery man a secret Dagger, accompanied with one hundred and twenty yong men

Phrynichus another author of the *Oligarchy*.

The 400 enter vpon the Senate, and dismisst the Senate of 500, called the Councell of the Beane.

A men of Greece, (whom they vsed for occasions of shedding bloud) came in vpon the **Counsellors of the Beane*, as they fate in the Councell-house, and commanded them to take their salary, and be gone, which also they brought ready with them, for the whole time they were behind, and payed it to them as they went out. And the rest of the Citizens mutined not, but rested quiet.

The 400 being now entred into the Councell-house, created **Prytanes* amongst themselves by lot, and made their prayers and sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before vsuall at the entrance vpon the Gouernment. And afterwards, receding farre from that course, which in the administration of the State, was vsed by the People, sauing that for *Alcibiades* his sake, they recalled not the Outlawes, in other things they gouerned the Common-wealth imperiously. And not onely slew some, though not many, such as they thought fit to be made away, and imprisoned some, and confined others to places abroad, but also sent *Heralds* to *Agis*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, who was then at *Decerea*, signifying that they would come to composition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the vnconstant People.

But he, not imagining that the Citie was yet in quiet, nor willing, so soone, to deliuer vp their ancient liberty, but rather, that, if they saw him approach with great forces, they would be in tumult, not yet beleeuing fully, but that some stirre or other would arise amongst them, gaue no answer at all to those that came from the Foure hundred, touching the composition; but hauing sent for new, and great forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came downe himselfe not long after, both with the Army at *Decerea*, and those new commers, to the *Athenian Walles*. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his desire, at least the more easily for their confusion, or perhaps at the very first shout of their voyces, in respect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the Citie. For, as for the *Long-walles*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found vpon them, he thought he could not faile to take them. But when he came neere, E and the *Athenians* were without any the least alteration within, and had with their Horsemen which they sent out,

*The Senate or Councell of 500 made by lot, in which lot they vsed Beane, white and blacke.

*These were presidents in the Councell of the 500, in number 50, and in turnes moderated and put the question in that Councell, and also in the assemblies of the People.

Agis, in hope that the Citie was in sedition, cometh to assault it, but is repulsed.

out, and a part of their men of Armes, and of their Light-Armed, and of their Archers, ouerthrowne some of his men that approached too neere, and gotten some armes and bodies of the slaine; rectified thus, he with drew his Armie againe, and himselfe, and such as were with him before stayed in their place at *Dicelca*; but, as for those that came last, after they had stayed a while in the Countrey, he sent them home againe. After this, the 400, notwithstanding their former repulse, sent Ambassadors vnto *Agis* anew, and he now receiuing them better, by his aduice they sent Ambassadors also to *Lacedemon*, about an agreement, being desirous of Peace.

The 400. sent to *Lacedemon* to procure a Peace.

They sent to *Samos*, to excuse their doings to the army.

They likewise sent 10 men to *Samos*, to satisfie the Army, and to tell them, *That the Oligarchy was not set vp, to any preiudice of the Citie, or Citizens, but for the safety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it, were 5000, and not 400 onely. Notwithstanding that the Athenians by reason of warfare, and imployment abroad, neuer assembled, of how great consequence soeuer was the matter to be handled, so frequent, as to be 5000 there at once. And hauing in other things instructed them how to make the best of the matter, they sent them away immediately after the gouernment was changed, fearing (as also it fell out) lest the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this Oligarchicall forme themselves, but (the mischief beginning there) would depose them also.*

The Oligarchy assaulted at *Samos* by the Populiers.

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the Oligarchy already. And this that followeth, happened about the same time that the 400 were set vp in *Athens*. Those *Samians* that had risen against the Nobility, and were of the Peoples side, turning when *Pisander* came thither, at the perswasion of him and of those *Athenians* in *Samo*, that were his Complices, conspired together to the number of 300, and were to haue assaulted the rest as *Populiers*; and one *Hyperbolus*, a lewd fellow, who, not for any feare of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickednesse of life, and dishonour he did the Citie, had beene banished by *Ostracisme*, they slew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongst them, who had giuen them their faith; and together with these they committed other facts of the same kind, and were fully bent to haue assaulted the Populiers side,

A side, but they hauing gotten notice thereof, made knowne the designe both to the Generals, *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, (for these being honoured by the People, endured the Oligarchy vnwillingly) and also to *Thraibulius*, and *Thrastrus*, whereof one was Captaine of a Gally, and the other Captaine of a Band of a men of Armes, and to such others continually as they thought stood in greatest opposition to the Conspirators; and required of them, that they would not see them destroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians*, by the only means of which their Dominion had till this time kept it selfe in the state it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to suffer it, especially to the *Paralians*; (who were all *Athenians* and Freeman, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had alwayes before been enemies to the Oligarchy. And *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, whensoever they went forth any whither, left them certaine Gallies for their guard.) So that when the 300 assaulted them, the Commons of the *Samians*, with the helpe of all these, and especially of the *Paralians*, had the vpper hand, and of the 300, slew 30. Three of the chiefe authors, they banished, and burying in obliuion the fault of the rest, gouerned the State from that time forward as a Democratic.

The *Paralus*, and it / hereas the sonne of *Archestratus*, a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians*, and the Souldiers dispatched presently away to *Athens*, to aduertise them of what was done; for they knew not yet that the gouernment was in the hands of the 400. When they arriued, the 400 cast some two or three of these of the *Paralus* into prison; the rest after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboard another Military Gally, they commanded to keepe guard about *Eubœa*. But *Clercus*, by some meanes or other, getting presently away, seeing how things went came backe to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athenians* had done, aggrauating it to the utmost; As that they punished every man with stripes, to the end that none should contradict the doings of those that bore rule; and that their wives and children at home were abused; and that they had an intention further to take and imprison all that were of kinne to any of the Army which was not of their faction, to the intent to kill them if they of *Samos* would not submit to their authority. And many

The Army sent to *Athens* to signify their doings against the Oligarchy at *Samos*, not knowing that the Oligarchy was then in authority at *Athens*.

The Democracy re-established in the army.

many other things he told them, adding lyes of his owne. A When they heard this, they were ready at first to haue fallen vpon the chiefe authors of the *Oligarchy*, and vpon such of the rest as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by such as came betweene, and aduised them not to ouerthrow the State, the enemy lying so nere with their Gallies to assault them, they gaue it ouer. After this, *Thrasylus* the sonne of *Lycas*, and *Thrasylus*, (for these were the principall authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a Democracy, tooke oathes of all the Souldiers, especially of the *Oligarchicalls*, the greatest they could deuise, both that they should be subiect to the Democracy, and agree together, and also that they should zealously prosecute the Warre against the *Peloponnesians*, and withall be enemies to th. 400, and not haue to doe with them by Ambassadors. The same oath was taken by all the *Samians* that were of age, and the *Athenian* Souldiers communicated with them their whole affaires, together with whatsoeuer should succeed of their dangers. For whom and for themselves, they made account there was no refuge of safety, but that, if either the 400, or the enemy, at *Miletus*, ouercame them, they must needs perish. C

So there was a contention at this time, one side compelling the Citie to a Democracy; the other, the Army to an *Oligarchy*. And presently there was an Assembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they deprived the former Commanders, and such Captaines of Gallies as they had in suspicion, of their charge, and chose others, both Captaines of Gallies, and Commanders in their places, of which *Thrasylus* and *Thrasylus* were two. And they stood vp and encouraged one another, both otherwise, and with this, D That they had no cause to be dejected for the Citie's revoluing from them; For they at *Athens*, being the lesser part, had forsaken them, who were not onely the greater part, but also euery way the better provided. For they hauing the whole Navy could compell the rest of the citie's subiect vnto them, to pay in their money, as well now, as if they were to set out from *Athens* it selfe. And that they also had a Citie, namely *Samos*, no weaker one, but euen such a one, as when they were enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the *Athenians*. That the seat of the Warre, was the same it was before; and that they should be better able to provide themselves of things necessary, hauing the Nauie, then they E

The army encourageth it selfe against the City and State at home by comparison of their strength.

A should be that were at home in the City. And that they at *Athens* were Masters of the entrance of *Piræus* both formerly by the fauour of them at *Samos*, and that now also, conlesse they restore them the *Gouernment*, they shall againe bee brought to that passe, that those at *Samos* shall bee better able to barre them the use of the Sea, then they shall bee to barre it them of *Samos*. That it was a trifle and worth nothing which was conferred to the ouercomming of the Enemy by the Citie, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more Siluer to send them (for the Souldiers shifted for themselves) nor yet good direction B which is the thing for which the Citie hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at *Athens*, in that they had abrogated the Lawes of their Countrey, whereas they at *Samos* did both obserue the same themselves, and endeouour to constraine the other to doe so likewise. So that such of them in the Campe as should giue good counsell, were as good as they in the Citie. And that *Alcibiades*, if they would decree his security and his returne, would with all his heart procure the King to bee their Confederate. And that which is the maine thing, if they fayled of all other helpes, yet with so great a Fleet, they could not faile C of many places to retire to, in which they might finde both Citie and Territorie.

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoeuer was necessary for the Warre. And the tenne Ambassadors which were sent to *Samos* from the *Four-hundred*, hearing of this by the way, at *Delos*, whither they were come already, stayed still there.

D About the same time also, the Souldiers of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet at *Miletus* murmured amongst themselves, that *Astyochnus* and *Tissaphernes* ouerthrew the state of their Affaires. *Astyochnus*, in refusing to fight, both before, when their owne Fleete was stronger, and that of the *Athenians* but small, and also now, whilest they were said to bee in sedition, and their Fleet diuided, and in expecting the *Phœnician* Fleet, in fame, not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*; And *Tissaphernes*, in that hee not onely brought not in that Fleete of his, E but also impaired theirs, by not giuing them their pay, neither fully nor continually: And that they therefore

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ought

Vpon the murmur of the Souldiers against *Astyochnus*, he goeth to *Samos* to offer the *Athenians* battell, whereof use it.

ought no longer to delay time, but to hazard battell. This A was urged principally by the *Syracusians*.

Astyocheus and the Confederates, when they heard of the murmur, and had in Counsell resolved to fight, especially after they were informed that *Samos* was in a tumult, putting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of 121 Sayle, with order giuen to the *Milesians* to march by Land to the same place, went to *Mycale*. But the *Athenians* being come out from *Samos* with their Fleet of 82 Gallies, and riding now at Glauce of the Territory of *Mycale*, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, *Samos* is but a little B way from the Continent) when they descryed the *Peloponnesians* Fleet comming against them, put in againe to *Samos* as not esteeming themselues a sufficient number to hazard their whole fortune on the Battell. Besides, they stayed for the comming of *Strombichides* from *Hellepont* to their ayde, (for they saw that they of *Miletus* had a desire to fight) with those Gallies that went from *Chius* against *Abydus*; for they had sent vnto him before. So these retired into *Samos*. And the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Mycale*, there encamped, as also did the Land-forces of the *Milesians*, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next C day, when they meant to haue gone against *Samos*, they receiued newes that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was arrived out of *Hellepont*, and thereupon returned presently to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other side, with the addition of these Gallies, went to *Miletus*, being now one hundred and eight Sayle, intending to fight: but when no body came out against them, they likewise went backe to *Samos*.

Immediately after this, the same Summer, the *Peloponnesians*, who refused to come out against the Enemy, as holding themselues with their whole Fleete too weake to giue them Battell, and were now at a stand how to get Money for the maintenance of so great a number of Gallies, sent *Clearchus* the sonne of *Rhamphias* with fortie Gallies (according to the order at first from *Peloponnesus*) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *Pharnabazus* himselfe had sent for, and promised to pay them, but they were aduertised besides, by Ambassadors, that *Byzantium* had a purpose to reuolt. Hereupon these *Peloponnesian* Gallies hauing put out into the maine Sea, to the E end

The *Athenians* offer battell to the *Peloponnesians* and they refuse it.

The *Peloponnesians* send part of their Fleet towards the *Hellepont*, but there went through but onely tenne Gallies.

A end that they might not be seene as they passed by, and tossed with Tempests, part of them (which were the greatest number) and *Clearchus* with them, got into *Dadas*, and came afterwards to *Miletus* againe: (but *Clearchus* went thence againe into the *Hellepont* by Land, and had the command there,) and part vnder the charge of *Elixus* a *Megarean* (which were tenne Sayle, went safely through into the *Hellepont*, and caused *Byzantium* to reuolt. And after this, when they of *Samos* heard of it, they sent certaine Gallies into *Hellepont*, to oppose them, and to be a guard to the Cities thereabouts; and there followed a small fight betweene them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzantium*.

In the meane time, they that were in authority at *Samos*, and especially *Thrasylulus*, who after the forme of Government changed, was still of the minde to haue *Alcibiades* recalled, at length in an Assembly perswaded the Souldiers to the same. And when they had decreed for *Alcibiades*, both his returne, and his security, he went to *Tissaphernes*, and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it C their onely meanes of safety, to winne *Tissaphernes* from the *Peloponnesians* to themselues. An Assembly being called, *Alcibiades* complained of, and lamented, the calamity of his owne exile, and speaking much of the businesse of the State, gaue them no small hopes of the future time, hyperbolically magnifying his owne power with *Tissaphernes*, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at home, might the more feare him, and so the Conspiracies dissolue, and also those at *Samos* the more honour him, and take better heart vnto themselues: and withall, that the Enemy might obiect the same to the utmost D to *Tissaphernes*, and fall from their present hopes. *Alcibiades* therefore, with the greatest boast that could bee, affirmed that *Tissaphernes* had vndertaken to him, that as long as he had any thing left, if hee might but trust the *Athenians*, they should neuer want for maintenance, no, though hee should bee constrained to make Money of his owne bed; and that he would fetch the *Phœnician* Fleet now at *Aspendus*, not to the *Peloponnesians*, but to the *Athenians*. And that then onely hee would rely vpon the E *Athenians*, when *Alcibiades* called home, should vndertake for them.

Alcibiades is recalled, and cometh to *Samos*.

He manifesteth his power with *Tissaphernes*.

Alcibiades Generall of the
Athenian army.

Hearing this and much more, they chose him presently **A** for Generall, together with those that were before, and committed vnto them the whole gouernment of their affaires. And now there was not a man that would haue fold his present hopes, both of subsisting themselves, and being reuenged of the *Four-hundred*, for any good in the world; and were ready euen then, vpon those words of his, condemning the Enemy there present, to set sayle for *Piræus*. But he, though many pressed it, by all meanes forbade their going against *Piræus*, being to leaue their Enemies so neere; but since they had chosen him Generall, **B** he was, he said, to goe to *Tissaphernes* first, and to dispatch such businesse with him as concerned the Warre. And as soone as the Assembly brake vp, he tooke his iourney accordingly, to the end that he might seeme to communicate euery thing with him, and for that he desired also to bee in more honour with him, and to shew that hee was Generall, and a man capable to doe him good or hurt. And it happened to *Alcibiades*, that he owed the *Athenians* with *Tissaphernes*, and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The Peloponnesians mur-
mur against Tissaphernes
and Astyochus.

When the *Peloponnesians* that were at *Miletus* heard that *Alcibiades* was gone home, whereas they mistrusted *Tissaphernes* before, now they much more accused him. For it fell out; that when at the comming of the *Athenians* with their Fleet before *Miletus*, they refused to giue them Battell, *Tissaphernes* became thereby a great deale slacke in his payment, & besides that he was hated by them before this, for *Alcibiades* sake, the Souldiers now, meeting in Companies apart, reckoned vp one to another, the same matters which they had noted before, and some also, men of value, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this withall, how they had neuer had their full stipend, that the allowance was but small, and yet not continually paid, and that vlesse they either fought, or went to some other place where they might haue maintenance, their men would abandon the Fleet, and that the cause of all this was in *Astyochus*, who for priuate lucre gaue way to the humour of *Tissaphernes*. Whilest these were vpon this consideration, there happened also a certaine tumult about *Astyochus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracusians* and *Thurians*, **E** by how much they were a multitude, that had greater liberty

A berty then the rest, with so much the flouter importunity, they demanded their pay. And he not onely gaue them somewhat an insolent answer, but also threatened *Dorieus*, that amongst the rest spake for the Souldiers vnder himselfe, and lift vp his staffe against him. When the Souldiers saw that, they tooke vp a cry like Seamen indeed, all at once, and were running vpon *Astyochus*, to haue stricken him. But foreseeing it, he fled to an Altar, and was not stricken, but they were parted againe.

The *Milesians* also tooke in, a certaine Fort in *Miletus*, **B** built by *Tissaphernes*, hauing priuily assaulted it, and cast out the Garrison that was within it. These things were by the rest of the Confederates, and especially by the *Syracusians*, well approued of, but *Lichas* liked them not; saying, it behoued the *Milesians*, and the rest dwelling within the Kings Dominion, to haue obeyed *Tissaphernes* in all moderate things, and till such time as the Warre should haue been well dispatched, to haue courted him. And the *Milesians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended with *Lichas*, and afterwards when hee dyed of sickness, **C** would not permit him to bee buried in that place, where the *Lacedemonians* then present, would haue had him.

Whilest they were quarrelling about their businesse with *Astyochus* and *Tissaphernes*, *Mindarus* commeth in from *Lacedemon* to succeed *Astyochus* in his charge of the Fleet. And as soone as he had taken the Command vpon him, *Astyochus* departed. But with him *Tissaphernes* sent a *Carian*, named *Cauleites*, one that spake both the Languages, both to accuse the *Milesians* about the Fort, and also to make **D** an Apologie for himselfe. Knowing that the *Milesians* went principally to exclaime vpon him, and that *Hermocrates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tissaphernes* vndid the businesse of the *Peloponnesians*, with *Alcibiades*, and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enmity with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages; and in the end, when *Hermocrates* was banished from *Syracuse*, and other Commanders of the *Syracusan* Fleet, namely, *Potamis*, *Miscon*, and *Demarchus*, were arriued at *Miletus*, *Tissaphernes* lay more heavy vpon him, being an Outlaw **E** then before, and accused him amongst other things, that he had asked him mony, and because he could not haue it, became

Mutiny against Astyochus.

The Milesians take in
the Fort made in their
City by Tissaphernes.

Mindarus successor to
Astyochus, taketh charge
of the Army, and Astyochus
goeth home.

* Both Greeke and Persian.

came his Enemye. So *Astyochnus* and *Hermocratus* and the *A Milesians* went their way to *Lacedæmon*.

Alcibiades by this time was come backe from *Tissaphernes*, to *Samos*. And those Ambassadors of the *Four hundred*, which had bene sent out before to mollifie and to informe those of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now; whilest *Alcibiades* was present.

An Assembly being called, they were offering to speake, but the Souldiers at first would not heare them, but cryed out to haue them put to death, for that they had deposed the *People*; yet afterwards with much adoe they were calmed, and gaue them hearing. They declared, That the change had bene made for the preservation of the City, not to destroy it, nor to deliuer it to the Enemy; for they could haue done that before now, when the Enemy during their government assaulted it. That euery one of the 5000 was to participate of the Government in their turnes. And their friends were not (as *Chaereas* had laid to their charge) abused, nor had any wrong at all, but remained euery one quietly vpon his owne.

Though they deliuered this and much more, yet the Souldiers beleued them not, but raged still, and declared their opinions, some in one sort, some in another, most agreeing in this to goe against *Pericles*. And now *Alcibiades* appeared to be the first and principall man in doing seruice to the Common-wealth. For when the *Athenians* at *Samos* were carried headlong to inuade themselues, (in which case most manifestly the Enemy had presently possessed himselfe of *Ionia* and *Hellispon*) it was thought that hee was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there any man at that time able to haue held in the Multitude, but himselfe. He both made them to desist from the voyage, and rated off from the Ambassadors, those that were in their owne particular incensed against them; whom also he sent away, giuing them their answer himselfe: That he opposed not the government of the 5000, but willed them to remove the 400, and to establish the Councell that was before of 500. That if they had frugally cut off any expence, so that such as were employed in the Warrs might be the better maintained, he did much commend them for it. And withall hee exhorted them to stand out, and giue no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but

The Ambassadors from the 400 to excuse the change at *Samos*.

Alcibiades saved the *Athenian* State.

If eyther part miscarry once, eyther this at *Samos*, or the other at *Athens*, there would none be left for the Enemy to compound withall.

There chanced to be present also the Ambassadors of the *Argiues*, sent vnto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in *Samos*, to assise them. These *Alcibiades* commended, and appointed to be ready when they should be called for, and so dismissed them. These *Argiues* came in with those of the *Paralus*, that had bene bestowed formerly in the military Gally by the *Four hundred*, to goe about *Eubæa*, and to conuoy *Lesbodus*, *Aristophon*, and *Melesias*, Ambassadors from the *Four hundred*, to *Lacedæmon*. These as they sayled by *Argos*, seized on the Ambassadors, and deliuered them as principall men in deposing of the *People*, to the *Argiues*, and returned no more to *Athens*, but came with the Gallie they then were in, to *Samos*, and brought with them these Ambassadors from the *Argiues*.

The same Summer, *Tissaphernes*, at the time that the *Peloponnesians* were offended with him most, both for the going home of *Alcibiades*, and diuers other things, as now manifestly *Atticizing*, with purpose, as indeed it seemed, to cleere himselfe to them, concerning his accusations, made ready for his iourney to *Aspendus* for the *Phanician* Fleet, and willed *Lichas* to goe along with him; saying that he would substitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant ouer the Army, to pay the Fleet whilest himselfe was absent.

This matter is diuersly reported, and it is hard to know with what purpose he went to *Aspendus*, and yet brought not the Fleet away with him. For it is knowne that 147 Sayle of *Phanicians* were come forward as far as *Aspendus*, but why they came not thorow, the coniectures are various. Some thinke it was vpon designe (as hee formerly intended) to weare out the *Peloponnesian* Forces, (for which cause also, *Tamos*, who had that charge, made no better, but rather worse payment then himselfe.) Others, that hauing brought the *Phanicians* as far as *Aspendus*, he might dismiss them for money; (for he neuer meant to vse their seruice.) Some againe said, it was because they exclaimed so against it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not bee said he abused them, but that hee went openly to a Fleete really set out.

Tissaphernes goeth to the *Phanician* Fleet at *Aspendus*.

Coniectures of diuers vpon his going.

For

The opinion of the
Author.

For my owne part, I thinke it most cleare, that it was **A** to the end to consume, and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he brought not those Gallies in. Consuming them, in that he went thither, and delayed the time; and equalizing them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither party the stronger. For if he had had a mind to end the Warre, it is manifest hee might haue beene sure to haue done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedaemonians*, in all reason he had giuen them the victory, who had a Nauie already, rather equall then inferiour to that of their Enemies.

But that which hurt them most, was the pretence hee **B** alledged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he said they were not so many sayle as the *King* had ordained to be gotten together. But sure he might haue ingratiated himselfe more in this businesse, by dispatching it with lesse of the *Kings* Money, then by spending more. But whatsoeuer was his purpose, *Tissaphernes* went to *Aspendus*, and was with the *Phaenicians*, and by his owne appointment, the *Peloponnesians* sent *Philip* a *Lacedaemonian* with him with two Gallies, as to take charge of the Fleet.

Alcibiades, when he heard that *Tissaphernes* was gone to *Aspendus*, goes after him with thirteene Gallies, promising to those at *Samos*, a safe and great benefit, which was, that he would either bring those *Phaenician* Gallies to the seruice of the *Athenians*, or at least hinder their comming to the *Peloponnesians*; knowing, as is likely, the minde of *Tissaphernes* by long acquaintance, that hee meant not to bring them on, and desiring, as much as he could, to procure him the ill will of the *Peloponnesians*, for the friendship shewne to himselfe and to the *Athenians*, that hee might **D** thereby the better engage him to take their part. So hee presently put to Sea, holding his course for *Phaselis* and *Caunus* vpwards.

The Ambassadors of the *Four-hundred* being returned from *Samos* to *Athens*, and hauing related what they had in charge from *Alcibiades*, how that he exhorted them to hold out, and not giue ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes to reconcile them to the army, and to overcome the *Peloponnesians*; whereas many of the sharers in the *Oligarchy*, were formerly discontented, and would gladly, if they could **E** haue done it safely, haue quitted the businesse, they were now

Alcibiades, knowing that *Tissaphernes* would neuer bring on the Fleet, goeth after him, to make the *Peloponnesians* thinke, the Fleet was staid for his & the *Athenians* sakes.

Sedition at *Athens*, about the change of the *Oligarchy* into Democracy againe.

Now a great deale more confirmed in that minde. And already they had their meetings apart, and did cast aspersions on the Government, and had for their ring-leaders, some of the heads of the *Oligarchies*, and such as bare Office amongst them, as *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, and *Aristocrates* the sonne of *Sicelias*, and others, who though they were partakers with the foremost in the affaires of State, yet feared, as they said, *Alcibiades*, and the Armie at *Samos*; and ioyned in the sending of Ambassadors to *Lacedaemon*, because they were loth, by singling themselves **B** from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they dismissed the State into the hands of a very few. But said, that the 5000 ought in fact to be assigned, and not in voice onely, and the Government to be reduced to a greater equality. And this was indeede the forme pretended in words by the 400. But the most of them, through priuate ambition, fell vpon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out of a Democracy, is chiefly ouerthrowne. For at once they claymed euery one, not to be equall, but to bee farre the chiefe. Whereas in a Democracy, when election is made, **C** because a man is not overcome by his equals, he can better brooke it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to last, was it that most evidently encouraged them; and therevpon they euery one contended, who should most eminently become the Patron of the People.

But those of the *Four-hundred* that were most opposite to such a forme of Government, and the principall of them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had beene Generall at *Samos*, and was euer since at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Aristarchus*, a man that had beene an aduersary to the People, both in the greatest manner, and for the longest time; and *Pisander* and *Antiphon*, and others of the greatest power, not onely formerly, as soone as they entred into authority, and afterward when the State at *Samos* reuolted to the People, sent Ambassadors to *Lacedaemon*, and bestirred themselves for the *Oligarchy*, and built a wal in the place called *Eetioneia*, but much more afterwards, when their Ambassadors were come from *Samos*, and that they saw not onely the *Populans*, but also some others of their own party, thought **E** trully before, to bee now changed. And to *Lacedaemon* they sent *Antiphon* and *Phrynichus*, with tenne others, with

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all

Ambition of the *Oligarchs* amongst themselves, ouerthroweth their Government.

Pericles fortifie
mouth of the Haven
at Piræus.

all possible speed, as fearing their aduersaries, both at home **A**
and at *Samos*, with Commission to make a Peace with the
Lacedæmonians, on any tolerable conditions whatsoever, or
howsoeuer, and in this time went on with the building of
the Wall in *Eetioneia* with greater diligence then before.
The scope they had in this Wall, as it was giuen out by
Theramenes the sonne of *Agnon* was not so much to keepe out
those of *Samos*, in case they should attempt by force to en-
ter into *Piræus*, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both
the Gallies, and the Land-forces of the Enemies. For this
Eetioneia is the Peere of the *Piræus*, close vnto which is the **B**
mouth of the Haven; and therefore they built this Wall,
so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent,
that a few men lying within it, might command the en-
trance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the
Tower vpon the very mouth of the Haven, as well of the
old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was
built within it to the water. They built also an open
* ground-gallery, an exceeding great one, and close to their
new Wall within *Piræus*, and were Masters of it, and con-
strained all men, as well to bring thither their corne, which **C**
they had already come in, as to vnload there whatsoever
should come in afterward, and to take & sell it from thence.

Pericles murmured at
their fortifying in
Eetioneia.

These things *Theramenes* murmured at long before, and
when the Ambassadors returned from *Lacedæmon*, with-
out compounding for them all in generall, he gaue out, that
this Wall would endanger the vndoing of the Citie. For
at this very instant, there hapned to be riding on the Coast
of *Laconia*, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of *Ta-*
rentum, some of *Locri*, some *Italians*, and some *Sicilians*) set
out from *Peloponnesus*, at the instance of the *Eubæans*, bound **D**
for *Eubæa*, and commanded by *Hegesandridas* the sonne of *He-*
gesander, a Spartan. And these *Theramenes* said were com-
ming, not so much towards *Eubæa*, as towards those that
fortified in *Eetioneia*, and that if they were not looked to,
they would surprize the City. Now some matter might
indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so
that it was not a meere slander. For their principall de-
signe was to retaine the *Oligarchs*, with dominion ouer
their Confederates; but if they failed of that, yet
being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to haue **E**
subsisted free themselves; If barred of that, then, rather
then

The scope of the Oligar-
chicals.

A then to bee the onely men to suffer death vnder the re-
stored *Democracie*, to let in the Enemy, and without ei-
ther Nauy or Fortification, to haue let what would haue
become of the City, and to haue compounded for the safe-
ty of their owne persons.

Therefore they went diligently on with the Fortifica-
tion, wherein were Wickets and Entries, and backe-
wayes for the Enemy, and desired to haue it finished in
time. And though these things were spoken but amongst
a few before, and in secret, yet when *Phrynichus*, after his
B returne from his *Lacedæmonian* Ambassage, was by a cer-
taine Watchman wounded treacherously in the Market-
place, when it was full, as he went from the Councill-
house, and not farre from it, fell instantly dead, and the
murtherer gone; and that one of his Complices, an *Argiue*,
taken by the *Four-hundred*, and put to the torture, would
confesse no man of those named to him, nor any thing else,
sauiug this, that many men vsed to assemble at the house
of the Captaine of the Watch, and at other houses,
then at length, because this accident bred no alteration,

Phrynichus murdered.

C *Theramenes*, and *Aristocrates*, and as many other, either of
the 400, or out of that number, as were of the same facti-
on, proceeded more boldly to assault the Gouvernement.
For now also the Fleet being come about from *Laconia*,
and lying vpon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, had made incursi-
ons vpon *Ægina*. And *Theramenes* thereupon alledged, that
it was improbable that those Gallies holding their course
for *Eubæa*, would haue put in at *Ægina*, and then haue
gone backe againe to lye at *Epidaurus*, vlesse they had
beene sent for by such men as he had cuer accused of the
same; and that therefore there was no reason any longer
to sit still. And in the end, after many seditious and
suspicious speeches, they fell vpon the State in good ear-
nest. For the Souldiers that were in *Piræus*, employed in
fortifying *Eetioneia*, (amongst whom was also *Aristocra-*
tes, Captaine of a Band of men, and his Band with him)
seized on *Alexicles*, principall Commander of the Souldi-
ers vnder the *Four-hundred*, an eminent man of the other
side, and carrying him into a house, kept him in hold.
As soone as the newes heereof was brought vnto the
E *Four-hundred*, (who chanced at the same time to be sitting
in the Councel-house) they were ready al of them presently

Theramenes and his Facti-
on set themselves against
the rest of the 400.

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to

to haue taken Armes; threatening *Theramenes* and his Faction. A

Heto purge himselſe was ready to goe with them, and to helpe to reſcuer *Alexicles*, and taking with him ſome of the Commanders, who was alſo of his Faction, went downe into *Piræus*. To helpe him went alſo *Ariſtarchus*, and certaine Horſe-men of the yonger ſort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the Citie they thought *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, ſlaine. And in *Piræus* they expected euery houre the power of the City to come vpon them. At laſt the ancient men, ſtopping them that ranne vp and downe the City to arme themſelues, and *Thucydides* of *Pharalæus*, the Cities * Hoſt, being then there, going boldly and cloſe vp to euery one he met, and crying out vnto them, not to deſtroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay to neete waiting for an aduantage with much adoe quieted them, and held their hands from ſpilling their owne blood. *Theramenes* comming into *Piræus*, for he alſo had command ouer the Souldiers, made a ſhew by his exclaiming, of beeing angry with them; but *Ariſtarchus* and thoſe that were of the contrary ſide, were extremely angry in good earneſt. Neuertheleſſe the Souldiers went on with their buſineſs, and repented not a iot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if hee thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to haue it demolifhed. And he answered, that if they thought good to demolifh it, he alſo thought the ſame. At which word they preſently got vp, both the Souldiers, and alſo many others, of *Piræus*, and fell a digging downe of the Wall. C

Now the prouocation that they uſed to the Multitude, was in theſe words: That whoſoeuer deſired that the Souerainety ſhould be in the 5000 inſtead of the 400, ought alſo to ſet himſelfe to the worke in hand. For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vayne the Democracie with the name of the *Five-thouſand*, and not to ſay plainly, Whoſoeuer will haue the Souerainety in the People, leſt the 5000 ſhould haue bin extant indeed, and ſo a man by ſpeaking to ſome or other of them, might doe hurt to the buſineſſe, through ignorance. And for this cauſe it was, that the

Four-

A *Four-hundred* would neither let the *Five-thouſand* bee extant, nor yet let it bee knowne that they were not. For to make ſo many participant of the affaires of State, they thought was a direct Democracie, but to haue it doubtful, would make them afraid of one another. The next day, the *Four-hundred*, though out of order, yet met together in the Councell-houſe, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* hauing enlarged *Alexicles*, whom they had before imprifoned, and quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theater of *Bacchus*, neere to *Munychia*, and there ſate downe with their Armes, and preſently, according as they had reſolued in an Aſſembly then holden, marched into the City, and there ſate downe againe in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. To this place came vnto them certaine men elected by the *Four-hundred*, and man to man reaſoned and perſwaded with ſuch as they ſaw to be of the mildeſt temper, both to be quiet themſelues, & to reſtraine the reſt, ſaying, that not onely the *Five-thouſand* ſhould be made knowne who they were, but that out of theſe, ſuch ſhould be choſen in turnes, to be of the *Four-hundred*, as the *Five-thouſand* ſhould thinke good; and entreating them by all meanes, that they would not in the meane time ouerthrow the City, and force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole number of the men of Armes, after many reaſons, alledged to many men, grew calmer, and feared moſt the loſſe of the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that an Aſſembly ſhould be held, for making of accord, in the Temple of *Bacchus* at a day aſſigned.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wanted but a little of a full Aſſembly, came newes that *Hegeſandridas* with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara* along the Coaſt towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a Souldier, but thought it the very ſame thing that *Theramenes* and his party had before told them, That thoſe Gallies were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demolifhed to good purpoſe. But *Hegeſandridas*, perhaps vpon appointment, houred vpon the Coaſt of *Epidaurus*, and thereabouts; but it is likely, that in reſpect of the ſedition of the Athenians, he ſtaid in thoſe parts, with hope to take hold of ſome good aduantage. Howſoeuer it was, the Athenians, as ſoone as it was told them, ran preſently with all the power

A day appointed for an aſſembly, wherein to treat of agreement.

Thucydides. He that lodged the Athenians, when any of them came to Piræus.

The ſouldiers pull downe the Wall they had built in Euboea.

wer of the City, downe to *Piræus*; lesse esteeming their domesticall Warre, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now farre off, but euen in the Hauen. And some went aboard the Gallies that were then ready, some lanch- ed the rest, and others ranne to defend the Walles, and mouth of the Hauen.

The battell between the Athenians and the Fleet of Hegesandridas at Eretria.

But the *Peloponnesian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sumium*, cast Anchor betwene *Thoricus* and *Prasie*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all speede, constrained to make vse of tumultuary Forces, such as a Citie in time of sedition might afford, and desirous with all haste to make good their greatest stake, (for *Eubæa*, since they were shut out of *Attica*, was all they had) sent a Fleet vnder the command of *Timocharis*, to *Eretria*. Which ar- riuving, with those Gallies that were in *Eubæa* before, made vp the number of fixe and thirty Sayle; and they were presently constrained to hazard Battell. For *Hegesandridas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when hee had first there dined.

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threescore Fur- longs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* also, as the E- nemy came towards them, beganne to embarke, sup- posing that their Souldiers had bene some where nere vnto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone a- broad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by set purpose of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall vpon the *Athenians* that embarked slowly, before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight nothing was there to bee sold) but in the vtmost Houses of the Citie. There was besides a signe set vp at *Eretria*, to giue them notice at *Oropus*, at what time to set for- ward.

The Athenians defeated.

The *Athenians* drawne out by this device, and fighting before the Hauen of *Eretria*, made resistance neuerthe- lesse for a while, but afterwards they turned their backs, and were chased ashore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled most cruelly, and slaughtered by them of the Towne; but such as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, saved themselves: And so did so many of their Gallies as got to *Chalcis*.

The

A The *Peloponnesians*, after they had taken twelue *A- thenian* Gallies with the men, whereof some they flew, and some they tooke prisoners, erected a Trophie; and not long after, hauing caused all *Eubæa* to revolt, saue onely *Oreus* (which the *Athenians* held with their owne forces) they settled the rest of their businesse there.

When the newes of that which had hapned in *Eubæa*, was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greatest astonishment that euer they had bene in before. For neither did their losse in *Sicily*, though then thought great, nor any other at any time so much affright them, as this.

B For now when the Army at *Samos* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor men to put aboard, when they were in Sedition amongst themselves, and in continu- all expectation of falling together by the eares, then in the necke of all, arriued this great Calamity; wherein they not onely lost their Gallies, but also, which was worst of all, *Eubæa*, by which they had receiued more Commodity then by *Attica*. How then could they choose but be dejected? But most of all they were trou- bled, and that for the neerenesse, with a feare least vpon this victory, the enemy should take courage, and come immediately into *Piræus*, now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they bene any thing aduen- turous, they might easily haue done it, and then, had they stayed there and besieged them, they had not onely encreased the Sedition, but also compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionia*, to the ayde of their kinned and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and

The lamentable state of the Athenians upon the losse of Eubæa.

D in the meane time gotten, the *Hellepont*, *Ionia*, the *Islands* and all places euen to *Eubæa*, and as one may say, the whole *Athenian* Empire into their power. But the *Lacedæ- monians* not onely in this, but in many other things were most commodious enemies to the *Athenians* to Warre withall. For being of most different humours, the one swift, the other slow, the one aduenturous, the other ti- merous, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them great aduantage, especially when their greatnesse was by Sea. This was euident in the *Syracuzians*, who being in condition like vn- E to them, warred best against them.

The Lacedæmonians let slip the aduantage which they might haue had, if in prosecution of the victory, they had come to Athens.

The Lacedæmonians com- modious enemies to the Athenians.

The *Athenians* vpon this newes, made ready notwith- standing

The Athenians settle their Government, and put an end to the Sedition, by deposing the 400, & setting up the 5000.

standing twenty Gallies, and called an Assembly, one A then presently in the place called *Pyrex*, where they were wont to assemble at other times, in which hauing deposed the *Four-hundred*, they decreed the Soueraignty to the *Five-thousand*, of which number were all such to bee, as were charged with *Armes*; and from that time forward to *Salariate* no man for Magistracy, with a penalty on the Magistrate receiuing the Salary, to be held for an exorable person. There were also diuers other Assemblies held afterwards, where in they elected Law-makers, and enacted other things concerning the Government. And now first, (at least B in my time) the Athenians seeme to haue ordered their State aright; which consisted now of a moderate temper, both of the *Few*, and of the *Many*. And this was the first thing, that after so many misfortunes past, made the City againe to raise her head.

They recall Alcibiades.

They decreed also the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and those that were in exile with him; and sending to him, and to the Army at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with their businesse.

Most of the Oligarchicals fly to the enemy.

Aristarchus betrayeth Oenoe.

In this change, *Pisander* and *Alexicles*, and such as were with them, and they that had beene principall in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themselues to *Decelæa*. Onely *Aristarchus* (for it chanced that hee had charge of the Souldiers) tooke with him certaine Archers, of the most Barbarous, and went with all speede to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the Athenians in the Confinnes of *Boeotia*, and (for the losse that the *Corinthians* had receiued by the Garrison of *Oenoe*,) was, by voluntary *Corinthians*, and by some *Boeotians* by them called in to ayde them, now besieged. *Aristarchus* therefore hauing treated with these, deceiued those in *Oenoe*, and told them, that the City of *Athens* had compounded with the *Lacedæmonians*, and that they wereto render up the place to the *Boeotians*, for that it was so conditioned in the Agreement. Whereupon, beleueing him, as one that had authority ouer the Souldiery, and knowing nothing because besieged, vpon security for their passe, they gaue up the Fort. So the *Boeotians* receiue *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and E Sedition at *Athens* cease.

About

A About the same time of this Summer, when notice of those, whom *Tissaphernes*, at his going to *Aspadus*, had solicited to pay the *Peloponnesian* Naue, at *Mileus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phoenician* Fleet, nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him, and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan*, that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the Generall, That the Fleet was not to come at all, and in every thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent for them, and was willing, vpon the coming to him of their Fleet; for his owne part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his owne Province to reuolt from the Athenians; Then at length, *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order, and sudden warning, that the Athenians at *Samos* might not bee aware of their setting forth, went into the *Hellepont* with seauenty three Gallies, besides sixteene, which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellepont* before, and had ouer-runne part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the Winds, hee was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after hee had staid there through ill weather some five or sixe dayes, he arrived at *Chios*.

Thrasyllus hauing beene aduertised of his departure from *Miletus*, hee also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with five and fifty Sayle, hasting to bee in the *Hellepont* before him. But hearing that hee was in *Chios*, and conceiuing that hee would stay there, hee appointed D Spyes, to lye in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent ouer against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remoue without his knowledge; and hee himselfe going to *Methymna*, commanded prouision to bee made of Meale, and other necessaries, intending, if they staid there long, to goe from *Lesbos*, and inuade them in *Chios*.

Withall, because *Erethus* was reuolted from *Lesbos*, he purposed to goe thither with his Fleet, if hee could, E to take it in. For the most potent of the *Methymnean* Exiles had gotten into their society, about fifty men of

Y y

Armes,

Mindarus with the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, seeing *Tissaphernes* and the *Phoenician* Fleet came not, related to goe to *Phaselis* in their Fleet.

Mindarus stayeth by the way at *Chios*, *Thrasyllus* in the meane time ouer-goes him, and watches for his going by at *Lesbos*.

Armes, out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Continent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred, having for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, chosen in respect of their descent from the *Thebans*, first assaulted *Methymna*, but beaten in the attempt, by the *Athenian* Garrison that came against them from *Mitylene*; and againe in a Skirmish without the Citie, driven quite away, they passed by the way of the Mountaine to *Eressus*, and caused it to revolt. *Thrasylus* therefore intended to goe thither with his Gallies, and to assault it. At his comming, hee found *Thrasylulus* there also before him, with five Gallies from *Samos*: For hee had beene advertised of the Out-lawes comming over; but beeing too late to prevent them, hee went to *Eressus*, and lay before it at Anchor. Hither also came two Gallies of *Methymna*, that were going home from the *Hellepont*; so that they were in all threescore and seven Sayle, out of which they made an Armie, intending with Engines, or any other way they could; to take *Eressus* by assault.

In the meane time, *Mindarus*, and the *Peloponnesian* Fleet that was at *Chios*, when they had spent two dayes in victualling their Gallies, and had received of the *Chians* three *Chian* * *Tessaracostes* a man, on the third day put speedily off from *Chios*; and kept farre from the shore, that they might not fall amongst the Gallies at *Eressus*. And leaving *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent side, and putting in at a Haven in *Crateri*, belonging to the Territory of *Phocaea*, and there dining, passed along the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginuse* in the Continent, over against *Mitylene*, where they supped. From thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Harmatus*, a place in the Continent over against *Methymna*, and after dinner going a great pace by *Leptus*, *Larissa*, *Hamaxitus*, and other the Townes in those parts, came before midnight to *Rhetium*; this now is in *Hellepont*. But some of his Gallies put in at *Sigeum*, and other places thereabouts.

The *Athenians* that lay with eightene Gallies at *Sestus*, knew that the *Peloponnesians* were entring into the *Hellepont*, by the Fires, both those which their owne Watchmen put vp, & by the many which appeared on the Enemies shore, and therefore the samenight, in all haste, as they were, kept the shore of *Chersonesus*, towards *Eleus*, desiring

Mindarus and his Beete scale by into the *Hellepont* witten of those that watched their going, in *Lesbos*.

* a *Tessaracoste*, seemeth to have bene a cogne amongst the *Chians* and the fortieth part of some other greater cogne.

The *Athenians* at *Sestus* with 18 Gallies scale out of the *Hellepont*, but are met by *Mindarus*, and 4 of them taken.

A desiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline the Fleet of the Enemy; and went out vntoene of those sixteene Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though these had warning before from the Fleet of their friends that came on, to watch them narrowly, that they went not out) but in the morning, beeing in sight of the Fleet with *Mindarus*, and chased by him, they could not all escape, but the most of them got to the Continent, and into *Lenos*; onely foure of the hindmost were taken neere *Eleus*; whereof the *Peloponnesians* tooke one with the men in her, that had run her selfe a-ground at the Temple of *Protesilus*, and two other without the men, and set fire on a fourth, abandoned vpon the shoare of *Imbrus*.

After this they besieged *Eleus* the same day, with those Gallies of *Abydus*, which were with them, and with the rest, being now all together fourescore and sixe Sayle. But seeing it would not yeeld, they went away to *Abydus*.

C The *Athenians*, who had beene deceived by their Spyes, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleet could haue gone by without their knowledge, and attended at leisure the assault of *Eressus*, when now they knew they were gone, immediately left *Eressus*, and hastened to the defence of *Hellepont*. By the way they tooke two Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, that hauing ventured into the Maine more boldly in following the Enemy, then the rest had done, chanced to light vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*.

D The next day they came to *Eleus*, and stayed, and thither, from *Imbrus*, came vnto them those other Gallies that had escaped from the Enemy. Heere they spent five dayes in preparation for a Battell. After this, they fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the shore, ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Sestus*. The *Peloponnesians* also, when they saw this, brought out their Fleet against them from *Abydus*.

Beeing sure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in length, the *Athenians* along the shoare of *Chersonesus*, beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as farre as *Arbiana*,

Yyy

three

The *Athenians* hast from *Lesbos* after the *Peloponnesians* into *Hellepont*.

The *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* fight, and the *Athenians* get the victory.

threescore and sixe Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, A from *Abydus* to *Dardanus*, fourescore and sixe Gallies. In the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Syracusians*; in the other, *Mindarus* himselfe, and those Gallies that were nimblest. Amongst the *Athenians*, *Thrasyllus* had the left Wing, and *Thrasibulus* the right, and the rest of the Commanders, euery one the place assigned him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to giue the first on- set, and with their left Wing to ouer-reach the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and keepe them from going B out, and to driue those in the middle, to the shore which was neere. The *Athenians*, who perceiued it, where the Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put forth the same way that they did, and out-went them.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was also gone forward by this time, beyond the point called **Cynos-fema*, by meanes whereof that part of the Fleet which was in the midst, became both weake and diuided, especially when theirs was the lesse Fleet; and the sharpe C and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-fema* tooke away the sight of what passed there, from those that were on the other side.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part, both draue their Gallies to the dry Land, and beeing farre superiour in fight, went out after them, and assaulted them vpon the shore. And to helpe them, neither was *Thrasibulus* able, who was in the right Wing, for the multitude of the Enemies that pressed him; nor *Thrasyllus* in the left Wing, both because hee could D not see what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and because also hee was kept from it by the *Syracusians* and others, lying vpon his hands, no fewer in number then themselves. Till at last the *Peloponnesians*, bold vpon their victory, chasing some one Gally, some another, fell into some disorder, in a part of their Armie. And then those about *Thrasibulus*, hauing obserued that the opposite Gallies sought now no more to go beyond them, turned vpon them, and fighting, put them presently to flight. And hauing also cut off from the rest of the E Fleet, such Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, of that part that

* The Sepulcher of Hecuba.
Eurip.

A that had the victory, as were scattered abroad, some they assaulted, but the greatest number they put into affright vnfoughten. The *Syracusians* also, whom those about *Thrasyllus* had already caused to shrinke, when they saw the rest fly, fled out-right.

This defeat being giuen, and the *Peloponnesians* hauing for the most part escaped, first to the Riuer *Pydus*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* tooke but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowness of the B *Hellepont* afforded to the Enemy a short retreat) yet the Victory was the most seasonable to them that could be. For hauing till this day stood in feare of the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, both for the losse which they had receiued by little and little, and also for their great losse in *Sicily*, they now ceased eyther to accuse themselves, or to thinke highly any longer of the Nauall power of their Enemies. The Gallies they tooke were these; eight of *Chios*, five of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* two, of *Leucas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuse*, and *Pellene*, one apiece. Of their owne C they lost fifteene.

When they had set vp a Trophie in the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and taken vp the wreckes, and giuen truce to the Enemies to fetch away the bodies of their dead, they presently sent away a Gally with a Messenger, to carry newes of the Victory to *Athers*. The *Athenians*, vpon the comming in of this Gally, hearing of their vnexpected good fortune, were encouraged much, after their losse in *Eubæa*, and after their sedition, and conceiued that their estate might yet keepe vp, if they ply- D ed the businesse couragiously.

The fourth day after this Battell, the *Athenians* that were in *Sessus*, hauing hastily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was reuolted, and espying as they past by, the eight Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding vnder *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, set vpon them, and hauing also ouercome those that came to their ayde from the Land, tooke them. Then comming to *Cyzicus*, being an open Towne, they brought it againe into their owne power, E and leauied a summe of Money amongst them.

The courage of the *Athenians* was rectified with this victory.

The *Athenians* recover *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*.

The

The Peloponnesians recover some of their Gallies taken, at Eleus.

They send for the Fleet with Hegesandrus out of Eubœa.

Alcibiades returneth from Exile to Samos.

He fortifieth Samos.

The Antandrian put out the Garrison of Tisaphernes out of their Citadell.

Tisaphernes goeth toward Hellespont, to recover the favour of the Peloponnesians.

The Peloponnesians in the meane time going from *Abdus* to *Eleus*, recovered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest, the *Eleusians* had burnt. They also sent *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* into *Eubœa*, to fetch away the Fleet that was there.

About the same time also, returned *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, with his thirteene Gallies from *Caunus* and *Phaselis*, reporting that he had diuerted the *Phœnician* Fleete from comming to the Peloponnesians, and that hee had inclined *Tisaphernes* to the friendship of the *Athenians*, more then hee was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, hee exacted a great summe of money of the *Halicarnassians*, and fortified *Cos*. Being now almost Autumne, hee returned to *Samos*.

The Peloponnesians being now in *Hellespont*, the *Antandrians* (who are *Æolians*) receiued into the City men of Armes from *Abdus* by Land through Mount *Ida*, vpon injury that had beene done them by *Araces*, a Deputy Lieutenant of *Tisaphernes*. This *Araces* hauing fained a certaine Warre, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chiefeft of the *Delians*, (the which in hal- lowing of *Dædus* by the *Athenians* were turned out, and had planted themselves in *Adramyttium*) to goe with him to this War. And when vnder colour of amity and confederacy hee had drawne them out, he obserued a time when they were at dinner, and hauing hemmed them in with his owne Souldiers murdered them with darts. And therefore, for this acts sake, fearing lest hee might doe some vnlawfull pranke against them also, and for that hee had otherwise done them iniury, they cast his Garrison out of their Citadell.

Tisaphernes hearing of this, (being the act of the Peloponnesians, as well as that at *Miletus*, or that at *Cnidus*, for in those Cities his Garrisons had also beene cast out in the same manner) and conceiuing that hee was deeply charged to them, and fearing lest they should doe him some other hurt; and withall not enduring that *Pharnabazus* should receiue them, and with lesse time and cost, speed better against the *Athenians* then hee had done, resolved to make a journey to them in the *Hellespont*, both to com-

A complaine of what was done at *Antandrus*, and to cleere himselfe of his accusations, the best he could, as well concerning the *Phœnician* Fleet, as other matters. And first he put in at *Ephesus*, and offered Sacrifice to *Diana*. When the Winter following, this Summer shall be ended, the one and twentieth yeere [of this Warre] shall be compleat.

* * *

FINIS.



The end of the one and twentieth Summer.

THE TABLE.



A
Abydos. 138.B.
Abydos, reuolteth from the *Athenians*. 504.B.
Acanthus reuolteth from the *Athenians*. 260.C.
Acaruanians, why so called. 143.A.
Theues 4.C. their League with *Athens*. 119.B. good slingers. 127.D.
Acetina, a Riuer of *Sicily*. 225.D.
Achaia, *Oligarchized*. 339.A.
Acharna, a great part of the *Athenian* Citie. 94.A.B.
Achelous. 142.B.
Acheron. 26.B.
Acherusia. ibid.
Acre, when, and by whom built. 352.D.
Acragante, when and by whom built. 352.A.
Alte. 272.D.
Albani. 18.A.
Egincta. They incense the *Lacedaemonians* against the *Athenians*. 35.C.
Egina, yeelded to the *Athenians*. 57.A. They are receiued by the *Lacedaemonians* into *Thyre*. 97. 3. and taken by the *Athenians*, & put to death. 243.C.
Egitum. 197.E. 198.A.
Egypt. The *Athenians* in *Egypt* defeated. 57.D.
Erus. 137.D.
Erus. 228.D.
Eolian Ilands. 192.B.
Etina, burneth. 209.B.
Etolia. 196.B.
Agamemnon his power. 6.A.
Agis withdraweth his Army from *Argos*, and why. 327.B. he leueth money in *Thessaly*. 471.B. his power when he was at *Decelea*. 472.B.
Agrei. 142.B.
Agreis. 203.B.
Agrianes. 138.A.
Alcamentis slaine. 475.C.

Alcibiades, how he crosseth *Nicias*, and deceiuing the *Lacedaemonian* Ambassadors, procureth a League betwene the *Athenians* and *Argives*. 316.C. & sequ. he goeth with charge into *Peloponnesus*. 323.B. preseth the *Sicilian* expedition, and why. 358.B. is accused for the defacing of the *Mercuries*. 365.D. his opinion touching the manning of the *Sicilian* Warre. 377.A. is called home to his tryall. 379.B. he vnbetrayeth *Messina*. 392.A. his aduice to the *Lacedaemonians*, to fortifie *Decelea*. 402.C. He flyeth to *Tissaphernes*. 493.E. he counselleth *Tissaphernes* against the *Lacedaemonians*. 494.D. seeketh to returne to *Athens*. 495.D. he deludeth the *Athenians*, in demaund of intollerable conditions, and why. 501.B. his returne propounded at *Athens*. 499.C. he is made Generall of the *Athenian* Army at *Samos*. 516.A. his returne decreed at *Athens*. 528.B. he hindereth the Army of the *Athenians*, from inuading the Citie of *Athens*. 518.C. he goeth after *Tissaphernes* to *Aspendus*, & why. 520.C.
Alcidas sent to relieue *Asiylene*. 558.B. his behaviour in that voyage. 160.C. his returne with his Fleet into *Peloponnesus*. 182.B. his charge against *Coryra* at *Sybona*. 185.B.
Alcmæon. 143.A.
Almopia. 140.B.
Alope. 97.B.
Alycia. 431.A.
Ambrabian Gulfe. 18.A. 118.D.
Ambraciotes Warre against the *Acarnanians*. 125.D. are defeated at *Idomene*. 206.D.
Amorges, a Rebelle against the King of *Persia*. 485.B.
Amphipolis, called the *Ninewayes*. 53.A. taken by *Brasidas*. 271.A.

refuseth to be rendred to the *Athenians*. 302.B.
Anallorium. 18.A. 3. B. C. 208.C. 239.E. 431.A.
Anax. A City ouer against *Samos*. 253.C. the *Anax* were *Sami*. 160.C.
Anaxus, a Riuer in *Acarnania*. 128.A. a Riuer neere *Syracuse*. 387.D. 405.B.
Andros, Victo in the *Olympique* Games. 321.E.
Antandrus, taken by the Outlawes of *Mitylene*. 240.E.
Anthemus. 140.B.
Antiochion. 91.D.
Antiphon. 497.D. 498.A.
Antiranes. 126.C.
Aphrodisia. 242.D.
Aply. 34.C.
Apidanu. 255.E.
Apodoti. 196.C.
Apollo Malocis. 146.E.
Arcadians, borrowed Ships for the *Troian* Warre. 6.D.
Archæter, daughter of *Hippias*, her Epitaph. 383.A.
Archdamus, King of *Lacedaemon*, Generall of the *Peloponnesians*. 87.C. blamed for his delay at *Oenoe*. 93.A. his purpose in staying at *Achæna*. 94.A. his protestation against *Pantæa*. 122.B.
Archon, the nine *Archontes*. 66.A.
Archurus. 24.C.
An Argilian betrayeth *Pausanias*. 70.C.
Argennum. 487.E.
Argives. They refuse to renew the Truce with *Sparta*, and why. 298.B. they treat of League against the *Lacedaemonians*, with the rest of the *Grecians*. 306.B. they seeke Peace with *Sparta*. 314.C. they make League with *Athens*. 319.A. their Army intercepted. betwene the Armies of their enemies. 326.C. they

THE TABLE.

they renounce their League with the *Macaræans*, 337. B.
Argos, 6. C. *Argos Amphibolichem*, 118. D. invaded by the *Ambraciotes*, 232. C. *Argos Oligarchized*, again, relaptch into a Democracy, 339. A.
Argos, 17. D. 32. C. 33. E. 34. D. *Argos*, 100, 120. D. his fact against the Tyrants, 379. D. & *sequen-*
tiæ.
Arifia his Stratagem, 436. A.
Armies, A property of all Armies in fight, what it is, 332. A. greatness of the *Athenian* Army far forth for *Sicily*, 374. D.
Arms, ordinarily worn, 4. C. laid by gift, by the *Athenians*, 9. C.
Artaphernes, Ambassadors from the King of *Persia*, to *Sparta*, taken by the *Athenians*, and his Letters read, 240. A.
Artaxerxes, 73. B. his death, 240. B.
Aryste, a Magistracy in *Argos*, 220. B.
Asiae, 242. A.
Aspius the sonne of *Phormio*, 148. D.
Aspatus, 49. C. 93. D. 142. A.
Aspuchus, General of the *Asoponenses*, 482. A. his danger, 487. C. he discloseth the Treason of *Eurybius* to *Alcibiades*, 493. A. in danger to be slain by mutiny 517. A. discharged of his command, 517. C.
Asiatics, 99. C. 192. E.
Athenians, the first of the *Greeks* that grew civil, 4. C. they wore the Grallhopper in their haire, 4. D. their manner of governing their Confederates, 12. B. their disposition, 37. D. 38. A. 103. A. B. C. they broke the League by aiding the *Corinthians*, 27. D. they wall their Citie, 47. B. their victory at the River *Eumedon*, 52. D. their reputon for Murall assaults 53. D. how they gat the leading of *Greece*, 51. A. the *Grecians* hate them in the beginning of this Warre, 78. D. 79. B. they refuse to heare the messenger from *Archidamus*, 88. D. their custome of living in the Countrey Townes, 91. A. 92. A. their revenue and trea-

fure, 89. D. their forces, 90. C. they loued to heare and tell newes, 103. A. they seeke peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, 112. C. they question their Commanders for compounding with *Peridea*, 120. B. they desire to Conquer *Sicily*, 191. D. they banish their Commanders for returning out of *Sicily*, 247. B. they withhold the Gallies of the *Peloponnejians* at *Pylus*, vpon a Caull, 224. A. they refuse to render *Pylus*, and why, 311. B. they Warre on *Acædonia*, 354. B. they break the Peace with *Lacedæmon*, 411. A. Their miserable riling from *Syracuse*, and their final delate, 459. A. & sequ. they were fitter to bee friends of the *Perjians*, then were the *Lacedæmonians*, and why, 495. A. & sequentia.
Athens, made great by *Theseus*, 91. B. greatelt in the time of *Perulus*, 116. B.
Arbor, 272. D. by what Nations inhabited, 273. A.
Arcus, 6. B.
Africa, sterile ground, 2. D. how it became populous, 3. A. inuaded, 59. D. 93. C. 106. C. 145. D. 158. C. 212. B. 422. E.
Alexis, 140. A.

B *Accidental Holidays* 91. *DCity* *Bucchials* celebrated in the end of Winter, 302. *Battles*, by Sea between the *Corcyraans* & *Corinthians*, 18. D. 27. A. between the *Athenians* and *Eginete*, 55. A. between the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*, at *Cecryphaleia*, 55. A. at *Halici*, 54. E. between the *Athenians* and the *Samians*, 60. C. between the *Athenians* and *Phoenicians*, &c. 58. D. between *Phormio* and the *Peloponnesians*, 128. B. againe, 134. B. between the *Peloponnesians* & *Corcyraans*, 185. C. between the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians* at *Pylus*, 218. C. between the *Syracussians*, and *Athenians* in the

Straight of *Messina*, 225. A. between the *Syracussians* and *Athenians*, in the great *Hauen*. 424. D. againe, 436. A. againe, 444. D. againe. 455. A. between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, 432. D. betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* at *Eretria*, 526. C. at *Cynossma*, 532. A. by Land, betweene the *Athenians* and *Corinthians* at *Potidea*, 33. C. betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* in *Megaris*, 55. C. at *Tanagra*, 56. D. betweene the *Athenians* and *Boeotians* at *Coronea*, 59. A. betweene the *Ambraciotes* and *Acaruanians*, 204. A. betweene the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, at *Solygia*, 236. C. betweene the *Athenians* and *Boeotians* at *Delium*, 265. A. betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Argives*, 332. D. betweene the *Syracussians* and *Athenians*, 389. C. betweene the same by night, 439. A. between the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* at *Alelus*, 483. B.

Berrheca, 32. E.

a Bell vied in going the round, 287 D.

the *Bess* man, 45. B.

Birds dyed of the *Pestilence* 108. B.

Bisaltia, 140. B.

Buthynians, are *Thracians* on *Asia* side of the *Bosphorus*, 253. D.

Bocorarchontes, 262. A.

Boetia, fertile ground, 2. C. called formerly, *Cadmeis*, 8. n.

The *Boeotians*, came from the *Argives*, in *Thebais*, ibid. are overcome in battell at *Oenophyta*, 56. E. they overcome at *Coronea*, 59. A. they take *Heracles* into *plote-Rion*, 53. A.

Boium, 56. A.

Bolbe, the Lake, 32. A.

Bolissus, 482. B.

Bomians, 197. C.

Botticis reuolteth from the *Athenians*, 31. E. the *Athenians* and *Botticians* fight, 125. A.

Bottia, 140. A.

Brasidas saues *Aetobone*, and is publicly prayd at *Sparta*, 96. C. ioyned as a Counsellour with *Cleonus*, 185. C. swowneth of his wounds at *Pylus*, 218. B.

THE TABLE.

hee passeth through *Thebes*, 255. A. refuseth to ayde *Perdiccus*, 258. A. taketh *Acanthus*, 258. B. is praised by the Author, 257. A. is enuyed at *Sparta*, 272. C. he taketh *Torone*, 274. A. and *Lycabrus*, 275. D. is honoured by the *Scironides*, 279. he receiveth *Alcibiades* that revolted from the *Athenians*, 280. B. his retreat out of *Lycia*, 283. C. he attempteth *Potidea* by night, 287. C. his Stratagem against *Cleon* at *Amphipolis*, 293. D. his death buriaill, and honours, 296. A. & fig. 2.

Trochilus, 287. B.
Prodicus, 136. E.
Buphrates, 277. A.
Thurill. How the *Cerurus* were buried, 5. D.

Caelidus, 71. C.
Calanus, 197 C.
Calio, General of the Athenians
at Potidaea, 32. B. 34. B.
Calone, a Fournaine, or the Nine-
pipes, 91. D.
Calon, 200. B.
Calonista, when, and by whom
built, 352. D. refresheth to receiue
the Athenians, 379. D.
Calpistras, 273. C.
Cardamyle, 482. A.
Carinus, inhabited the Cyclades,
3. D. addicted to robbery, 5. c.
expelled the Cyclades by Minos,
3. E. known by their forme of
buriall 5. D.
Carneius, a Moneth kept holy by
the Dorians, 323. E. *Carneius*
Holidays, 335. C. D.
Caryae, 324. C. 50.
Carysius, 52. A.
Catalogue of the Confederates of
both sides at Syracuse, 446. D.
Catalogue of the Confederates
of the Lacedaemonians and Athe-
nians, 86. D. & sequ.
Catana surprized by the Atheni-
ans, 378. D. when and by whom
built. 351. C.
Caunus, 426. C.
Cause of the Peloponnefian Warre.
14. C 46. D.
Cenchrea, 236. B.
Cephalennus, 98. D. 99. D.

Cerdylum, 292. C.
Cesrine, 26. B.
Cercine, 139. B.
Cheironas, 58. E. taken by the *Athenians*, 59. A. the *Boeotian* Outlawes seeke to betray it, 254. A. subiect to the City of *Orchomeus*, 253. D.
Chalcideans, they revolt from the *Athenians*, 311. E. they retyre to *Olynthus*, 32. A. they procure an Armie out of *Peloponnesus*, and why, 265. B. they League with the *Argives*, 308. D.
Chalcideus slaine, 184. E.
Chalers, 57. A. 128. C.
Challans, 199. C.
Chironius, 125. D. 125. C. defended by the men of *Strans*, 127. C.
Chamerium, 18 D. 26. B.
Chians not deprived of liberty by the *Athenians*, and why, 150. C. forced to raze their City Wall, 250. C. desire to bee protected by the *Lacedaemonians*, 472. C. revolt from the *Athenians*, 473. C. 477. B. kept by the *Athenians* from the view of the Sea, 482. D.
Chiosis a Territory, 125. B.
Chrysis, woman Priest of *Artemis*, slept whilst the Temple was fired, 287. A.
Cinnon, 52. C. taketh *Fion*, 51. E. warreth on *Cypus*, 58. C. dyeth before *Citium*, *ibid.*
Citharus, 122. D.
Cleas the C. 27. 161. A.
Clazemans, 486. C.
Clearides endeavoureth to restore the Peace, 303. A.
Cleobulus, 311. D.
Cleon hindreth the Peace with the *Lacedaemonians*, 223. B. undertaketh the expugning of *Sphacteria*, 228. C. his boat, *ibid.* D. he warreth on *Amphipolis*, 292. B. is in contempt with his Army, 293. A. winneth *Torone*, 291. A. is slaine at *Amphipolis*, 296. B.
Cleons, 273. A.
Cnemus overcometh at Sea by *Phormio*, 135. B. his journey against *Argos* *Amphibolium*, 126. A.
Colone, 69. A.

Colophon, 161. B. Haugen of the C.
Colophon, near Tarent, 290. B.
Combinations for Offices, 500. C.
Coreys: Metropolis of *Epidaurus*, 15. A. throng in shipping, 15. D. called of old *Perseus*, 18. A. consequently situated in passage into Sicily, 25. B. *Corinthians* not accustomed to quarrel with others, 12. B. 19. matters of the Sea, 18. D. disaster of them taken by the *Corinthians* in *Asia Minor*, 30. C. their sedition begun, 182. D. the great men take Sanctuary, 185. A. they encamp on *Ipsus*, 191. B.
Corinthians protect *Epidaurus*, 15. C. their expropriation with the *Athenians*, 29. C. *Corinth* invaded by the *Athenians*, 255. D. *Corinth* how farre from the Sea that looketh towards *others*, 276. A. *Corinth* still off from the *Laconians*, 15. to the *Athenians*, and why, 300. D. they fall off againe from the *Athenians*, and why, 321. A. they refuse to aye the *Synaspism*, 330. B.
Corinth, 51. A.
Corinth, 142. A.
Corinth, 242. D.
Corinth, 370. A. 387. C. 391. C. 497. C. 498. C.
Corymbium, 13. A.
Cos, 497. D.
Cos: all of the Beane 507. A.
Cos, 98. D. 99. D. 341. D.
Cos: Gulf, 50. B. 128. A. 126. A. 131. D.
Cos, 197. C.
Cos: as in *Asia*, in *Asia*, the new-circumcised, 35. C. *Cos*: one of the *Laconians*, not haillie to condemn a *Spanian*, 70. B. *Cos*: one of the *Thracians* touching gifts, 118. D.
Cos: as governed by the forces of *Atticus*, 5. B.
Cos, 100. A.
Cos, 100. B.
Cos, 18. C. 170. C.
Cos, 60. B.
Cos, 100. D.
Cos, 100. B.
Cos, 100. A. 115. A.
Cos, 100. C.
Cos, 100. A.
Cos: opposite to *Attica*, 211. B. taken by the *Athenians*, 141. D. *Cos*: one of the *Thracians*, 241. B.

THE TABLE.

Cytherians removed into the *Cyclades*, 243. D.
Cytinium, 56. A.
Cyzicus recovered by the *Athenians*, 533. D.

D

Daphnus, 486. C.
Dascon, 387. D.

Daulia, 98. A.
Deceia. The incommodities arising to the *Athenians* by the fortification there, 428. B. D.

Delphi, 17. B.

Delos, the Treasury of the *Athenian* Tributes, 53. C. *Delos* consecrated, 200. E. no man might bee borne, or suffered to dye in *Delos*, 201. B. *Delian* Games, 201. B. *Delians* driven out of *Delos*, are received into *Adamiyttini*, 290. A. replanted in *Delos*, 309. A.

Delium, in the Territory of *Tanagra*, 254. B. taken by the *Athenians*, 261. B. Battell at *Delium*, 265. A.

Democracy. *Democracy* conspired against at *Athens*, 56. C. *Democracy* dissolved at *Argos*, 338. E. *Democracy* what it is, 401. B.

Demissibenes invaded *Attolia*, 196. B. is defeated, 198. D. feareth to returne to *Athens*, 198. E. hee maketh Peace with the *Peloponnesians* shut up in *Olpe*, and why, 205. B. his acts in *Acarnania*, 202. D. & sequ. he attempteth *Sipha* in *Bocotia*, 261. A. he taketh in *Pylus*, 212. D. he putteth the Fort before *Epidaurians* into the hands of the *Epidaurians*, and how, 338. hee arriveth at *Syracuse*, 437. C. his attempt on *Epipola*, 438. C. adultereth to rise from before *Syracuse*, 441. C. is taken Prisoner, 464. D.

Derceus, 141. C.

Derdis brother to *Perdiccas*, 31. B. Dialogue betweene the *Athenians* and *Althians*, 341. A.

Dichians, 339. A.

Didyme, 192. B.

Dij, 137. E.

Diomilus, a Fugitive of *Andros*, 405. C. slaine at *Epipola*, 406. A.

Dion in *Macedonie*, 256. A.

Dion in Mount *Athos*, 273. A.

Doberus, 139. C.
Dolopis, 142. B.
Doriens of *Rhodes* victor in the *Olympian* Games, 149. B.
Doris, Metropolis of the *Lacedaemonians*, 56. A.
Drabescus, 53. A.
Droans, 141. C.
Drinysis, 486. D.
Dyme, 129. D.

E

Earthquake attributed to the violation of Religion, 67. A.
Earthquake at *Delos*, 86. B.
Earthquake hindreth the *Lacedaemonians* from invading *Attica*, 53. B. 192. D. *Earthquakes* 240. C. 232. D. 318. A. 192. A. 193. A. their naturall cause, 193. B.

Eclimades, 142. B. C.

Eclipse of the Sunne, 97. D. 240. C. of the Moone, 444. A. it keepeth *Nicias* from removing from before *Syracuse*, *ibid*.

Ectonicia fortified, by whom, and why, 522. A.

Egeftan Ambassadors at *Athens*, 354. C. the *Egeftans* deceive the *Athians*, and how, 376. B.

Eidomene, 140. C.

Eidonia, 140. B. *Eidonians*, 53. A.

Eion, 51. E. 214. C. 240. A.

Elaphobolus, 302. A. B.

Eleus, their League with *Corinth* 308. A. their quarrell with the *Lepreutes*, 308. B. and with the *Lacedaemonians*, 308. C. they leave the *Argive* Army, and why, 328. D. they refuse to be comprehended in the Peace betweene the *Lacedaemonians* and *Athenians*, 300. A.

Eleusis, 26. B. 93. C.

Elens, an Island adjacent to *Miletus*, 483. E.

Enipetus, 255. C.

Eorda, 140. B.

Ephesus, 73. A.

Ephori, their power to imprison their King, 69. B.

Ephyr, 26. B.

Epidamnus, 14. D. *Epidamnians* implore the ayde of the *Corcyreans*, 15. B. they put themselves into the protection of the *Corinthians*, *ibid*. *Epidaurus* taken by the *Corcyreans*, 18. B.

Epidaurus, 111. C. *Epidaurian* war, 323. C. *Epidaurus* besieged by the *Athenians*, 335. D. *Epidaurus* *Limera*, 242. E.
Epidemiurgi, Magistrates, 31. A.
Epipola, 405. B.
Era recuolteeth from the *Athenians*, 479. D.
Ereftus, 162. A. recuolteeth, 481. B. 529. D.
Evtrians betray the *Athenians*, 526. C.

Erimus, 56. A.

Erythra, 157. D. 161. A.

Eurymus, Tyrant of *Assacus*, 98. D. 99. C.

Euboea recuolteeth from the *Athenians*, 59. B. recovered by *Pericles*, 59. C. *Euboea*, 147. B. *Euboeans* send to *Agis* for protection, 472. A.

Eucens, 128. C.

Eusepita, 443. C.

Eupolium, 199. D.

Eurysheus, 6. B. C.

Eurypus, 140. D.

Euryalus, 405. D. 415. A.

Eurymedon slaine, 444. D.

Eurytians, 196. C.

Euxine Sea, 137. D.

Exaction cause of revolt, 52. B.

F

Fable of *Alcmeon*, 142. D.

Factions of the *Grecians*, 12. A.

Fattest soyles most subiect to change of inhabitants, 2. C.

Fear the cause of faith in Leagues, 150. C.

Fear of injury to come, cause of Warre, 151. B.

Fire. A great fire in *Plataea*, 124. B.

Fires significant, 136. C. 187. A. Fire breaketh out of *Aetna*, 209. B.

Fleet of *Athenians* at *Salamis*, how great, 40. B. the *Fleet* for *Sicily*, 366. C. how great, 374. D. not received by the cities of *Sicily*, 375. B. C.

Fort before *Epidaurus*, 335. E. the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians* about *Plataea*, 155. A.

Funerall at *Athens* for the first slaine in the Warre, 100. A.

GAMES

THE TABLE.

G

GAMES Olympian, 5. A.
Gaspilus, 271. C. 292. B.
Garments of the *Lacedaemonian* Nobility, 5. A.
Gela, when, and by whom built, 352. A.
Geomori, 480. C.
Gerastus, 147. B.
Geranea, 55. B. 56. B. D. 250. C.
Geles, 139. C.
Gigonus, 23. A.
Gongylus, keepeth the *Syracussians* from yielding to the *Athenians*, 414. D.

Gortynius, 140. D.

Grashoppers worne by the *Athenians*, 4. D.

Greece, divided into Leagues, 11. D.

Grestonia, 140. B.

Gustis, the custome of the *Thracians* to take gifts, 38. D.

Gylippus, Generall of the *Peloponnesians* at *Syracuse*, 404. A. arriveth at *Syracuse*, 415. A. his message to the *Athenians*, 415. B.

H

Halieu, 54. E. 111. C.

Harmodius, 12. C. solicited to loue by *Hipparchus*, 380. A.

Hellanicus the Historiographer, 51. D.

Hellas, whence so called, 3. B.

Hellen, the sonne of *Deucalion*, 3. B.

Helorine way, 388. A.

Helotes, 33. B. why called *Messenians*, *ibid*. the plots of the *Lacedaemonians* to keepe them weak, 256. D.

Heraclia, when, and by whom built, 195. C. infected by the *Thebaisians*, *ibid*. commodiously feared for the Warre against *Athens*, 194. D. *Heraclia*, 255. A. weakened by the *Dolopians*, 322. D.

Heraclides, 3. B. 8. D.

Hermione, 111. C.

Hermocrates banished, 517. D.

Hestians put out of *Euboea* by the *Athenians*, 59. C.

Hirca, *Vulcan* shop, 192. B.

Himera, when, and by whom built, 352. C. invaded by the *Athenians*, 208. C. it aydeth

Gylippus, 414. B.
Hipparchus brother to *Hippias* the Tyrant of *Athens* slaine by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, 12. D. solicited *Harmodius* for loue, and is denied, 380. A. disgraceeth *Harmodius*, 381. C. how slaine, 382. B. why thought afterwards to haue bene the Tyrant, 381. C.
Hippias, Tyrant of *Athens*, 12. C. 380. B. eldest sonne of *Pisistratus*, *ibid*. driven out of *Athens* by the *Lacedaemonians*, returneth with the *Persians* to *Mazaeon*, 383. B.

Hippias, an *Arcadian*, slaine by *Paches*, contrary to faith, 161. E.

Hippocrates taketh *Delium*, 261. B.

Holy Warre, 58. D.

some Holiday or other at *Athens* continually, 102. B.

Homor, 3. B.

Hope, 343. C. D.

Horsemen. 400. *Horsemen* ordained by the *Lacedaemonians*, 242. B.

Horsemen, a degree in estate at *Athens*, 153. A.

Hyecara, 385. C.

Hyperbolus, 510. D.

Hyssia of *Assica*, 157. D.

Hyssia of *Argia*, taken by the *Lacedaemonians* 340. A.

Hyperbolus, 510. D.

I

Iassus taken by the *Peloponnesians*, 485. B.

Iethys Promontory, 96. E.

Ida, 241. A.

Idomeneus, 206. B.

Ileus, 414. E.

Ilyrians betray *Perdiccas*, 281. C.

Images of *Mercury* at *Athens* defaced, 365. B.

Imbrians, 148. A. *Imbros*, 128. D.

Inarus a *Rebell*, crucified, 57. D.

Inesa, 200. C. *Inesians*, 404.

Inscription on the *Tripode* by *Pausanias*, 69. E. by the *Lacedaemonians*, 70. A.

Inundation at *Orobis*, 192. D. at *Alalanta*, 192. E.

Ionia, plained with *Athenians*, 3. A. E.

Isthmi, taken by the building of Cities, 5. B. *Isthmus* of *Pakene*, 30. D.

Istone, 191. B.
Italy, whence so named, 350. D.
Ithome, 53. B. yielded vp, 54. A.
Itonians, 292. B.
Iunos Temple at *Argos*, burnt, 287. A.

K

King of *Lacedaemon* had but one Vote in Councell, 12. D.
Kingdomes with honours limited, 11. D.

L

Lacedaemonians. *Lacedaemonian* Noblemen, plaine in their garments, 4. A. *Lacedaemonians* pulled downe the Tyrants of *Greece*, 11. B. how they gouerned their Confederates, 12. A. their disposition, 37. D. slow to Warre without necessity, 61. C. Pretend the liberty of *Greece*, 86. C. they would haue no walled Cities without *Peloponnesus*, and why, 47. C. they are hindered from the invasion of *Attica*, by an Earthquake, 192. D. their gouernment alwayes severe, not alwayes iust, 195. D. 400 *Lacedaemonians* put into the Ile *Sphacteria*, 215. D. they desire to treat for their men at *Pylus*, with a private Committee, 223. C. their men taken in *Sphacteria*, put in bonds, 235. B. they seeke Peace secretly, 235. D. their policy in destroying their *Hierotes*, 256. D. they seeke Peace, and why, 298. A. their men taken in *Pylus*, deliuered, 304. C. they seeke League with the *Argives*, and why, 312. A. their Ambassadors roughly used at *Athens*, 316. B. they make League priuately with the *Boeotians*, 314. B. they ware on *Argos*, 325. C. their Army at *Leuctra*, 323. D. they are excluded from the *Olympian* Games, 322. A. and fined in a Summe of money, 321. C. their Discipline in charging the enemy, 322. D. they fight long for a victory, but follow the enemy not farre, 324. D. they make ready 100 Gallies for the *Ponian* warre, 471. C. commodious enemies for the *Athenians*, 529. D.

THE TABLE.

Ladbalum, 406. A.
Lada, 478. D.
Lasfrignes, 350. A.
Lamachus, his opinion touching the Conduktion of the Sicilian Warre, 377. C. *laine*, 408. D.
Lampisus, 74. C. revolteth from the Athenians, 504. recovered againe, *ibid*.
Laodicea, 287. B.
Larissa, 255. B.
Lartos, the Island, 161. B.
Leaurs, 138. A.
League. Two great Leagues in Greece, 11. D. League defensive betweene the Athenians, and *Coreyrians*, 25. B. League betweene the *Ambraciotes*, and *Acarnanians*, 208. B. betweene the Athenians and *Lacedemonians*, 303. C. betweene the *Argines*, and *Eleans*, &c. 308. A. betweene the *Argines* and *Lacedemonians*, 337. B. betweene the *Lacedemonians* and *Tistaphernes*, 479. A. againe, 489. A. againe, 502. B.
Lebedus revolteth from the Athenians, 479. D.
Leceythus, 274. B. 275. D.
Leomios, 60. B. 148. A. 228. D.
Leocorium, 12. D.
Leon, neere *Syracuse*, 405. C.
Leontines, ayded by the Athenians, 191. D. *Leontine* Commons driven out by the Few, 291. B. the *Leontine* Nobility go to dwell at *Syracuse*, 291. C. they seize on certaine places of their owne Territory, *ibid*. *Leontium*, 351. C.
Leontichides, Generall at *Mycala*, 47. A.
Leptates, quarrell with the *Eleans*, 308. B.
Lesbus, 148. A. received into the League of the *Peloponnesians*, 152. C. revolteth from the Athenians, 472. A.
Letter. Letter of *Nicias* to the Athenian People, 419. A. of *Xexes* to *Paulanias*, 68. B.
Leucus, 18. D. 26. B. 149. A. 196. A.
Leucimna, 18. D. 26. C.
Leucorium, 482. B.
Leutira of *Arcadia*, 323. D.
Lichus, a *Lacedemonian* whipped, 322. A. sent with authority into *Ionia*, 490. B. C. hated by the *Milesius*, 517. C.
Limæa, 126. D.

Lipara, 192. B.
Lochagi, 331. B.
Loeri *Ozola*, *Thecues*, 4. C.
Loeris in Italy, Confederate with *Syracuse*, 191. C. *Locrians* make Peace with the Athenians, 292. B.
Lycæum, 299. C. 323. D.
Lyncestians, 139. D. 256. B. 257. D.

M

Macdonia. The beginning of the Raigne of the *Temenide*, 139. D. the description of that Kingdome, 140. B.

Madi, 139. B.
Manlia, 329. C.
Magistracy. A new Magistracy erected at Athens, 470. C. *Epidemiurgi* Magistrates at *Porida*, 31. A. *Cytherodices*, a Magistracy, 241. B.
Magnesia of *Asia*, 74. B.
Magnetics, 141. B.
Malea, 147. E. 148. D.
Malotis *Apollo*, 146. E. 147. B.
Mantineans and *Tegeates* fight, 287. B. their League with the *Argines*, 306. D. their League with the *Lacedemonians*, 338. D.

Marathusa, 486. D.
Meceberne taken from the Athenians, 313. D.
Medeon, 203. B.
Megareans forbidden commerce in *Attica*, 35. D. they revolt from the *Corinthians*, 54. B. they revolt from the Athenians, 59. B. they expect the event of battell betweene *Brasidas* and the Athenians, 251. A. *Megarean* Outlawes recalled, 252. E. set up the Oligarchy, 253. B. they refuse to be comprehended in the Peace betweene the Athenians and *Lacedemonians*, 300. A. *Megara* invaded by the Athenians, 98. E. *Megara* attempted by the Athenians, 248. A. Treason in *Megara* discovered, 250. B.
Megara Hyblæa, 404. B. when and by whom built, 351. D.

Melies, 194. C.
Melij, 292. B. their Dialogue with the Athenians, 341. A.
Meliceia, 255. B.
Melos, 87. B. 193. E. besieged by

the Athenians, 346. B. taken and sacked, 347. B.
Menda revolteth from the Athenians, 280. B.

Messana, 193. C. revolteth from the Athenians, 211. D. *Messanians* invade *Naxos*, 225. C. *Messana*, why called *Zancle*, 352. C.

Messapians, 199. C.
Methone, 96. C. 237. D. 354. C.
Methymne, 148. A. revolteth from the rest of *Lesbos*, 146. A. *Methymneans* Warre on *Antissa*, 154. A.

Methydrium, 325. D.
Miletus revolteth from the Athenians, 478. D.

Minidarus, General of the *Peloponnesians*, 517. C. goeth into *Hellespont*, 529. A.

Minos, 248. B. taken by *Nicias*, 172. A.

Minos, first that had a great Navy, 5. D. 3. D. freed the Sea of *Piratos*, 5. D. Master of the Sea, 3. D.

Mitylenians, 147. B. why not deprived of liberty, 150. D. *Mitylenian* Commons yeeld the City to the Athenians, 158. D. sentence at Athens against *Mitylene*, 162. C. 1000 *Mitylenians* put to death, 171. C. *Mitylenian* Outlawes lose *Antandrium*, 253. B.

Molosians, 126. C.
Molychrium, 129. D. 199. E.
Moneth. *Elaphebolium*, 278. A. 302. A. *Geraiston*, 278. B. *Artemisium*, 302. A. *Carnesium*, 323. E.
Monis raised against *Plataea*, 122. C.

Mycala, 47. A.
Mycalæssu, 429. E.
Mycena, 3. C.
Mycdonia, 321. A. 140. A.
Myle, 193. C.
Mymnesius, 160. C.
Myrcinus, 271. C.
Myronides, 55. C.
Mym, 74. C. 154. C.

N

Naxos first built by *Minos*, 3. D.
The *Naxies* of old time in Greece, 10. B. the *Naxies* of the Athenians at the greatest when, 153. C.

Naxos

THE TABLE.

Naupactus, 54. B. 119. C. defended by *Demosthenes*, 200. A.
Naxos, the Island, first of the Athenian Confederates, that was brought in to servitude, 52. A.
Naxos of *Sicily*, 225. C. when, and by whom built, 351. B.
Neapolis of *Africke*, 443. C.
Nemea the Forrest, 326. B.
Neritum, 149. A.

Nicias goeth with an Army to *Melos*, 193. D. giueh his power to leuy Souldiers, to *Cleon*, 228. C. winneth *Cythera*, 241. D. goeth Ambassadour to *Lacedemon*, 318. B. chosen Generall for the *Sicilian* voyage, 354. D. his opinion touching the manning of that Warre, 376. D. his Stratagem to get landing at *Syracuse*, 386. B. is assaulted in his Campe, 409. A. why unwilling to rise from before *Syracuse*, 442. A. he yeeldeth himself to *Gylippus*, 466. A. his death, 467. A.

Nicias of *Crete*, 130. B.
Nisæa besieged by the Athenians, 249. D. rendered, 250. B.
Noium, 161. B. 162. A.
the Number of the *Lacedemonian* Army against the *Argines*, how computed, 332. A.
Nymphodorus of *Abdera*, 97. D.

O

Oare. One man to one Oare in a *Tireme*, 136. A.
Oath. Forme of the Oath at the making of the Peace betweene the *Lacedemonians* and the Athenians, 301. D.
Odomantians, 141. C. 292. C.
Odryse, 98. A. B. 137. D.
Ocantheans, 199. C.
Oceon, 199. D.
Oenias, 58. B. 128. A. compelled by the *Acarnanians* into the Athenian League, 254. D.
Oenot, 92. D. betrayed to the *Bocotians*, 528. C.
Oenophyt, 56. E.
Oenusse, 482. A.
Oczyme, 271. C.

Oligarchy, of the 400 at Athens, 507. C. & sequ. they enter the Senate house, 508. C. they begin to decline, 520. D. are assaulted by the *Populars*, 523. C.

Olophyxus, 273. A.
Olpe, 203. A. taken by the *Ambraciotes*, 202. C.
Olympia, 149. B.
Olympian Games, 5. A. 321. B.
Olympiade, eighty eighth, 149. C.
Olympiaum, 386. C. 387. C. 392. C.
Olympus, 256. A.
Olynthus, 32. A. 34. A. 280. D.
Oncius, 237. B.
Ophionians, 196. C. 197. C.
Opus, 57. A.
Oracle. The *Coreyrians* referre their cause to the Oracle at *Delphi*, 17. B. Oracle at *Delphi* consulted by the *Epidamnians*, 15. C. Oracle at *Delphi* encourageth the *Lacedemonians*, 61. D. 110. D.

Oradus, King of the *Parthians*, 126. C.

Oration of the *Corinthians* at Athens, 22. B. at *Sparta*, 62. A. of the *Coreyrians* at Athens, 19. C. of the Athenians at *Lacedemon*, 34. C. of *Archidamus*, 43. A. of *Sitaculides*, 45. D. of *Pericles* at Athens, 75. C. of *Archidamus* to his Army, 87. D. of *Pericles* at the Funerall, 100. D. of *Pericles* to the incensed People, 112. D. of *Phormio* to his Souldiers, 132. C. of *Cnemis* to his Souldiers, 131. B. of the *Mitylenians* at *Olympia*, 149. B. of *Cleon* against the *Mitylenians*, 163. of *Diadotus* for them, 167. of the *Plataeans*, 173. of the *Thebans*, 177. of *Demosthenes* to his Souldiers, 216. C. of the *Lacedemonians* at Athens, 221. A. of *Hermocrates* to the *Sicilians* at *Gela*, 244. of *Tagondas* to his Souldiers, 262. of *Hippocrates* to his Souldiers, 264. of *Brasidas* to the *Acarnanians*, 278. to the *Toronaans*, 274. to his Souldiers in *Lyncus*, 282. B. to his Souldiers in *Amphipolis*, 294. A. of *Nicias* against the *Sicilian* voyage, 355. againe, 362. to his Souldiers, 388. to his Souldiers about to fight in the great Haven, 450. B. to his Souldiers when hee rose from before *Syracuse*, 460. B. Of *Alcibiades* for the *Sicilian Voyage*, 359. against the Athenians at *Lacedemon*,

400. D. of *Hermocrates* in *Syracuse*, 369. A. at *Camarina*, 393. A. of *Athenagoras*, 371. D. of a *Syracusan* General, 374. A. of *Euphemus* at *Camarina*, 396. A.
Orchomenus seized by the *Bocotian* Outlawes, 58. E.
Orchomenus of *Arcadia*, besieged by the *Argines*, and taken, 328. B. C.
Orestes King of *Theffaly*, 58. A.
Orestes of *Epirus*, 287. B.
Orestium, 329. C.
Ornes pulled downe, 354. B.
Oronie, 192. D.
Oropus, 96. A. taken from the Athenians by treason, 503. B.

P

Pacher, killeth *Hippias*, Captaine of the *Arcadians* in *Notium*, by fraud, 162. A.
Padaunus *laine*, 501. A.
Paonia, 140. A.
Paonians, 139. B.
Pallu *Chalcidæa*, 67. A. 71. B.
Pallene, 30. D. 34. C.
Pamathum taken by the *Bocotians*, 291. A. pulled downe, and Why, 315. D.
Panathenæa, 12. D. 320. C.
Pancratium, 121. C.
Paleses, 98. D.
Paleses, 98. D.
Pangæum, 140. A.
Panormus of *Achaia*, 130. C. of *Milefia*, 481. D.
Paralus, 111. A. C.
Paralus, 194. C.
Paralus, the name of a Gally, 160. E.
Patres, 128. C. 129. C. 223. B.
Paulanias hated by the Confederates, 51. B. winneth most of *Cyprus*, 50. C. his insolent behaviour, *ibid*. sent for home, 50. D. his pride, 68. C. driven out of *Byzantium*, hee goeth to *Colone*, 69. B. his Inscription on the *Tripode*, 69. D. his *Medizing*, 67. C. his letter to *Nerxes*, 67. D. he conspireth with the *Helotes*, 70. B. betrayed by an *Argilian*, 70. C. taketh *Sanituary*, 71. A. his death, 71. B.

Peace betweene the *Lacedemonians* and Athenians for 30 yeres, 590. Peace in *Sicily*, made by *Hermocrates*, 247. A. Peace betweene

THE TABLE.

tweene the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, for 50 yeeres, 300. B. not liked by the Confederates, 302. D. why desired by the Lacedaemonians, 297. D. 298. D. crossed by the Ephores, 311. D. the Peace made after the first ten yeeres Warre, no Peace, 305. B. broken in the Mantinea and Epidaurus Warre, ibid.

Pegae, 56. B.

Peraice, 95. A.

Pelagium, 92. B.

Pella, 140. A.

Pelopides, 6. C.

Peloponnesus, whence so called, 6. B. inhabited by the Doreans, 8. D. Peloponnesian Warre, after the Persian 50 yeeres, 61. B. Peloponnesus invaded by the Athenians, 96. B. 111. B.

Pelorus, 225. B.

Pelops, 6. B.

Pentacosmedimni, 153. A.

Peraparchus, 193. A.

Perdiccas, King of Macedony, solicith the Lacedaemonians to the Warre, 12. B. reuolteth from the Athenians, 33. B. procureth an Army out of Peloponnesus, 256. B. declared by the Athenians for their enemy, 257. C. betrayed by the Ilyrians, 281. D. flyeth out of Lynceus, and deserteth Brasidas, 281. E. maketh Peace with the Athenians, 286. B. stoppeth the passage of the Lacedaemonians through Thessaly, 286. C. is barred the use of the Sea by the Athenians, and why, 340. B.

Pericles warreth on Samos, 60. B. besiegeth Oeneus, 58. B. descended of a Stocke that was vnder the curse for violation of Sanctuary 66. D. enemy to the Lacedaemonians, 66. E. blamed by the Athenians, as author of the Warre, 95. A. giues his Land to the State, in case it were spared by the Enemy, 89. C. his death, and praise, 116. B. & sequ.

Peripolium, 199. A.

Perobias, 285. E.

Perseides, 6. E.

Pessilence at Athens, 106. C. 121. E.

Phacium, 255. E.

Phaex sent into Sicily, 291. B. moueth Warre against Syracuse, 291. D.

Phacinus. Priest of Juno, 287. A.

Phagres, 140. A.

Phaleron, 56. A.

Phanotis, 254. B.

Pharfallus, 58. A. 215. D.

Phaselis, 119. D.

Phela, 96. D.

Philip, brother to Perdiccas, 31. B.

Phlasius, walled by the Argines, 340. A.

Phobus, 326. A.

Phocaea, 291. C.

Phocaea, 486. D.

Phoenicians, added to Robbery, 5. C. their Cities in Sicily, 351. A. Phoenicia, 119. D.

Phoenicius, a Hauens, 488. A.

Phormio walleth Chalcidra, 35. A. sent to Potidea, 34. C. sent to Naupactus, 119. C. fighteth with the Corinthians, 128. B. with Cleomus, 135. B. putteth suspected persons out of Stratus and Coronea, 141. E.

Phrygia, a place in Corinthia, 95. B.

Phrynechus, refuseth battle, and why, 484. B. his art to clude the accusation of Alcibiades, 498. C. his death, 523. B.

Phthiotis, 3. B.

Phrycon, 32. B.

Physca, 140. B.

Phytia, 203. B.

Pieria, 140. D.

Piraeus, better to the Athenians the better Citie, 50. A. when walled in, 49. C. attempted by the Peloponnesians, 135. D. Pirans of Corinthia, 475. B.

Pisander labourerth the recalling of Alcibiades, and depofing of the People, 499. C. accuseth Phrynichus, 500. B. is a principall man in the setting vp of the 400 at Athens, 507. C.

Pisistratus, the son of Hippias the Tyrant, 380. C.

Pitanate, 12. E.

Pithius, with 60 more Senators slaine in Coreyra, in the Senate, 123. B.

Pits. Men throwne into Pits, 118. C.

Plague, wide Pessilence.

Platea surprisid, 82. A. viualled by the Athenians, 85. C. attempted by fire, 124. B. by Engines, 123. C. besieged, 124. C. yeilded, 172. C. escape of 112 Plateans, 155. C. Platea demolished, 181. D.

Plateis inuaded by the Lacedaemonians, 120. C.

Pleistoanax banished, 94. C. desirerth Peace, and why, 299. B.

Plemmyrium fortified by Nicias, 416. A. taken by the Syracusians, 425. D.

Pleuron, 200. B.

Polis Arginus, 117. D.

Poppo tempered with honey sent ouer into Sphalleria, 227. B.

Potidania, 197. C.

Potidea, 30. D. reuolteth 31. D. is besieged, 34. D. the Potideans cate one another, 119. E. they yeeld, 120. A.

Prafa, 111. C.

Prineus, 59. D.

Pronai, 98. D.

Prophecies rise before great Warres, 86. B.

Prophecy at Delphi, procured by subordination, 292. B.

Profection, 200. B. 203. A.

Prote, 218. D.

Pitaneus, 509. A.

P. eleum, 301. B. 482. A. 486. C.

Pydna, 32. D.

Pylus, 123. A. fortified by the Athenians, 213. C. kept by Messenians, 235. B.

Pyrrha, 162. A.

Q

the Quarrell about Epidamnus, 14. D. the Quarries a prison at Syracuse, 466. C.

the Question how put in the Assembly at Sparta, 46. B.

Question to be answered by the Plateans, 173. A.

R

Religion neglected in the time of the Pessilence, 110. B. the opinion of the Athenians, touching the Gods, 344. A.

Reuolt. Causes of reuolts, 52. B.

Rhegium, 191. C. 234. D.

Rhetus, 93. D.

Rheius, 235. E.

Rhenea, tyed to Delos, with a chaine, 201. B.

Rhim Molychricum, 130. D.

Rhim Achaicum, 130. D. 323. B.

Rhodes, 493. C.

Rhodope, 137. D. 139. C.

Rhoerum, 240. D.

Robbing had in honou, 4. B.

Sabylinthus

THE TABLE.

S

Sabylinthus King of the Agraeans, 126. C.

Sadoens made free of the City of Athens, 98. B. betraieyth the Lacedaemonian Ambassadors, 118. B.

Salerthus, entreth secretlie into Mitylene, and confirmeth it against the Athenians, 158. A. is taken, 162. A. and put to death, at Athens, 162. B.

Salaminia, the name of a Triremc, 160. E.

Salamis ouer-run by the Peloponnesians, 136. B.

Samos besieged, 60. C. yeilded, 61. A. Samos in Sedition, 510. C.

Samo, 272. E.

Samiary, 15. B. 66. B.

Saron, 278. C. besieged by the Athenians, 286. B. expugned, and giuen to the Plateans, 309. A.

Saribus, 331. B.

Scomus, 158. D.

Serapum, 323. D.

Serros, 52. A.

Seyale, 69. A.

Seythians, their power, 139. A.

Sea. The Argines acknowledge the dominion of the Sea vpon their owne Coast, to belong to the Athenians, 314. D.

Seditions most incident to fertile Countries, 2. C. Sedition in Coreyra, 182. C. manners of the seditions described, 187. D. & sequ. the Nobility in the sedition of Coreyra how destroyed, 239. A.

Selonus, 443. A. when built, 351. E.

Sentence. The cruell sentence of the Athenians against the Mityleneans, 162. C.

Sermyla, 35. A.

Shipping of Greece what it was before the Peloponnesian Warre, 10. A.

Sicani, 350. B.

Sicily described, 349. & sequ. Sicilians make peace amongst themselves at Gela, 243. C. the Sicilian Voyage refused on at Athens, 354. D.

Siculi, 350. C.

Sicyon Oligarchized, 338. D.

Sidiffi, 482. A.

Sintions, 139. B.

Sipha, 254. B.

Sitalces King of Thrace leagues with the Athenians, 98. C. warreth on Macedonia, 137. B. retireth thence, 141. D.

Solium, 98. D.

Solygia, 236. A.

Spartans taken in Sphalleria, 298. C.

Spartolus, 125. B.

Sphalleria how seitate, 215. A. B.

Stagirus reuolteth, 260. D. assaulted by Cleon, 292. B.

The Standard in battell, 27. A.

Sthenelaidas, 45. D.

Stratagem of Arifton, 436. A.

Stratus. The Chaonians ouerthrowne by Ambush at Stratus, 127. C.

Strymon, 52. C. 138. A. 271. D. 293. B.

Sybona, the Islands, 26. C. 20. A.

Sybona the Hauens, 28. B. 185. C.

Syca, 406. B.

Syme, 492. A. C.

Syneca, why, and by whom instituted, 91. C.

Syracuse, when and by whom built, 351. C. the Syracusians displace their Generals, and why, 410. A. Syracuse how neere to being taken by the Athenians, 415. B. the Syracusians begin to treat with Nicias, 409. B. they shut vp the mouth of the Great Hauens, 449. B.

T

Tages, Deputy Lieutenant to Tiffaphernes, 478. B.

Talent. A Talent pay for a moneth to a Gallie, 354. C. a Ship of 500 Talents burthen, 276. C.

Tanarus. Temple of Neptune at Tanarus, 67. A.

Tanagra, 56. D. 194. B. 254. B. 429. C.

Tantalus, a Lacedaemonian, taken, and added to the prisoners taken at Pilus, 243. D.

Tegae, 328. D. 336. A. 339. B. Tegaeans and Mantinians fight at Orestium, 287. B. Tegaeans refuse the Argine League, 309. B.

Templ of Juno built in the ruines of Platea, 182. A.

A Tenth of the Land in Lesbos consecrated, 171. D.

Tereus, 404. C.

Teres, 98. A.

Tereus, ibid.

Tingliffi, 492. B.

Tis reuolterth, 478. A.

Tentiaphus his aduice to Alcides, 169. D.

Thalamus, 230. D.

Thapsus, when and by whom built, 251. D. Thapsus, 405. C.

Tharaps. King of the Molegians and Abantians, 126. C.

Thasius reuolteth from the Athenians, 52. D. is subdued, 53. B. Oligarchized by the Athenians, reuolteth from them, 505. C.

Thebes, leate of the Waire, made by Xerxes, 47. D. distant from Platea 70 furlongs, 84. C.

Thobas, attempting to surprize Platea, taken Prisoners, 84. B. Baine, 85. A.

Theristocles, 10. B. 40. C. aduiseyth to wall in the City of Athens, 47. D. deludeth the Lacedaemonians, 48. A. C. addicth to the affaires by sea, 50. A. author to the Athenians to take vpon them the Dominion of the Sea, 49. D. his Letter to Aristarchus, 73. A. his praise, 73. B. his death and buriall, 74. B. C.

Theromones a Lacedaemonian cast away at Sea, 489. D.

Theromones the Athenian, 522. C.

Therme, 32. D. 98. C.

Theromphs, 195. B. 141. B.

Thesias, reduceth the Athenians to one City, 91. B.

Thesias, 254. B. the Walles of Thesias razed, 286. B. Thesias Commons assault the Paw, 405. A.

Thespricis, 18. D. 26. B.

Thesphians, 141. B. they infect Heraclaea, 195. C.

Thianus, 203. B.

Thrace deluded, 128. C. Thracian custome in receiuing gifts, 138. D. the Thracian Army in Macedonia, 139. C. Thracians take Madaffus, 429. E.

Thracian fields, 93. C.

Thronius, 97. B.

Thucydides his diligence in writing this History, 12. C. is sicke of the Pessilence, 107. B. he defendeth Pion, 271. A. B. is banished for twenty yeeres, and when,

THE TABLE.

when, 305. c. lined throughout the whole Warre, *ibid.*

Tyreus, 47. c. 315. A. 245. A. c.

Tyffius, 272. A.

Tychicus, 197. c.

Tymonides, 135. c.

Typhragus seeketh the Lacedaemonian League, 472. c. is well affected to the Athenians, 499. A. why he brought not the Phoenician Fleet from *247 Julius*, 519. D.

Telephatus, 199. C.

Temius, 277. A.

Teron, 263. B. 274. A.

Thucydides, 194. C.

Thule, when first assailed by the Athenians, 51. B.

Thucydides, 350. B.

Thucydides, 488. B.

Thucydides, 250. C.

Thucydides, 199. C.

Thucydides, 111. C.

Thucydides, 406. B.

The Trojan Warre, first ioynt action of the Greeks, 3. A. the Trojan Fleet, 7. C.

Troilus, when and by whom built, 351. D.

Truce for 5 yeeres betwene the Lacedaemonians and Athenians,

48. C. Truce at *Pylus*, 220. B.

Truce for a yeere betwene the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians,

276. B. ended, 289. D.

Truce betwene the Lacedaemonians and Argive Armies, 327. A.

Tyrants, 11. A. Tyranny of the Lacedaemonians called, 380. D. Tyranny opposite to Democracy, 401. B.

W

W Alling of Townes when it beganne in Greece, 6. A. the Wallles of Athens built in hast, 48. A. 49. B. the Wall about *Piræus*, 49. B. the Long Wallles of Athens begun, 56. A. finished, 57. A. inhabited, 92. D. the Long Wallles of *Megara* built by the Athenians, 54. C. Long Wallles at *Argos*, 339. C. razed, 340. A. Long Wallles from *Patra* to *Rhion*, 323. B. the Wallles of *Corinth* razed, 57. A. a new Wall built for *Syracuse*, 302. B. the Wallles of the Athenians to enclose *Syracuse*, 406. B. 415. A. Wall of the Athenians, to cut off the Wallles of the Athenians, 407. A. E. 415. D. 417. D.

Warre. The Warres of old time 10. C. betwene the Chalcidians and Eretrians, 10. D. Warre against Sparta decreed at Athens, 46. D. the holy Warre, 48. D. Warre of the Athenians against Samos, 59. E. War of the Athenians in Egypt, ended, 57. C. beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre, 81. D. Warre preventive iustified, 151. B. Warre betwene the Argives and Epidaurians, 223. C. the children of such as dyed in the Warre, kept by the Athenian People, till they were at mans estate, 106. D.

Watch-word, 440. A.

Wind. A set wind euery morning blowing from the mouth of the *Cynus* Bay, 129. A.

Woods. The aduantage of Woods in

fight, 229. B. the Woods in *Sphacteria* set on fire, and burnt vp by accident, 229. D.

X

X *Enares*, Ephore of Lacedaemon seeketh to dissolue the Peace, 311. D. 318. D. Xerxes his Fleet, 11. C. his Letter to *Pausanias*, 68. B.

Y

Y *Evre*. The first Yeere of the Peloponnesian Warre, 81. D. the second, 106. c. the third, yeere, 120. B. the fourth, 145. D. the fifth, 158. B. the sixth, 192. c. the seventh, 211. D. the eighth, 240. c. the ninth, 276. B. the tenth, 289. D. the eleventh, 304. c. the twelfth, 314. B. the thirteenth, 323. A. the fourteenth, 325. B. the fifteenth, 339. A. the sixteenth, 340. C. the seventeenth, 354. C. the eighteenth, 404. B. the nineteenth, 422. D. the twentieth, 473. D. the one and twentieth, 503. D. the number of yeeres that the whole Warre lasted, 305. A. B. how the yeeres of the Warre ought to be reckoned, 302. B. C.

Young men for want of experience loue Warre, 86. B. Young men made Gouvernours of Cities, contrary to the Lawes, 286. D.

Z

Z *Acynthus*, 117. C. Zancle, 352. B.

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